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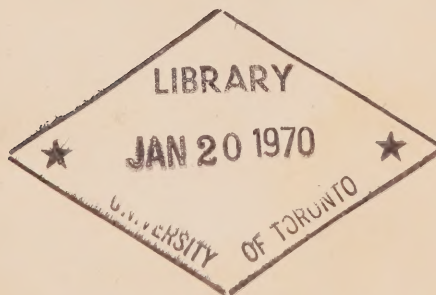
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Canada

Report of the
Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and
Biculturalism

Book III The Work World

- Part 1 Socio-economic Status
Part 2 The Federal Administration



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Canada, Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and biculturalism

Report

1967

v. 3

Report of the Royal Commission
on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
Volume 3^A

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism



To His Excellency
The Governor General in Council

We, the Commissioners appointed
as a Royal Commission, beg to submit
to your Excellency
Volume 3^A of our Final Report

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Ottawa, September 19, 1969

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Introduction to Book III 3

Equal partnership	3
The source of Francophone dissatisfaction	3 x
Equal partnership in the work world	4 v
The importance of language use	4
Parallel situations in the public and private sectors	5
The research findings	5
The relation between participation and language use	6
The historical context	6
A new climate	7
An advanced industrial society	7
The influence of the United States	8
Organization of Book III	8

Part 1 Socio-economic status and ethnic origin 9

Introduction to Part 1 11

Significance of socio-economic status	11 x
Income	12 v
Education	12
Occupation	12
Participation in industrial ownership	12
Interaction of variables	12

Chapter I Income 15

Labour force and ethnic origin	15
Income and ethnic origin	15
Income, ethnic origin, and region	17
Income and language groups	20 v
Mother tongue	20 v
Income and bilingualism	21 v
Types of income	22
Labour income	22
Summary	24

Chapter II Education 25

Education for a technological society	25
Schooling and ethnic origin	26 v
Schooling, ethnic origin, and region	27 v
School attendance	29

Retention rate	30
Enrolments	31
Qualifications for teachers	31
Summary	33

Chapter III

Occupation 35

✧ Difference and inequality	35
✧ Changing occupational structure	35
✧ Occupational status and ethnic origin	36
Occupations over time	37
✧ Occupation and ethnic origin	37 ✕
Occupation and ethnic origin over time	40
✧ Occupation, ethnic origin, and region	40
✧ Quebec and Montreal	42
Occupation and religion	45
Occupation and education	45
Perceived social standing of occupations	48
Occupation and immigration	48
Summary	51

Chapter IV

Ownership of Quebec Industry 53

✧ Classification of business establishments	53
✧ Distribution of labour force	53
Manufacturing	54
Value added	55
Number of employees	55
Productivity	57
Average wages	57
Sales outside Quebec	57
Types of products sold outside Quebec	58
✧ The wider implications of ownership	59
Summary	60

Chapter V

Factors Contributing to Socio-economic Disparities 61

A Analysis of Income Disparities	61
1 Factors affecting income	61
Age	61
Male : female ratio	62
Differences between industries	62
Education and occupation	62

- Mobility 62
- Discrimination 62
- Underemployment 63
- 2 Relative weight of factors 63
 - Factors to be considered 63
 - a) A first approach 63
 - Engineers 64
 - Architects 65
 - Physicians and surgeons 66
 - Conclusion 68
 - b) A second approach 68
 - Montreal 68
 - Ottawa and Toronto 69
 - Conclusion 70
 - c) A third approach 71
 - Underemployment 71
 - Age 72
 - Industry 73
 - Schooling and occupation 74
 - Bilingualism 75
 - Immigration 75
 - Ethnicity 76
 - Summary 77
- B Dynamic considerations 78
 - 1 Interrelation of factors 78
 - Mutuality of influences 78
 - Income and schooling 78
 - Parents' occupation 79
 - 2 Economic development 79
 - Economic development and education 79
 - Economic development and occupation 79
 - Economic development and productivity 80
 - Economic growth 80
 - Industrialization in Quebec and Anglophone dominance 80
 - Quebec's school systems 81
 - Anglophone head start 81
 - 3 The poverty cycle 81
 - Situational factors 82
 - Extent of poverty in Canada 82
 - Geographic concentrations 83
 - Social and psychological characteristics 83

- Poverty and ethnic origin 84
- Dynamics of poverty 84
- 4 Institutional factors 85
- Policies and practices 85
- Summary 86

Part 2 The Federal Administration 87

Introduction to Part 2 89

- The role of federal government 89
- Unique character of the Public Service 89
- Individual and institutional bilingualism 90
- Receptive bilingualism 90
- Biculturalism 90
- Research 91
- Linguistic classification 91
- Language of service; language of work 91
- Middle- and upper-level public servants 92
- Participation: physical presence 93
- Participation: active involvement 93
- Plan of Part 2: History 94
- Language use 94
- Recruiting 94
- Career development 94
- Canadian forces 95
- A dynamic perspective 95

Chapter VI

The Federal Public Service: History of Language-Use Policy and Franco-phone Participation 97

- The limits of our examination 97
- Absence of sustained concern 97
- A From Patronage to Merit: Confederation to the 1930's 98
 - Civil Service Act, 1868 98
 - The merit system is born—1882 99
 - Amendments to the Civil Service Act—1884 and 1888 99
 - Establishment of the Civil Service Commission—1908 100
 - Civil Service Commission takes over recruiting—1918 100
 - Regulation 19—1923 101
 - Decline of Francophone representation 101
 - Decline of Francophone participation 101
 - Efficiency and unilingualism 101

- B The Heightened Struggle: The 1930's On 102**
 - The Imperial Economic Conference incident 102
 - Ernest Lapointe 103
 - The Trois-Rivières incident 103
 - The Lacroix amendment—1938 104
 - Regulation 32A—1942 104
 - The effects of the war 105
 - Ernest Lapointe and C. D. Howe 105
 - Howe's refusal to act 106
 - Lapointe's record 107
 - Reasons for Lapointe's failure 107
 - Bilingual postage stamps and currency 107
 - Bilingual family allowance cheques 108
- C Increasing Concern: The 1940's to 1960's 109**
 - 1 The Jean Committee 109**
 - The Gordon Commission—1946 109
 - Recommendations ill received 109
 - Civil Service Commission report, 1958 110
 - 2 The Glassco Commission 110**
- D Conclusions 111**
 - The past record 111
 - Why attempts at reform failed 111

Chapter VII

Language Use 113

- Importance of language of work 113
- Two perspectives 113
- Individual and institutional bilingualism 113
- Plan of this chapter 114
- The principle of equal partnership 114
- A Government Policy on Language 114**
 - 1 General policy 114**
 - Government policy statements 114
 - Cabinet committee—1963 115
 - Committee of senior officials—1963 115
 - Declaration of Prime Minister Pearson, April 1966 116
 - 2 Policy on language of service 116**
 - Service to the public 116

- Language legislation 117
- Departmental initiatives 117
- Bilingual positions 119

3 Policy on language of work 120

B Language Capacity in the Public Service 120

- 1 Individual bilingualism 121
 - In the Public Service as a whole 121
 - At the middle level 122
 - Bilingualism in non-departmental agencies 124
- 2 Changes in language ability 124
 - Effect of work environment 124
 - Survival and acquisition of language ability 126
 - Length of service 126
 - Geographic location 126
 - Departmental location 127
 - Occupation 127
 - Acquisition of English: a condition of advancement 128
 - Non-departmental agencies 128

C Language Use in Practice 130

- 1 Language of service 130
 - a) Meeting the public in person or by telephone 130
 - Standards of language of service 130
 - Achievement of standards 131
 - b) Written communication 135
 - 1) Correspondence 135
 - Departmental statistics 135
 - Translation 135
 - Language of reply 136
 - 2) External forms 136
 - Definition 136
 - Findings 136
 - 3) Publications 137
 - Delay in translation 138
 - 4) Signs 139
- 2 Language of work 139
 - a) Formal communications 139
 - 1) Internal forms 139
 - Findings 139

- 2) Manuals and circulars 140
 - Manuals 140
 - Circulars 140
- 3) Files 141
- b) Informal communications 141
 - Findings 141
 - Regional factors 142
- D Language Use in Three Selected Departments 143**
 - Departments selected 143
 - 1 The department of External Affairs 144
 - Composition in 1965 144
 - a) Language use 144
 - b) Linguistic composition of the staff 145
 - Bilingual capacity 145
 - c) Survey of Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) 145
 - Composition at upper levels 145
 - Division heads 145
 - “Parachuting” 146
 - Missions abroad 146
 - d) Evaluation 146
 - Recent changes 146
 - 2 The department of National Revenue—Taxation division 147
 - a) Linguistic composition 147
 - Head office 147
 - Montreal office 147
 - b) Language use 148
 - Francophones and the use of French at head office 149
 - c) Evaluation 149
 - 3 The Treasury Board 150
 - a) Linguistic composition 150
 - b) Language use 151
 - Inter-service communication 151
 - Documents 151
 - As collective bargaining agent 152
 - Intra-service communication 152
 - Anglophone attitudes 153
 - c) Evaluation 153
 - 4 Prospects for institutional bilingualism in the three departments 154
 - Department of National Revenue—Taxation division 154
 - Department of External Affairs 154
 - Some elements of institutional bilingualism 154

- E Existing Programmes for Bilingualism in the Public Service 155
 - 1 Translation Bureau 155
 - a) Organization 155
 - Independent facilities 156
 - Relations with departments 156
 - Personnel 156
 - b) Operation 157
 - Output 157
 - Correspondence 157
 - Direction of translation 157
 - Extra workload 157
 - Quality 157
 - Delays 158
 - c) Summary and evaluation 158
 - Training 159
 - Waste of translators' time 159
 - Suggestions for improvement 159
 - 2 Language training 160
 - a) Recent developments 160
 - 1) Civil Service Commission programme (1963-5) 160
 - Glassco Commission 160
 - Interdepartmental committee 160
 - Objectives 161
 - Method 161
 - Success of the courses 161
 - 2) The programme from 1966 to 1968 162
 - Criteria and priorities 162
 - Individual bilingualism 162
 - Organization of courses 163
 - Cost 163
 - b) Evaluation of language training 165
 - 1) Departmental responses to language training 166
 - Department of Finance 166
 - Department of Agriculture 166
 - Department of Public Works 167
 - Department of National Revenue — Taxation division 167
 - Summary of departmental responses 168
 - 2) Personal responses to language training 168
 - Middle-level staff 168
 - (a) Variations among departments 169
 - Department of Finance 169

	Department of Agriculture	169
	Department of Public Works	169
	Department of National Revenue — Taxation division	170
(b)	Individuals' motivations to learn French	170
	Personal improvement	170
	Work benefits and security	171
	Usefulness in job	171
	Patriotism	172
	Summary	172
(3)	The training courses	172
(a)	Course content	173
	VIF and LFI	173
(b)	Training procedure	173
	Curricula	173
(c)	Flaws in the system	174
	Rate of teaching	174
	Opportunity to practise	174
	Range of skills	174
	Translation	175
	Goal	175
	Starting capacity	176
	Criticisms	176
	Linguistics and methodology	176
(d)	Summary	177
F	Conclusion	178
	Policy and practice	178
	Language use	179
	Equal partnership	179
	Rationale	180
Chapter VIII	The Public Service and the Universities: Recruitment and Orientation	181
	Statistical data	181
A	Language and Recruiting	181
	Preference for bilingual candidates	182
	Language of service	182
B	Supply and Demand	182
	The labour market	182
	Recruitment of new personnel	183
	Relative lack of Francophones	183
	Comparative value of degrees	186

Degrees and diplomas 186
Specializations 186
Modernization and reform 187

- C** University Graduates and the Public Service 187
Two graduate recruiting streams 187
Implications 187

- D** Attitudes in Universities 191
Francophone students' views 191
Attitudes towards Public Service careers 191
Recruitment difficulties 192
Attitudes of university staff 192
Professorial contacts with the Public Service 193
Francophone university staff's views of Public
Service careers 194
Overall skepticism 195
Ottawa's "foreign" character 195

- E** University Recruiting Programmes 195
Recruiting response 195
Tests and interviews 197
Employment refusals 197
Shortcomings of the General Intelligence Test 197
Candidates' opinions 198
Interviews 198
Refusal of offers 201

- F** Summer Employment Programmes 201
General programme 201
Francophone programme 201
Work patterns 202
Students' criticisms of the Francophone programme 202

- G** Summary 203

Chapter IX Participation and Career Development 205

Equal Accessibility 205
Equal treatment 206
Self-confirming stereotypes 206
Plan of this chapter 207

- A Measurement of Participation 207**
 - Participation of language groups 208
 - Statistical basis for comparison 208
 - 1 Geographic distribution 208**
 - Geographic concentration of those of French mother tongue 209
 - 2 Departmental distribution 209**
 - 3 Principal factors of status 209**
 - Salary 211
 - Departmental variations 211
 - Appointments by Order-in-Council 213
 - Differences in starting salary 213
 - Rate of advancement 213
 - Education and salary 214
 - High-status occupations 214
 - 4 Some related characteristics 215**
 - Educational attainment 215
 - Mobility 217
 - Age and year of recruitment 218
 - Previous experience 219
 - Length of service 219
 - 5 Summary 220**
 - Staff distribution 220
- B Importance of Middle-level Public Servants 221**
 - Three strata 221
 - Lower level 221
 - Upper level 221
 - Middle level 221
 - Importance of the middle level 221
 - The "Career Study" 222
 - Three categories in the middle level 222
 - Functions and work settings 223
 - Opportunities for creativity 223
- C Background Characteristics of Middle-level Personnel 223**
 - 1 Mother tongue, ethnic origin, and country of birth 224**
 - 2 Geographic origin 224**
 - Mobility 224
 - Difficulties of Francophones from Ontario 225
 - Francophones from Quebec 226
 - 3 Social origin 227**

- Family antecedents 227
- Desirable attributes 227
- Openness of the Public Service 228
- 4 Education 229
 - Science and engineering 229
- 5 Previous work history 231
 - Career histories 231
- D Work, Community, and Commitment to the Public Service 233
 - Satisfaction and commitment 233
 - 1 Reasons for joining 233
 - "Work" factors and "benefit" factors 233
 - "Work" factors 233
 - Variation between language groups 235
 - "Benefit" factors 235
 - Desire to serve the country 236
 - Desire for professional achievement 236
 - 2 The Public Service as a place of work 237
 - Comparisons of employment in the public and private sectors 237
 - Non-creative work settings 238
 - Staffing and promotion procedures 239
 - Anglophones' views 239
 - Francophones' views 240
 - Promotion system 240
 - Une organisation anglaise* 241
 - Hopeful attitudes expressed 242
 - 3 Living in the federal capital 242
 - Community considerations 242
 - Favourable reactions 243
 - Critical reactions 244
 - The Ottawa milieu 244
 - French-language educational facilities 245
 - "Anglicization" 246
 - Summary 246
 - 4 Commitment to the Public Service 246
 - Variations between the two groups 246
- E Careers in the Public Service 248
 - 1 Career development 248
 - Career Assignment Program 248
 - Successful careers 249

- 2 Comparisons of middle-level Francophones' and Anglophones' careers 250
Variations in careers 250
- 3 Francophones' career advancement 252
Future of Francophones in the Public Service 252
Factors blocking progress of Francophones 253
Language difficulties 253
Effect of English-language dominance on Francophones 254
- 4 Entering the upper level 255
Geographic movement 256
Sponsorship 256
Parachuting 257
Advantages and disadvantages of parachuting 258
Francophone representation at the top 258
Character of Francophone "parachutists" 258
- 5 The culture of the Public Service 259
A British model 259

Chapter X

- Towards Equal Partnership in the Public Service: Conclusions and Recommendations 261**
- A The Challenge 261
Shortcomings of the present situation 261
Language of service to the public 262
Language of work 252
Opportunities for Francophones 262
Pressures towards assimilation 262
Participation 263
The costs 263
Prerequisite for equal partnership 263
Shortcomings of present federal policy 264
Development of bilingualism and biculturalism in government organization 264
 - B The Basic Proposal: French-language Units 265
Recommendation 1 265
The basic concept 266
Senior management and supervision 266
Distribution and support 266
Criteria of implementation 266
 - 1 The regional unit 267
English-language units 268

- 2 The headquarters unit 268
- 3 The cluster 270
 - Service units 270
 - Recommendation 2 271
 - Francophone presence at the policy level 271
 - Recommendation 3 271
 - Recommendation 4 272
 - Elements of a bilingual institution 274
- C The Language Régime 274
 - Recommendation 5 274
 - Use of French outside the French-language units 274
 - Recommendation 6 275
 - Recommendation 7 275
 - Language requirements of positions 276
 - Existing inequities 276
 - Recommendation 8 276
 - Determining bilingual positions 277
- D Second-language Facilities: Training and Translation 277
 - Recommendation 9 277
 - Recommendation 10 278
 - Recommendation 11 278
 - Recommendation 12 278
 - Recommendation 13 279
 - Recommendation 14 279
 - Specialized translation skills 279
 - Recommendation 15 280
- E Staffing the System 280
 - Attracting and retaining Francophone personnel 280
 - Training in public administration 281
 - Recommendation 16 281
 - Recruiting Francophones 281
 - Recommendation 17 281
 - Value of generalists as administrators 282
 - Recommendation 18 282
 - Recommendation 19 282
 - Staff development 283
 - Recommendation 20 283
 - Recommendation 21 284
- F Administrative Structures for Adaptation to Equal Partnership 284
 - Official Languages Act 284

- Application of the law 285
- Recommendation 22 285
- Departmental language bureaux 286
- Recommendation 23 286
- Recommendation 24 287
- Managing the bilingual institution 287
- The Public Service Commission 288
- The Treasury Board 288

- G** The Process of Implementation 289
 - Preliminary planning 289
 - Criteria for establishing French-language units 289
 - Other considerations 290
 - Detailed planning 290
 - Implementation 290
 - Adaptation—a continuing process 291

- H** Towards Equal Partnership 291

Chapter XI

Canadian Forces 293

- A** Introduction 293
 - The Canadian Forces and the Public Service 293
 - The defence establishment and the Canadian community 293
 - The military way of life 294
- B** Language Policies and Practices 295
 - 1 Historical background 295
 - 2 Relations with the public 296
 - Correspondence 296
 - Forms, signs, and oral communications 296
 - 3 Written language within the Forces 297
 - Correspondence 297
 - Translation 298
 - 4 Effects of recent organizational changes 298
 - Military terminology 298
 - Bilingual positions 300
 - The policy statement of April 1968 300
 - Training programmes 301
 - 5 Language training 301
 - Canadian Forces Language School 301

- 6 Military colleges 302
 - Language courses at RMC 302
- 7 Education of children of Canadian Forces personnel 302
 - DND schools 303
 - Government assistance for education in the mother tongue 303
 - Curricula in DND schools overseas 303
- C Participation and Career Patterns 304
 - 1 Francophones and Anglophones 304
 - Definition 304
 - F1s and F2s 305
 - Socio-cultural characteristics 305
 - 2 Participation 306
 - a) Geographic distribution 307
 - Factors determining location of personnel 307
 - Personnel stationed in Quebec 308
 - b) Hierarchical distribution 308
 - Distribution of officers 310
 - Ratios of officers to men 310
 - Distribution of Francophones 310
 - 3 Career patterns 312
 - a) Officers 314
 - Education 314
 - Field of work 314
 - Age and seniority 316
 - Future intentions 316
 - Summary 316
 - b) Men 317
 - Education 317
 - Field of employment 317
 - Age and seniority 318
- D Language Capacity and Use 318
 - 1 Language capacity and individual bilingualism 318
 - Individuals' rating of their own skills 319
 - Language proficiency and rank 321
 - 2 Language use at work 321
 - Actual language use 321
 - Best language of work 321
 - Francophones' aspirations to work in French 322
 - 3 Language use outside the work situation 324
 - a) In the home 324
 - b) In social relations and leisure pursuits 326

- E Officer Cadets 327**
 - Distribution 327
 - Socio-cultural characteristics 328
 - Individual bilingualism 328
- F Conclusions and Recommendations 329**
 - Recommendation 25 330
 - 1 Basic language rights and conditions of equality 330**
 - Recommendation 26 330
 - Recommendation 27 331
 - Recommendation 28 331
 - Recommendation 29 331
 - Recommendation 30 332
 - Recommendation 31 332
 - 2 Creation of a functionally integrated French-language work milieu 333**
 - Recommendation 32 334
 - Recommendation 33 334
 - Patterns of communication 336
 - Recommendation 34 336
 - Recommendation 35 336
 - Recommendation 36 337
 - Recommendation 37 337
 - Recommendation 38 338
 - Recommendation 39 338
 - Recommendation 40 340
 - Recommendation 41 340

Recommendations 341

Appendix I The Terms of Reference 351

Appendix II Statement of the Right Hon. Lester B. Pearson Regarding Policy Respecting Bilingualism in the Public Service 353

Appendix III Tables 356

Appendix IV Participation in Federal Crown Corporations and Agencies 406

- A Distribution 406**
 - 1 In the seven agencies 406**
 - 2 Geographic distribution 407**
 - 3 Salary 408**

	4	Occupation	411
	5	Summary	413
	B	Contributing Factors	413
	1	Education	413
	2	Mobility	417
	3	Working experience	420
	C	Summary	421
Appendix V		Differences in Status within Managerial and Professional Occupations in the Federal Departmental Public Service	423
	A	Managers	424
	B	Professionals	424
	1	Engineers and scientists	424
	2	Professionals other than engineers and scientists	425
Appendix VI		Other Public Services in Canada and Abroad	426
	A	The Canadian Provinces	426
	B	Belgium	427
	C	Ireland	428
	D	Finland, Switzerland, and South Africa	429
Appendix VII		Descriptive Notes on R.C.B.&B. Studies Cited in Parts 1 and 2	430

Tables

- 1 Average Total Income 16
- 2 Average Total Income and Province 18
- 3 Average Total Income and Ethnic Origin 19
- 4 Average Total Income and Official Languages 21
- 5 Labour Income 23
- 6 Schooling 26
- 7 Educational Level 28
- 8 School Attendance 29
- 9 School Retention Rates 30
- 10 School Enrolments 32
- 11 Teacher Qualifications 33
- 12 Occupational Status 36
- 13 Occupational Structure 38
- 14 Comparative Occupational Distribution 41
- 15 Occupation and Schooling Level 46
- 16 Influence of Schooling Level on Occupation 47
- 17 Influence of Immigration on Occupation 49
- 18 Occupational Preference of Immigrants 50
- 19 Ownership of Establishments 54
- 20 Ownership of Establishments in the Manufacturing Industry 56
- 21 Sales outside Quebec 58
- 22 Income of Engineers 65
- 23 Income of Architects 66
- 24 Income of Physicians and Surgeons 67
- 25 Factors Contributing to Income Disparity (Montreal) 69
- 26 Factors Contributing to Income Disparity (Toronto and Ottawa) 70
- 27 Underemployment and Labour Income 72
- 28 Net Contribution of Age 73
- 29 Net Contribution of Schooling 74
- 30 Net Contribution of Ethnic Origin 77
- 31 Optimum Working Language 125
- 32 Survival of French as the Working Optimum Language 127
- 33 Official-language Minorities and Linguistic Aptitude of Public Servants 132
- 34 Mother Tongue of Public Servants and Contact with the Public 134
- 35 Language of External Forms 137
- 36 Language of Internal Forms 139
- 37 Use of French and English at Work 142
- 38 Francophones in the Treasury Board Secretariat 151
- 39 Enrolment in Language Courses 162
- 40 Applications for Language Courses 164
- 41 Results of the Language Training Programme 164

42	Students' Fields of Specialization and University Language Group	184
43	University Language Group and Students' Field of Specialization	188
44	Applicants to the JEO-FSO Programme	190
45	Applicants to the ST Programmes	190
46	Applicants' Satisfaction after the Interview	199
47	Importance of Knowing the Two Official Languages	200
48	Interest in the Federal Public Service after the Interview	200
49	Mother Tongue of Federal Departmental Public Servants	210
50	Occupation and Mother Tongue	215
51	Education and Mother Tongue	216
52	Place of Origin and Language	225
53	Career Plans in the Federal Public Service	247
54	Ethno-linguistic Groups in the Canadian Forces	306
55	Place of Posting and Ethno-linguistic Groups of Military Personnel	307
56	Field of Employment of Officers	315
57	Field of Employment of Men	318
58	Linguistic Skills of Military Personnel	319
59	Bilingualism of Military Personnel	320
60	Optimum Working Language of Military Personnel	323
61	Preference for a French-language Unit	324
62	Married Military Personnel and Ethno-linguistic Group of Wives	325
63	Service and Ethno-linguistic Group of Officers and Officer Cadets	327
A- 1	Bilingual Positions in Federal Departments and Agencies	356
A- 2	Location of Bilingual Positions	358
A- 3	Bilingual Positions and Occupations	360
A- 4	Linguistic Aptitudes in Seven Federal Agencies	361
A- 5	Optimum Working Language	362
A- 6	Optimum Working Language and Region of Posting	362
A- 7	Optimum Working Language and Occupation	363
A- 8	Knowledge of English, Length of Service, and Salary Advancement	363
A- 9	Survival and Acquisition of Optimum Working Language	364
A-10	Language Use at Work and at Home	365
A-11	Use of French and English in Seven Federal Agencies	366
A-12	Bilingualism and Contact with the Public	366
A-13	French Mail Received	367
A-14	Language of External Forms	369
A-15	Language and Translation of Publications	371
A-16	Language of Internal Forms	373
A-17	Language of Manuals and Circulars	375
A-18	Translation of French-Language Documents and Language used in File Indices	377

A-19	Optimum Working Language and Language Use at Work	380
A-20	Language Required in First Employment and Location of Posting	380
A-21	Language Required in First Employment and Mother Tongue	381
A-22	Period of Recruitment and Use of French Required in First Employment	381
A-23	Foreign Service Officers in the Department of External Affairs	382
A-24	Students Enrolled in Language Courses	383
A-25	Anglophone Public Servants and French Lessons	384
A-26	Anglophone Public Servants and Use of French	384
A-27	Anglophone Public Servants and Their Reasons for Learning French	385
A-28	Interest in a Career in the Federal Public Service	385
A-29	Attraction of the Federal Public Service	386
A-30	Cultural Adaptation of the Civil Service Commission's Publicity Material	386
A-31	Geographic Origin and Mother Tongue	387
A-32	Place of Work and Mother Tongue	387
A-33	Salary of Public Servants of French Mother Tongue	388
A-34	Period of Recruitment and Initial Salary	389
A-35	Annual Salary Increment and Length of Service	389
A-36	Annual Salary Increment	390
A-37	Annual Salary and Level of Schooling	390
A-38	Median Years of Schooling and Age	391
A-39	Mobility and Salary	391
A-40	Age and Mother Tongue	392
A-41	Employment Experience outside the Federal Public Service	392
A-42	Length of Service and Mother Tongue	393
A-43	Country of Origin	393
A-44	Mother Tongue and Language Group	394
A-45	Ethnic Origin and Language Group	394
A-46	Geographic Origin and Language Group	395
A-47	Geographic Origin and Occupation	396
A-48	Opinion of Cultural Activities and Educational Facilities in Ottawa	396
A-49	Opinion of Francophones towards Ottawa-Hull	397
A-50	Commitment of Francophones to the Federal Public Service	397
A-51	Commitment to the Federal Public Service and Bilingualism	398
A-52	Interdepartmental Mobility	398
A-53	Language of Education and Level of Schooling	399
A-54	Francophones with Weak Ability in English	399
A-55	Rank and Ethno-linguistic Group of Military Personnel	400
A-56	Ethno-linguistic Group of Military Personnel	400
A-57	Linguistic Ability of Military Personnel	401
A-58	Bilingualism of Military Personnel	402
A-59	Rank and Ability in English of Francophone Military Personnel	402
A-60	Bilingualism of Officers and Men	403

A-61	Optimum Working Language of Francophone Military Personnel	403
A-62	Optimum Working Language of F1 Military Personnel	404
A-63	Francophone Military Personnel Married to Anglophones	405
A-64	Mother Tongue of Public Servants in Seven Federal Agencies	407
A-65	Place of Work and Mother Tongue	408
A-66	Annual Salary Increment	410
A-67	National Research Council—Occupation and Mother Tongue	412
A-68	Air Canada — Occupation and Mother Tongue	412
A-69	Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation — Occupation and Mother Tongue	413
A-70	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation — Occupation and Mother Tongue	414
A-71	National Film Board — Occupation and Mother Tongue	414
A-72	Bank of Canada — Occupation and Mother Tongue	415
A-73	Royal Canadian Mounted Police — Occupation and Mother Tongue	415
A-74	Education and Mother Tongue	416
A-75	Mobility of Public Servants and Number of Years of Service	418
A-76	The Public Service as First Employer	420
A-77	Managers, Professionals, and Technicians	423
A-78	Education of Managers and Professionals	424
A-79	Median Annual Salary	425

Figures

1	Occupation and Ethnic Origin—Canada	39
2	Occupation and Ethnic Origin—Quebec	43
3	Occupation, Ethnic Origin, and Religion—Montreal	44
4	Linguistic Skill of Departmental Public Servants	122
5	Linguistic Skill of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments	123
6	Recruitment to the JEO-FSO Programme	196
7	Recruitment to the ST Programmes	196
8	Salary Levels of Departmental Public Servants	211
9	Mother Tongue of Departmental Public Servants, by salary level	212
10	Mobility of Male Departmental Public Servants	217
11	Median Age of Male Departmental Public Servants, by period of recruitment	218
12	First Permanent Job of Departmental Public Servants	219
13	Social Origin of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments	228
14	Schooling of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments	229
15	University Specialization of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments	230

- 16 Age at Entry into the Public Service of Middle-level Public
Servants in Five Federal Departments 232
- 17 Main Reason Given by Middle-level Public Servants in Five
Federal Departments for Joining the Public Service 234
- 18 Attitudes of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal
Departments towards the Promotion System 240
- 19 Opinions of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal
Departments on Living in the Ottawa-Hull Area 243
- 20 Percentage of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal
Departments Who Are "Uncommitted" to the Federal Public
Service or Who Plan to Leave it, by main reason for joining 247
- 21 Percentage of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal
Departments Earning \$9,000 or More Per Annum, by age group 251
- 22 Institution of the System of French-language Units in the
Headquarters of a Department (theoretical model) 269
- 23 Languages Used in Communication to and from the French-
language Unit 273
- 24 Canadian Forces Headquarters and Command Organization 299
- 25 Percentage Distribution of Military Personnel, by rank and
ethno-linguistic group 309
- 26 Ethno-linguistic Group of Military Personnel, by rank 311
- 27 Ethno-linguistic Group of Francophone Military Personnel,
by rank 313
- 28 Languages of Communications between Different Levels and
Sectors within Mobile Command (theoretical model) 335
- 29 The Language Bureau at Canadian Forces Headquarters 339

Part 3 The Private Sector

Introduction to Part 3

Chapter XII Participation and Language Use in the Private Sector

- A** Participation
 - The general pattern
 - Regional variations
- B** The Place of French
 - The general pattern
 - Regional variations
 - Internal and external communication
- C** Summary

Chapter XIII Barriers to Equal Partnership in Business

- A** Supply and Employment Patterns of University Graduates
 - Supply
 - Employment patterns
 - Occupational distribution of new university graduates
- B** Corporate Policies on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
- C** Cultural Differences in the Work World
- D** Corporate Personnel Practices
 - Recruitment
 - Training
 - Geographic mobility
 - Appraisal and promotion

Chapter XIV Some Examples of Linguistic Policies in Business

- A** Introduction
- B** Recent Developments in Quebec
- C** Hydro-Québec
- D** Marine Industries Ltd.
- E** Canadian National
- F** Alcan
- G** General Observations and Conclusions
 - Objectives
 - The environment
 - Markets

Chapter XV Equal Partnership in the Private Sector

- A** Introduction
- B** Equal Opportunity and Institutional Bilingualism
- C** Policies and Programmes for Change
- D** Recommendations to Industry
 - Recruitment
 - Employee training
 - Job transfers outside French-speaking regions
 - Promotion
 - Language training and translation
- E** The Role of the Federal Government
- F** Conclusion

Part 4 Conclusions

Chapter XVI Towards Equal Partnership in the Work World

- A** The Broader Economic and Social Context
 - The supply of qualified Francophones
 - Economic development
 - The urban situation
- B** The Agents of Change

1. The Commission's terms of reference charged us "to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races."¹ We believe that this partnership—which is essentially one between Francophone and Anglophone Canadians, whatever their ethnic origin—involves the underlying social and economic aspects of equality, as well as formal rights for the two languages.

Equal
partnership

2. Official equality of language has very limited significance if it is not accompanied by equality of economic opportunity. Unless a language can flourish in the world of work, legal guarantees of its use by government services, courts, and schools will not be able to ensure its long-term development. Formal linguistic equality is of little importance to those living under a system that always places them in inferior social and economic conditions. Such a partnership is not only unequal, but may in the long run imperil Confederation; the fate of the two cultures and the two dominant languages of Canada, within two distinct societies, ultimately depends on their positions in the work world and in the economy at large.

3. Statements made at our regional meetings, formal briefs, surveys we commissioned, and our own observations impressed on us the importance of the socio-economic aspects of equality. The dissatisfaction of Francophone Canadians derives in large part from what they perceive to be their inferior position vis-à-vis Anglophones in the work world. Again and again we came across such phrases as: "I have to hang up my language with my coat when I go to work"; "The bosses all talk English"; "The English-speaking always get the best jobs." As

The source of
Francophone
dissatisfaction

¹ The text of the terms of reference appears in Appendix I.

well, many Francophones in Quebec expressed resentment at having little influence and control over many of the economic decisions that affect both their material well-being and the capacity of their institutions (schools and the mass media, for example) to provide for their special needs. Detailed and systematic research confirmed many of the opinions we heard expressed.

Equal
partnership in
the work world

4. In the General Introduction to our *Report*, we said:

... equality between the two dominant languages and cultures cannot mean absolute equality of the members of both groups. The point at issue is essentially equality of opportunity, but a *real equality of opportunity*—an equality ensuring that the fact of speaking English or French would be neither a help nor a handicap to a person seeking entry into the institutions affecting our individual and collective life.¹

Thus, when we speak of equality of opportunity or of the participation of Francophone Canadians, we mean an equality and a participation that do not interfere with the maintenance of their language and culture. It would be a travesty of the concept of equal partnership to say, as some people do, that Francophones have the same advantages as Anglophones because they can rise as fast and as far if they have the ability to work in both languages. As we said in the General Introduction to our *Report*:

The equality to which we refer requires that a person who engages in some activity or associates with some institution need not renounce his own culture, but can offer his services, act, show his presence, develop, and be accepted with all his cultural traits.²

The importance
of language use

5. The question of language use is central. Working in a second language is a handicap to almost everyone. Few Anglophone Canadians would like to have their competence judged by their performance in work they were required to carry out in French. Yet, in both government and private enterprise, the higher the post, the more important is the precise, effective use of language. There is often a psychological effect on the person trying to function in a language not his own: realizing that his writing is laboured and his speech marred by faulty constructions, he becomes self-conscious, which in turn leads him to withdraw from events in which he might otherwise have taken an active part. Although effective written and oral presentation of ideas is not required of the majority of the labour force, a language barrier hindering easy oral communications with superiors and colleagues would represent a handicap for almost everyone.

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction (Ottawa, 1967), § 72.

² *Ibid.*, § 68.

6. One of the specific instructions in our terms of reference was “to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration” and “to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration.” We were also instructed “to report on the role of public and private organizations . . . in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country. . . .” In dealing with these subjects, we discovered many elements common to the federal Public Service and the private sector. Problems of language and factors relating to the presence and participation of Francophones are similar.

Parallel situations
in the public and
private sectors

7. Because so little pertinent data were available, we had to carry out extensive research studies, the findings of which form the body of this Book.¹ Our efforts to comprehend and assess the basic problems led to substantial investigations into the realms of income, occupation, and educational levels, and a study of the ways they are related to Francophone participation in federal agencies and large private business corporations. Because all these questions are closely interrelated, we decided to treat them in this one Book.

The research
findings

8. The results of these studies show that, socially and economically, Francophones are in a far weaker position than Anglophones in the work world. They are decidedly and consistently lower in average income levels, in schooling levels, in occupational scales, and in the ownership of industry. Reflecting these findings were those showing the meagre participation of Francophones in the upper levels of the federal Public Service and private industry and the restricted use of the French language in these institutions. The existence of disparity between Francophones and Anglophones is not new, but the depth and the extent of the differences revealed by our data emphasize the fact that the development of the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership calls for a determined attack on the sources of the disparities.

9. Because the costs of being Francophone tend to be greater and the benefits less, our purpose in this Book is to propose measures that will give Francophones a comparable status with Anglophones. This emphasis on the situation of Francophones does not mean that the present Anglophone position is in all respects ideal; there is room for improvement on both sides. However, if an equal partnership is to develop, Francophones must first acquire the same advantages that Anglophones now have.

¹ These studies are described briefly in Appendix VII.

The relation
between
participation and
language use

10. Language use and participation in the institutions of the work world are closely linked. The lack of Francophones in key posts in many public and private organizations is usually not the result of conscious discrimination. Rather, the very atmosphere, culture, and language arrangements are such that Francophones are handicapped in developing their capacities and in performing their work. Without the opportunity for self-expression in their own language, few Francophones are attracted to these organizations; so the use of the French language in the organizations atrophies and the presence of French culture is weakened. Some Francophones do become highly proficient in the use of English in their careers and still maintain their culture and the use of French in their family and social lives, but they are the exceptions.

11. Thus, while we have concentrated on language practices in the work world, we have been continually conscious of the related question of effective participation. Our recommendations are framed with the purpose of securing an active Francophone and Anglophone presence at all levels of the work organizations.

The historical
context

12. It is one thing to assess and analyze present disparities between Francophones and Anglophones; it is another thing to attempt to lay bare the deepest causes of these disparities. Several explanations are given for the relatively small participation of Francophones in the higher reaches of business and the federal administration. Some people tend to put the responsibility mainly on the Francophone population itself—on its alleged lack of interest in such careers, its preference for agriculture, and its concern for religion and the non-materialistic aspects of life. Another explanation puts the blame on the other side—on the effects of the Conquest, on the early and continued domination of business and government by the Anglophones, and on active discrimination against Francophones and the use of French. Some say that the Francophones in Quebec did not prepare themselves through their educational system for leading places in an industrial world; others retort that Francophones did not think it worthwhile to do so, because they were convinced that fair opportunities would not be open to them.

13. In every generation, some Anglophones have justified the dominance of the English language and the lack of high-level Francophones in their organizations by the "backwardness" of Francophones, and some Francophones in each generation have complained of the few opportunities open to them. In fact, of course, in every period of Canadian history some Francophones have held important positions in business and government, although they have not been numerous.

14. There is so much conflicting evidence and there are so many differing opinions about the historical causes of the socio-economic position of Francophones that we, as a Commission, did not find it possible, desirable, or necessary to come to conclusions ourselves. The chief aim of our research was to examine and analyze the present situation.

15. Furthermore, a new climate has developed in French-speaking Canada in recent years. Whatever may have been true of earlier periods is no longer true in the same way. Francophone Canadians are now showing a desire to take their place in every field of contemporary life. Great emphasis is being placed on science, technology, new initiatives, and new approaches. The Quebec educational system is in the midst of fundamental reform. To understand and evaluate such developments as these—which are changing the terms of Canada's bicultural existence—they must be seen in the context of present and likely future trends in the country's society and economy.

A new climate

16. The problems confronting Canadians must be seen in the context of an advanced industrial society, with all the characteristics that apply to such a society. Large organizations, public and private, have come to dominate the scene. Governments have a broader role than formerly, with their actions continually affecting many aspects of life and moulding developments in society.

An advanced
industrial society

17. Advanced techniques of many kinds are becoming increasingly important in industry, and opportunities are becoming more and more scarce for the unskilled and the poorly trained. At the current rate of innovation, Canada seems to be moving into a post-industrial stage of development in which a large portion of the work force will not be engaged in the actual production of goods but in the provision of services of various kinds, many of them requiring skills of a high order. Society appears to be transforming itself on a scale that is novel in human experience.

18. Along with these changes, new problems have developed and old, familiar ones have grown more acute. Industrialization favours some regions of the country more than others, with the result that the question of regional disparities—a question as old as Canada itself—is as serious today as ever. Studies have shown that a considerable proportion of Francophones live in economically backward areas.

19. Urbanization, a concomitant of industrialization, also raises a host of problems. More and more Canadians, both Francophone and Anglophone, are living in large cities. Future relations between Francophones and Anglophones will have to be worked out in the urban context and particularly in the great conurbation of Montreal, home of the second largest concentration of Francophones in the world.

The influence of
the United States

20. A further element in the setting of Canada's problems of bilingualism and biculturalism is the fact that our country shares a continent with the United States. American initiatives in business, science and technology, and the communications media are a challenging influence throughout most of the world, but have a particularly marked effect on Canada. These initiatives are transmitted through the medium of the English language and thus have a different impact on Francophone and Anglophone society. Efforts to balance this massive Anglophone influence should take into account all the existing and potential resources of the world-wide French-speaking community.

Organization
of Book III

21. The organization of this Book reflects the complex interrelations among the factors affecting bilingualism and biculturalism in the work world. Part 1 contains a comprehensive survey of relative Francophone-Anglophone status. The chief socio-economic measurements used are income, occupation, education, and ownership of industry. The data provide a framework in which to view the public and private sectors of the work world.

22. In Part 2 we examine the federal Public Service. After summarizing our extensive studies of language use and participation, we make recommendations respecting these areas. One chapter is devoted to the Canadian Forces.

23. Part 3 deals with the private sector of the work world. Our major observations relate to large corporations in Quebec, because of their critical role in providing work opportunities and in affecting large portions of the economy.

24. We recognize that the problems we are dealing with throughout this Book require solutions that are outside the scope of the Public Service and private industry. Therefore, at the end of the Book, in Part 4, where we try to bring together the main threads of analysis, we also put forth some general proposals for action that seem to us to embody essential requirements in the areas covered by our terms of reference.

25. Three basic and interrelated conditions are required for the development of equal partnership in Canada on a socio-economic level. First, the centres of power must be open to both Francophones and Anglophones. As we said in the General Introduction to our *Report*, both groups must "share in the direction of economic life, in making those decisions which so largely determine everyone's future living conditions. The presence or absence of a strong representation from each language group in the strategic posts of command . . . will do much to determine whether a sense of partnership exists."²

Significance of
socio-economic
status

26. Second, "The individual must . . . be able to find, at all levels of human activity, a setting which will permit him to develop, to express himself, and to create in accordance with his own culture."³ Such a setting is not possible without the necessary educational and financial means. Obviously, the cultural flowering of a linguistic group is impeded if, for economic reasons, many of its young members have to enter the labour force without completing their education, and if the struggle to provide food, shelter, and clothing for themselves and their families consumes an undue part of their time and energies.

27. In the General Introduction we also stated that "Every stratum of Canadian society has redefined its notion of the good life in terms

¹Data for Part 1 are taken primarily from the Census of Canada and other material collected by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The material was specially analyzed for the Commission in two studies: "La répartition des revenus selon les groupes ethniques au Canada," by André Raynauld, Gérald Marion, and Richard Béland, and "La propriété des entreprises au Québec," by André Raynauld. Unless otherwise stated, they have served as our sources in the whole of Part 1. These studies, which we will publish, represent an original and large-scale research effort.

²*Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 79.

³*Ibid.*, § 71.

of easy access to the fruits of modern technology.”¹ This brings us to the third condition: these fruits of progress must be equally accessible to all Canadians, both Anglophones and Francophones.

28. It is clear that these three conditions of equal partnership are related. A wealthy man, for instance, will probably hold a position of influence and have the education to pursue his cultural development.

Income 29. We have measured socio-economic status according to the following variables: income, education, occupation, and individual participation in the ownership of industry. Income is an index of material wealth. When the incomes of French- and English-speaking Canadians are compared, the present state of the partnership in terms of the fruits of economic and social progress will be described and illustrated. To develop his cultural expression, an individual must have an income large enough to enable him, among other things, to buy books, records, and art objects, to undertake studies in his own language, and to support either through taxes or directly the institutions which sustain his culture. Finally, a high income is almost invariably the reward for occupying a responsible and influential position.

Education 30. Education is important for its effect on cultural opportunities and for its role in enabling an individual to progress to his full potential. In the context of this Book, however, its main importance stems from its close relation to occupation and income.

Occupation 31. By examining the occupational distribution of Canadians, we can establish in a general way which people are filling the key positions. In addition, because high salaries are usually attached to such positions, the occupational variable can also tell us a good deal about the distribution of material wealth in Canada.

Participation in industrial ownership 32. Traditional economic thought has not taken the cultural-linguistic affiliations of industry owners into account. However, we have chosen to do so for a number of reasons. First, we are seeking to identify the economic élite of the country. Second, the language of work in a given firm, particularly at the management level, is likely to be the language of the owners. Finally, because the names of firms and their proprietors are such visible features of social life, ownership of industry is for most people a much more immediate sign of the relative status of Francophones and Anglophones than are income, education, and occupation.

Interaction of variables 33. The four variables by which we shall measure socio-economic status are interrelated. For example, a meagre education will likely result in a low-level occupation, which in turn will probably produce a poor income. An examination of the interaction of these variables

¹ *Ibid.*, § 98.

should lead to some understanding of the social processes that affect socio-economic status. Thus, our four variables are dynamic forces which work together to determine status and to impede or promote the development of equal partnership.

34. While we are primarily interested in the position of the two major language groups, the use of ethnic origin—rather than mother tongue or official language—as the main variable in Part 1 marks it off from Parts 2 and 3. The complex network of influences determining the relative statuses of individuals and groups can be adequately described only by considering the various ethnic origins—not just British and French—that are represented in the Canadian population. However, it is obvious that the linguistic variables follow the ethnic variable closely.

35. Because of the complexities attendant on such an extensive socio-economic analysis, we have tried to simplify matters somewhat by concentrating on the positions of the French and British¹ only. Although Canadians of other origins are frequently brought into the discussion, it is largely to enable the reader to see the positions of those of French and British origins in the wider Canadian context. The next Book of our *Report* will be devoted to Canadians of other origins.

¹ In Part 1, the terms "French," "British," "Germans," "Others," etc. refer to the ethnic origin of Canadians, and *not* to nationality.

36. The material advantages stemming from a high income are as obvious as they are sought after. Few indeed are those to whom money is a matter of indifference. It follows that, if there is a substantial disparity between the incomes of two groups, the less fortunate will generally have strong feelings of resentment and grievance. In most modern societies, serious income disparities figure among the prime causes of social unrest; with this in mind, we compare the positions of Canadians of French and British origin on the income scale.

37. Let us first consider the relative participation by Canadians of various origins in the country's total male labour force in 1961.¹ Those of British origin formed the largest proportion—44 per cent² of the total; Canadians of French origin were in second place with 28 per cent; those of German origin made up a further 6 per cent, those of Italian and Ukrainian origin approximately 3 per cent each, and those of Jewish origin about 1 per cent.³ These proportions should be borne in mind in order to keep in proper perspective the relative importance of Canadians of various origins in any income, educational, or occupational category. For instance, while 23 per cent of those of Ukrainian origin were farmers, only 5 per cent of all farmers across Canada were Ukrainian.

Labour force and ethnic origin

38. We discovered a very noticeable disparity in income between Canadians of French and British origin. If the average income of the

Income and ethnic origin

¹ We generally consider only the male labour force because of difficulties in interpreting the income statistics for the female labour force.

² Throughout the text, percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

³ Those of German, Ukrainian, and Italian origin were selected for individual study because they formed the next three largest segments of the Canadian population after those of British and French origin. Canadians of Jewish origin were included because they constituted one of the larger groups in Quebec and particularly in the Montreal metropolitan area.

total male labour force in Canada is expressed as 100 (Table 1), those of British origin stood 10 points (110) above the national average in 1961, while those of French origin fell 14 points (86) below it. All in all, then, 24 points divided the two groups.

39. Comparing only the non-agricultural workers (Table 1),¹ the disparity between the income indices for those of British and French origin remained much the same as that in the total labour force, falling only slightly, from 24 to 22 points. Canadian men of British origin earned on average nearly \$1,000 more in 1961 than those of French origin—\$4,852 compared with \$3,872.² Thus, in 1961, those of French origin were effectively earning about 80 per cent as much as those of British origin. But the British and the French did not quite form the extremes of the income scale, despite the disparity between their average incomes; the French stood higher than those of Italian origin and the income of the British was substantially lower than that of Jewish men. Nevertheless, the gap separating those of French and British origin was much wider than that separating the French from the Italians.

Table 1. Average Total Income

Average total income of the male non-agricultural labour force and of the total male labour force, by ethnic origin—Canada, 1961

	Non-agricultural male labour force		Total male labour force
	Dollars	Index	Index
All origins	4,414	100.0	100.0
British	4,852	109.9	109.8
French	3,872	87.7	85.8
German	4,207	95.3	103.1
Italian	3,621	82.0	81.0
Jewish	7,426	168.2	166.9
Ukrainian	4,128	93.5	86.8
Others	4,153	94.1	98.2

Source: André Raynauld, Gérald Marion, and Richard Béland, "La répartition des revenus selon les groupes ethniques au Canada."

¹ The average income of the total male labour force naturally includes those incomes derived from agricultural occupations. However, because of the techniques employed by the Census of Canada, the data on agricultural incomes are not strictly comparable with those for incomes received by the non-agricultural labour force. Consequently, unless otherwise stated, we have not considered the agricultural labour force.

² There is limited data available on median, as opposed to average, incomes. (The median is the value in the exact centre of a scale of values ranked according to size.) The median incomes of the two groups are \$4,300 and \$3,600 respectively. The disparity is now only \$700, or 16 per cent, while the disparity in their average incomes is \$980, or 20 per cent.

40. Regional disparities are a commonplace of Canadian economic life, and we must consider the effect of regional influences on income. For example, is the low income of a group in a given province due more to the economic underdevelopment of the province than to the inherent characteristics of the group?

41. It seems clear that both ethnicity and regional development are active determinants of income. To take the ethnic factor first, Canadians of British origin, while earning 10 per cent more than the national average, also stood in roughly the same proportion above each provincial average in all but two provinces, Newfoundland and Quebec (Table 2). In Newfoundland the average income of workers of British origin was virtually the same as the provincial average, which is scarcely surprising as British workers made up 94 per cent of Newfoundland's non-agricultural male labour force; in Quebec the British, with an income 40 per cent above the Quebec average, constituted an anomaly which we shall discuss more fully. The position of those of French origin was quite different: in every province they earned less than the provincial average.

42. If the income for those of British origin in each province tended always to exceed the average for that province, and the income for those of French origin to fall beneath it, both must have had some particular attributes or qualities which influenced their earning capacity. When we look at some Canadians of other origins, the influence of ethnicity on income is borne out again. Canadians of Jewish origin in Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba—the three provinces where they are a significant proportion of the population—had a substantially higher average income than the British in each of these provinces, just as they did for Canada as a whole. Those of Italian origin—who were at the bottom of the scale when the national averages were considered—earned less than the provincial average in every province for which we have data. Finally, the Germans, Ukrainians, and Others—all of whom had an average income slightly below the national average—received incomes higher than the provincial average in Quebec, but lower in virtually all the other provinces.

43. Ethnic origin is clearly linked with income level, but the impact of regional development on income is also apparent. Although the income for those of French origin was 13 per cent below the provincial average in both Prince Edward Island and Ontario, they did not earn the same income in both provinces, because the provincial averages themselves varied (Table 3). If we express the average income for all Canadians of French origin as 100, the index in Prince Edward Island would be 66 and that in Ontario would be 106.

Table 2. Average Total Income and Province

Average total income index of the male non-agricultural labour force, by province and ethnic origin—Canada, 1961

	All origins		British	French	German	Italian	Jewish	Ukrainian	Other
	Dollars	Index							
Canada	4,414	100	109.9	87.7	95.3	82.0	168.2	93.5	94.0
Newfoundland	2,972	100	99.5	93.4	*	*	—	—	*
Prince Edward Island	2,933	100	105.4	87.1	*	—	—	—	*
Nova Scotia	3,634	100	102.6	87.7	83.6	*	*	*	101.4
New Brunswick	3,499	100	106.1	85.8	118.4	*	*	*	101.8
Quebec	4,227	100	140.0	91.7	111.6	82.6	178.0	102.1	104.4
Ontario	4,706	100	106.9	87.0	94.7	77.4	136.8	91.3	91.5
Manitoba	4,434	100	108.4	82.4	94.1	*	174.6	84.1	87.9
Saskatchewan	4,086	100	109.3	84.9	90.8	*	*	93.4	89.2
Alberta	4,595	100	112.6	93.1	89.4	80.9	*	94.3	84.3
British Columbia, Yukon, and N.W.T.	4,772	100	106.9	95.2	87.8	76.6	*	88.6	87.6

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Bélard, "La répartition des revenus."

* Statistically insignificant.

Table 3. Average Total Income and Ethnic Origin

Average total income index of the male non-agricultural labour force, by province and ethnic origin—Canada, 1961

	All origins	Income index by ethnic origin						
		British	French	German	Italian	Jewish	Ukrainian	Other
Canada	(\$4,414) 100.0	(\$4,852) 100.0	(\$3,872) 100.0	(\$4,207) 100.0	(\$3,621) 100.0	(\$7,426) 100.0	(\$4,128) 100.0	(\$4,153) 100.0
Newfoundland	67.3	61.0	71.7	*	*	—	—	*
Prince Edward Island	66.4	63.7	66.0	*	—	—	—	*
Nova Scotia	82.3	76.8	82.3	72.2	*	*	*	88.7
New Brunswick	79.2	76.5	77.5	98.4	*	*	*	85.7
Quebec	95.7	121.9	100.2	112.1	96.4	101.3	104.6	106.3
Ontario	106.6	103.7	105.7	105.9	100.7	86.7	104.1	113.7
Manitoba	100.4	99.1	94.4	99.2	*	104.2	90.4	93.9
Saskatchewan	92.5	92.0	89.6	88.2	*	*	92.5	87.7
Alberta	104.1	106.6	110.4	97.6	102.6	*	105.0	92.3
British Columbia, Yukon, and N.W.T.	108.1	105.1	117.3	99.6	101.0	*	102.4	100.7

Source: Raynald, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

* Statistically insignificant.

44. The same pattern may be observed for men of British origin. If their average income across Canada is taken as 100, the index would be 64 in Prince Edward Island and 104 in Ontario. In other words, people of the same origin will be richer in a rich province than in a poor province.

45. When the correlation between the average incomes by origin and province was established statistically, it appeared that the incomes of some groups followed the regional fluctuations more closely than others. The Canadians whose income followed the provincial averages most closely were those of French origin. Next came the British and then the Germans. The remainder of the population (considered as a unit to permit the calculation of correlations) would seem to be the least affected by regional variations.

46. Yet, although all Canadians were affected to a greater or lesser degree by their location in Canada, the fact remains that the relative position of the French and the British was more or less constant throughout the country.

Income and
language groups

47. Disparities of income can also be analyzed according to language groups. Two language criteria are employed by the Census of Canada, one based on mother tongue and the other on official language. We shall look at both.

Mother tongue

48. In the male labour force, the distribution of incomes between the groups of French and English mother tongue was very much the same as the distribution according to ethnic origin. This is scarcely surprising, as 96 per cent of those of French mother tongue were of French origin; the same applies to a somewhat lesser extent to those of English mother tongue, 79 per cent of whom were of British origin. On the other hand, only 8 per cent of those of French origin in the male labour force did not have French as their mother tongue, while only 1 per cent of those of British origin did not have English as mother tongue.

49. Just as the income of members of the male labour force of French origin was 20 per cent less than the income of those of British origin, the income of those of French mother tongue was less than the income of those of English mother tongue by the same proportion. The same parallelism was also found at the provincial level. In Quebec, those of French mother tongue earned 37 per cent less than those of English mother tongue, and those of French origin 35 per cent less than those of British origin. In Ontario and New Brunswick, the difference between those of French and English mother tongue and those of French and British origin was 19 per cent for both comparisons. These figures indicate that Canadians of French origin who are assimilated into

the English-speaking community do not experience any appreciable rise in income. British Columbia was an exception in that the difference between the two mother-tongue groups stood at 4 per cent, but rose to 11 per cent when the two were compared by ethnic origin. This was because those of French origin whose mother tongue was English earned less (\$4,594) than those who had retained French as their mother tongue (\$4,821).

50. The Census of Canada distinguishes four official-language categories: those speaking English only, those speaking French only, those speaking both official languages, and those speaking neither.¹ Generally speaking, bilingual Canadians of all origins received higher average incomes than unilingual Canadians of all origins; they had the highest average income (\$4,745), followed by the unilingual Anglophones (\$4,541), and then the unilingual Francophones (\$3,088). This same ranking by official language also applied to the populations of French and British origin when they were analyzed separately (Table 4).

Income and
bilingualism

Table 4. Average Total Income and Official Languages

Percentage distribution and average total income of the male non-agricultural labour force, by ethnic origin and knowledge of official languages—Canada and Quebec, 1961

Ethnic origin	Canada			Quebec	
	Knowledge of official languages	Distribution %	Average income	Distribution %	Average income
British	Overall average	100.0	\$4,852	100.0	\$5,918
	English only	93.2	4,758	53.7	6,049
	French only	0.3	2,535	2.2	2,783
	Both	6.5	6,284	44.0	5,929
French	Overall average	100.0	3,872	100.0	3,880
	English only	6.4	4,017	0.4	5,775
	French only	36.5	3,097	45.8	3,107
	Both	57.1	4,350	53.8	4,523
All origins	Overall average	100.0	4,414	100.0	4,227
	English only	67.6	4,541	11.1	5,502
	French only	10.7	3,088	36.7	3,099
	Both	21.6	4,745	52.2	4,772

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ This last category is not considered here, as it represented less than half of 1 per cent of the male labour force in 1961.

51. However, the difference *between* Canadians of French and British origin remained, since the latter had the higher average income in both the English-only and bilingual categories. As a result of this disparity, the unilingual Anglophone men of British origin actually earned more than the bilingual men of French origin. It appears that ethnic origin has a greater impact on incomes than does linguistic knowledge.

52. The same applied in Quebec. Whether unilingual Anglophones or all bilingual Quebecers were considered, those of British origin always earned the higher incomes. But bilingual Quebecers of both origins had lower average incomes than unilingual Anglophones of British origin. In the province as a whole, those speaking only English had an average income of \$5,502, those who were bilingual earned \$4,772, and those who spoke only French earned \$3,099. Statistical tests applied to Montrealers of all origins indicated that these differences were considerably reduced when the other factors which characterize bilingual people were taken into account (for instance, a higher level of schooling). However, for those of French and other origins, bilingualism did show a positive contribution to average income, while for Canadians of British origin, bilingualism had only an insignificant effect on income.¹

Types of income

53. The total income we have been considering has three distinguishable constituents: labour income (salaries, wages, commissions, net income of businessmen and professionals working independently); investment income (interest, dividends, rents, annuities, etc.); and transfer payments (family allowances, old age pensions, and money received under other government social security measures). We shall confine our comments to labour income, the largest and most important component of the total income.

Labour income

54. Labour income is naturally somewhat lower than total income, but the principal conclusions reached above still apply. The income disparities between Canadians of different origins remain roughly the same, except that, with the exclusion of investment income and transfer payments, the proportion by which those of Jewish origin exceeded the national average falls from 68 to 60 per cent. However, regional disparities in income become stronger. Between the richest and the poorest provinces, the disparity in total incomes was 63 per cent, but it rose to 75 per cent when labour income alone was analyzed. The regional disparities in labour income for Canadians of the same ethnic origin were more marked when transfer payments were excluded. Clearly, transfer payments have an equalizing influence on average provincial incomes.

¹ See §§ 178 ff. for a more detailed examination of bilingualism.

55. Among those earning labour income, a distinction may be drawn between salary- and wage-earners and the self-employed. With the exception of Canadians of Jewish origin, the proportion in the self-employed category does not vary much according to ethnic origin. In Quebec, for instance, 43 per cent of Jewish men were self-employed, compared with 11 per cent of those of French origin, 7 per cent of the British, and 8 per cent of the Italians. Nationally, the disparity between all the groups was less pronounced than in Quebec, except for those of Jewish origin.

56. Table 5 gives the average labour income of Quebec male salary- and wage-earners classified by 14 ethnic origins instead of the usual six (those italicized in the table) in order to indicate the latter's relative position in the non-agricultural labour force as a whole. In Quebec, the average labour income for salary- and wage-earners only was 12 per cent lower than the average for total labour income. The income ranking according to origin scarcely changed between the two types of income—except for those of Jewish origin. Because of their large proportion of higher-income, self-employed workers, the average income of Jewish salary- and wage-earners was much less (\$4,851) than the total group's labour income (\$6,534). Canadians of British origin had the highest labour income among the salary- and wage-earners, followed by those of Jewish, German, and Ukrainian origin,

Table 5. Labour Income

Average labour income of male salary- and wage-earners, by ethnic origin—Quebec, 1961

	Labour income	
	Dollars	Index
All origins	\$3,469	100.0
<i>British</i>	4,940	142.4
Scandinavian	4,939	142.4
Dutch	4,891	140.9
<i>Jewish</i>	4,851	139.8
Russian	4,828	139.1
<i>German</i>	4,254	122.6
Polish	3,984	114.8
Asiatic	3,734	107.6
<i>Ukrainian</i>	3,733	107.6
Other European	3,547	102.4
Hungarian	3,537	101.9
<i>French</i>	3,185	91.8
<i>Italian</i>	2,938	84.6
Indian	2,112	60.8

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

in that order. All of these were above the provincial average. Those of French origin were below the provincial average, as were the Italians. The average labour income of the salary- and wage-earners of British origin was \$4,940—55 per cent higher than that of French salary- and wage-earners, whose average income was \$3,185, and 68 per cent higher than that of Italian salary- and wage-earners, whose average income was \$2,928.

Summary

57. In summary, Canadians of French origin earned about 80 per cent of the average income of those of British origin. Those of Jewish origin earned more than the British, those of Italian origin less than the French. The Germans, Ukrainians, and Others fell between the British and French levels.

58. Regional factors played some part in determining incomes for the population as a whole and for Canadians of each ethnic origin. This was particularly true for those of French and British origin, although in Quebec the average income of the British exceeded the provincial average by much more than its usual advantage.

59. Relative income according to mother tongue was very similar to that according to ethnic origin, except in British Columbia. Bilingual Canadians tended to have higher incomes than unilingual Canadians, but in Quebec unilingual Anglophones had the highest incomes. In either case, compared with those of French origin, those of British ancestry achieved the highest average incomes, unless they happened to speak only French.

60. Education plays a key role in economic development. In an economy as advanced as Canada's, simple literacy is no longer enough. Rather, the minimum requirement for any person in the labour force is a good, all-round education; he must have the general knowledge and flexibility of mind to cope with the increasingly rapid changes produced by modern technology in both types and methods of work. For this reason, more and more stress is being placed on keeping students in school for a longer period of time. This trend is manifested by the recent recommendation of the United States National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress that 14 years of free public schooling be the minimum standard henceforth.¹

Education for a
technological
society

61. Modern industry also requires a ready supply of workers with a specialized technical education and the necessary skills to employ the latest advances in scientific method. Indeed, the writing is on the wall for the unskilled labourers. Forming 13 per cent of the male labour force in Canada in 1931, this proportion had fallen to 7 per cent by 1961.

62. Modern industry also needs a properly trained managerial and administrative staff. The upper ranks of today's corporations include not only lawyers, engineers, and accountants, but also physical and social scientists, as well as increasing numbers of graduates in business administration. There is little room for the untrained at these levels.

63. If the economy of a country is dependent for its continued development on the existence of such academic qualifications as these among the labour force, then any group which is cut off from attain-

¹ *Technology and the American Economy: Report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, I* (Washington, D.C., 1966), 110.

ing these qualifications will share only marginally in the social advantages stemming from industrial progress. The key positions will not be open to them; the possibilities of developing their own cultural potential will be lessened; and material affluence will most definitely not be theirs. In other words, the socio-economic conditions for equal partnership depend in large part for their fulfilment on equality of schooling. Thus, when we compare Canadian Francophones and Anglophones on the scholastic scale, we are dealing with a matter that profoundly affects their relative positions in the Canadian society and economy, both now and in the future.

Schooling and ethnic origin

64. Table 6 summarizes the level of schooling for the male labour force of various ethnic origins in 1961. It shows that 54 per cent of those of French origin had not passed beyond the elementary level, but for those of British origin the proportion was 31 per cent, while the national average for all origins was 42 per cent.

Table 6. Schooling

Percentage distribution of the male non-agricultural labour force, by ethnic origin and level of schooling—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Level of schooling					Total
	None	Elementary	Secondary		University	
			1-2 years	3-5 years		
British	0.3	30.6	25.2	31.4	12.5	100
French	0.7	53.5	21.4	18.1	6.3	100
German	*	40.1	21.8	28.5	9.2	100
Italian	*	71.0	12.8	11.9	3.0	100
Jewish	*	26.8	15.2	31.5	25.5	100
Ukrainian	*	46.7	21.3	23.0	7.9	100
Others	1.5	42.6	19.3	25.7	10.9	100
All origins	0.6	41.0	22.5	25.8	10.1	100

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

* Statistically insignificant.

65. If Canadian men of other origins are ranked according to the proportion of those having only elementary education, their relative positions exactly mirror the ranking by average income. The men with the highest average income, those of Jewish origin, had the lowest proportion of those with no more than elementary schooling. Next were those of British origin, followed by the Canadians of German, Other, and Ukrainian origins. Those of French origin were second from bottom, outranking only those of Italian origin.

66. Substantially the same order is apparent if the labour force is ranked by the proportion having a university education. A very high percentage of Jewish people had a university education. In effect, one person of Jewish origin in four had been to university, while for those of British origin the ratio was one in eight, for those of French origin it was one in 16, and for those of Italian origin it was one in 32.

67. In the United States, the level of education is higher than in Canada. For example, at the beginning of 1965, 52 per cent of the U.S. population 18 years and over had completed high school education. For the Canadian population aged 17 years and over, the proportion was only 26 per cent.¹

68. If an appropriate weighting system is adopted to account for the differing educational structure in Quebec, an average expressing the number of school years completed by the labour force in each province can be calculated (Table 7). Regional variations are again in evidence, with British Columbia and Ontario standing well above the national average, and Quebec and New Brunswick well below it. The indices suggest, in fact, that the British Columbian student had on average over two years more schooling to his credit than the Quebec student. Of the three metropolitan areas given in the table, Ottawa and Toronto were far above the national average, but Montreal fell slightly below.

Schooling, ethnic
origin, and region

69. Across Canada, the average number of years of schooling for those of various origins remained much the same as the pattern noted above, with the Canadians of Jewish and British origin heading the list and those of French and Italian origin bringing up the rear. In Quebec there was some variation from this pattern. Those of German origin had more years of schooling in this province than elsewhere in the country; they were at the top of the list, followed by those of British origin and then those of Jewish origin.

70. Canadians of British origin had the most years of schooling in British Columbia among the provinces, and in Ottawa among the three metropolitan areas given in Table 7. They most exceeded the provincial average in Quebec, by more than two and a half years. Those of French origin had most years of instruction in British Columbia among the provinces, and in Toronto among the metropolitan

¹ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Educational Attainment of the Canadian Population and Labour Force: 1960-1965*, by Frank J. Whittingham (Special Labour Force Studies, No. 1, Cat. 71-505, Ottawa, 1966). On page 18 the study cautions that "Because of data limitations it was necessary to compare the educational attainment of the United States population 18 years and over as of March, 1965 with the Canadian population 17 years and over as of February, 1965. . . . This comparison should also be treated with caution because of differences in the educational systems between the two countries and differences in the questions used to ascertain level of education in the two countries."

Table 7. Educational Level

Educational level attained¹ (last grade attended) by the male non-agricultural labour force, in selected provinces and metropolitan census areas, by ethnic origin—Canada, 1961

	All origins	British	French	German	Italian	Jewish	Ukrainian	Other
Canada	8.45	9.43	7.08	8.69	6.15	10.08	8.07	8.46
<i>Provinces</i>								
New Brunswick	7.50	8.19	5.88	8.00	*	*	*	8.81
Quebec ²	7.04	9.60	7.00	10.17	5.52 ^a	9.54	8.61	8.60
Ontario	8.81	9.42	7.44	8.71	6.17	10.09	7.85	8.44
British Columbia, Yukon, and N.W.T.	9.35	10.13	8.79	9.04	7.32	*	7.82	8.61
<i>Metropolitan Areas</i>								
Montreal ²	8.12	9.98	7.54	10.09	5.95	9.53	7.53	8.95
Ottawa	9.71	10.94	8.28	10.10	6.70	11.75	10.07	10.32
Toronto	9.23	9.83	8.38	9.61	5.74	9.92	8.08	9.06

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

* Statistically insignificant.

¹ Weighted to account for the different educational structure in Quebec. See Raynauld *et al.*, "La répartition des revenus."

² The figures for Quebec and Montreal in this table are not strictly comparable to the figures in Table 6.

areas. They never exceeded a provincial average and were furthest below it in New Brunswick, where their level of schooling was an average of just under six years.

71. Up to this point we have examined the educational level of the members of the male labour force who have entered the employment market at various times over the past 40 years. Clearly then, the past weighs heavily on the present situation. To discern more clearly the developing patterns that will shape the future, we must single out for attention the younger population, the labour force of tomorrow.

72. Table 8 presents the proportions of two age groups who were still attending school in 1961. More than 60 per cent of Canadian males aged 15 to 19 years were students. This proportion drops to 11 per cent for those aged 20 to 24. Quebec had the second lowest proportions in the younger age group still at school (if girls had been included, it would have had the lowest). British Columbia had the highest proportion. For the group aged 20 to 24 years, Quebec had a higher percentage still attending school than any of the Atlantic provinces, but a lower percentage than any province to its west. As we know that those of British origin in Quebec had a level of schooling considerably higher than the average for the province,¹ it is probable that the school attendance of those of French origin in Quebec was lower than the figures in the table would suggest. Still, it must be remembered that our data

School attendance

Table 8. School Attendance

Percentage of males in two age groups attending school, by province—Canada, 1961

	15-19 years of age	20-24 years of age
Canada	61.2	11.3
Newfoundland	54.3	5.3
Prince Edward Island	50.8	8.4
Nova Scotia	57.4	7.6
New Brunswick	56.5	9.0
Quebec	54.1	10.9
Ontario	65.8	12.6
Manitoba	64.5	11.7
Saskatchewan	65.4	11.6
Alberta	67.8	11.0
British Columbia	70.3	13.3

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-557.

¹ "In Quebec the proportion of students who go from Protestant high schools to the university is certainly one of the highest in the world, almost double that in other Canadian provinces." *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec* (Montreal, 1965), II, § 323.

refer to 1961, and thus cannot take into account the recent changes in the Quebec educational system.

73. The sizable disparity between Francophone and Anglophone students in Quebec is confirmed by the figures for school attendance calculated by the Parent Commission. In the age group 13 to 16 years, school attendance among the Roman Catholics stood at two-thirds the level maintained by the Protestants.¹ The projections made by the Parent Commission suggest, however, that this gap will have been closed by 1971-2.²

74. Among 17- and 18-year-old boys, the Roman Catholic level was half that of the Protestants. A disparity of the same order also appeared for university education among those aged 20 to 24 years: the Francophone level was about half that of the Anglophone level.³

Retention rate

75. Another revealing index of educational achievement is the retention rate of the various provincial systems. This measures the proportion of those starting their schooling together in a given year who survive at each succeeding grade. As Table 9 shows, between 1951-2 and 1961-2, the Quebec Roman Catholic system had the lowest retention rates. Although Quebec ranked above New Brunswick in the educational level of its labour force, New Brunswick displayed a higher retention rate. The Quebec Protestant system had a higher retention rate than the Quebec Roman Catholic system.

Table 9. School Retention Rates

Retention rates for male students who started school in 1951-2 in New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario

	Grade vii 1957-8	Grade ix 1959-60	Grade xi 1961-2
New Brunswick	98	84	50
Quebec Roman Catholic ¹	88	67	38
Quebec Protestant	87	74	54
Ontario	100	92	52

Source: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Student Progress through the Schools, by Age and Grade, 1965* (Ottawa, 1966), Cat. 81-530.

¹ D.B.S. notes in this publication, "Every effort has been made to ensure that enrolments in the private sector of the Quebec Roman Catholic system have been fully covered. Total enrolments include data from the following types of institutions: schools under control, independent schools, classical colleges, religious institutes, modern secondary colleges, specialized institutes, institutes of technology, craft schools, intermediate schools, household agricultural schools, and family institutes."

² *Ibid.*, II, Appendix, 395; IV, § 155.

³ *Ibid.*, II, Appendix, 394.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 396-9.

76. At Grade VII there was a disparity of 12 points between the retention rates of the Ontario and the Quebec Roman Catholic systems, but it reached 25 points at the Grade IX level.¹ On the other hand, a high drop-out rate occurred later in Ontario between Grade IX and Grade XI and, as a result, the difference between the Quebec Roman Catholic and Ontario systems was reduced to 14 points at the Grade XI level.

77. In comparison with standards in the United States, even the most effective Canadian system leaves much to be desired. By 1964, 77 per cent of all pupils were completing Grade XI in the United States. The highest Canadian completion rate—that of Quebec Protestants matriculating at Grade XI—was 54 per cent. However, the Canadian systems showed marked progress between 1960 and 1964: the proportion retained at Grade XI rose by 29 per cent in the Quebec Roman Catholic system and by 14 per cent in the Ontario system. But there is still much room for improvement.

78. The tables used so far in this chapter cannot fully take into account the profound changes that have taken place in the Quebec educational system since 1960. The changes are too recent for their full effects to be measured; they are sometimes even too recent for the data on the new situation to have been put on a comparable basis with the data on the old system. However, we have been able to calculate the enrolment increase in institutions of higher and post-secondary learning across the country up to 1966-7 (Table 10).

Enrolments

79. From 1955 to 1960 the average annual increase in the number of post-secondary students was 12 per cent in Quebec, 8 per cent in Ontario, and 11 per cent in the country as a whole. By contrast, the rates in the period from 1960 to 1964 had evened out to 14 per cent in all three areas. But in the two most recent years for which we have data (1965-6 and 1966-7), the increase in enrolment was lower in Quebec than in Ontario and the country as a whole. Nevertheless, it can be said that educational expansion at the university and college level has been general throughout Canada since 1960.

80. The quality of schooling is at least as important as its quantity. Unfortunately, the quality of education is a difficult thing to assess. One factor that can be measured and expressed statistically is the qualifications of the teachers in the different systems. Table 11 lists

Qualifications of teachers

¹ Absolute disparities can be expressed in percentage points. Percentages are relative measures. Thus, at the Grade IX level, the retention rate was 92 per cent in Ontario, but only 67 per cent in the Quebec Roman Catholic system. The absolute disparity was therefore 25 points. To express this disparity as a percentage of the Ontario rate, it must be divided by the retention rate in Ontario—that is, 92—multiplied by 100: $\frac{25}{92} \times 100$. The disparity is therefore 27 per cent. In other words, the disparity of 25 points represents a retention rate 27 per cent lower than that of Ontario.

Table 10. School Enrolments

Increase of enrolments in institutions of post-secondary and higher education, from 1955-6 to 1966-7—Quebec, Ontario, and Canada

	Quebec	Ontario	Canada
Full-time students			
1955-6	23,997	22,642	72,737
1960-1	37,843	32,100	113,857
1964-5	59,400	50,793	178,238
1965-6	67,316	58,983	205,888
1966-7	75,070	68,589	232,672
Average annual increase (%)			
1955-6 to 1960-1	11.5	8.4	11.3
1960-1 to 1964-5	14.2	14.6	14.1
1964-5 to 1965-6	13.3	16.1	15.5
1965-6 to 1966-7	11.5	16.3	13.0

Source: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Survey of Higher Education, Pt. II: Degrees, Staff, and Summary*, 1964-5 and 1965-6 to 1966-7, Cat. 81-211.

the percentage of elementary and secondary school teachers in each province who, in the academic years 1961-2 and 1962-3, were fully qualified (see note 1 to Table 11).

81. The statistics show a striking discrepancy between eastern and western Canada. In 1962-3 in all the provinces east of Ontario, except Nova Scotia, fewer than half the teachers were fully qualified; from Ontario westward the proportion varied from 77 to 87 per cent. The Quebec Protestant system, with 62 per cent of its teachers qualified, fell between the norm for most of eastern Canada and the standard of the rest of the country. In the Quebec Roman Catholic system, however, only 44 per cent of the lay teachers were classed as fully qualified.¹ The Quebec Roman Catholic system was 14 points ahead of the average for the three less developed eastern provinces on the one hand, and more than 40 points behind the average for the provinces to the west on the other.

82. A comparison with the figures for the previous year (1961-2) reveals that the Roman Catholic system in Quebec has enjoyed the greatest increase in the number of teachers—4,400, or 13 per cent, in one year. As a consequence of this rapid expansion, the proportion in the Roman Catholic system with full qualifications has slightly declined, even though there was a rise in the *number* of fully qualified teachers.

¹ Data are available for lay teachers only.

Table 11. Teacher Qualifications

Numbers of elementary and secondary school teachers and percentages who are fully qualified, by province—Canada, 1961-2 and 1962-3

	1961-2		1962-3	
	Number	Percentage fully qualified ¹	Number	Percentage fully qualified
Newfoundland	4,502	19.8	4,789	21.2
Prince Edward Island	1,013	16.2	1,072	21.2
Nova Scotia	6,591	70.5	7,176	68.0
New Brunswick	6,039	33.5	6,268	37.9
Quebec Roman Catholic ²	33,821	47.5	38,222	44.2
Quebec Protestant	5,099	54.5	5,384	62.2
Ontario	50,912	84.6	54,176	85.3
Manitoba	7,666	71.2	8,253	77.3
Saskatchewan	8,997	87.3	9,246	86.6
Alberta	12,414	77.7	13,136	78.9
British Columbia	12,514	85.7	13,311	86.1

Source: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Cat. 81-210, 1961-2 and 1962-3. The school year 1962-3 is the last year for which data are available on a comparable basis.

¹ The Dominion Bureau of Statistics defines this as follows: "Fully qualified elementary teachers are those with junior matriculation and two or more years, or senior matriculation and one or more years of professional training. At the secondary level they are teachers with four or more years of education beyond junior matriculation including professional training." Differences in the various provincial systems require that the data on teacher qualifications be treated with caution.

² Lay teachers only. Taking all teachers in schools "under control" in Quebec would bring the total to 49,586 in 1961-2 and to 53,885 in 1962-3. These figures compare with those given for the other provinces. By 1965-6 the total number of teachers in elementary and secondary schools would seem to have been 62,200 in Quebec and 66,164 in Ontario. (Dominion Bureau of Statistics.)

83. Four main points stand out in this chapter. First, while the educational level of Canadians as a whole compared unfavourably with that achieved in the United States, levels of schooling also differed markedly among Canadians of different ethnic origins. The ranking strongly resembled the findings on levels of income. Those of British origin had an average of two more years of schooling than those of French origin.

84. Second, educational levels varied from one part of the country to another. British Columbia and Ontario stood well above the national average; Quebec and New Brunswick, for example, were below it. The ranking by ethnic origin did not change substantially in the different regions: those of French origin invariably had a level of schooling below the provincial average.

Summary

85. Third, until 1961 the prospects of the labour force of French origin reducing the gap in its level of education did not seem very bright. In Quebec, the proportion of students aged 15 to 19 years and 20 to 24 years still in school was one of the lowest in the country, and school attendance among the Roman Catholics was considerably lower than among the Protestants in the province. Further, Quebec Roman Catholic schools were retaining only 38 per cent of their students in Grade XI, in comparison with 50, 52, and 54 per cent for the New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec Protestant schools respectively. More recent data on enrolments in post-secondary institutions indicated a striking expansion at this level in Quebec, but this phenomenon was by no means unique to the province, so the original disparity remains.

86. Finally, the proportion of lay teachers in the Quebec Roman Catholic system considered fully qualified was 40 points lower than that of the provinces west of Quebec.

87. In the opening paragraphs of this chapter we stressed the important role played by level of schooling in determining an individual's socio-economic position in a technological society. Canadians of French origin were consistently below other Canadians in each of the measures employed to establish educational levels. This disparity affects the relative distribution of the two groups among the various occupations, with damaging results to their mutual relations. Yet in the perspective of the future, the consequences are graver still: in the years to come the progress of the country and of its constituent population groups will depend to a great extent on the development of a highly skilled labour force.

88. The kind of work a man does to earn his living provides a good measurement of his socio-economic status. It determines in large measure the monetary rewards he receives, and it indicates whether or not he is in a position to influence the lives of others. A comparable distribution of Francophone and Anglophone Canadians along the occupational scale would reflect the existence of an equal partnership; a greater concentration of one group in the low-paying, less influential occupations would be a symptom of inequality.

89. However, the existence of equal partnership does not demand that the two groups be identically distributed in the occupational structure, nor does it require that there be no differences between them. In fact, at each level of the social structure there can be differences which simply reflect the preferences and cultural characteristics of each group. The absence of distinctive occupational patterns does not necessarily signify the existence of an equal partnership, just as the existence of differences is not necessarily a proof or a cause of inequality. Differences at comparable levels of the social scale do not seem to us to be very significant, but the concentration of one group in the occupations at the top of the scale, and the concentration of the other group in those at the bottom, is an indication of a real socio-economic inequality.

Difference and
inequality

90. The rapidly changing occupational structure of the country is an important factor in this analysis. The relative importance of the various occupations in an economy centred on agriculture is obviously very different from that in a largely industrial economy. As Canada moves through the stages of economic development, some occupations are declining in significance while others are rising. If one section of the

Changing
occupational
structure

Occupational
status and
ethnic origin

population is disproportionately clustered in the declining occupations, while another group is well to the fore in the expanding occupations, then any present inequality in the sharing of wealth and influence will become much more acute, unless some remedial action is taken. The distribution of occupations between Canadians of French origin and those of British origin is, therefore, a measurement of both the existing and the likely future state of the partnership.

91. A broad picture of the occupational distribution can be obtained by means of an index expressing the distribution of the labour force among various occupational categories ranked according to the average income they command. Table 12 gives the indices for Canadians of different ethnic origins in the male labour force.

Table 12. Occupational Status

Indices of occupational status¹ for the male labour force, by ethnic origin—Canada^{*} 1961

British	1.000
French	0.925
German	0.913
Italian	0.892
Jewish	1.312
Ukrainian	0.892
Others	0.933

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ For the purposes of calculating this index, 13 occupational categories were identified.

92. The table shows that the labour force of British origin is more strongly concentrated in the high-income occupations than that of French origin: if the index for the British is taken as 1.000, that of the French is 0.925. The position of the French is above the levels for the Canadians of German and Ukrainian origin, although the French rank lower on the income scale than these two groups.¹ The labour force of French origin, in other words, ranks higher on an occupational scale than it does on the income scale. The occupational index for those of Jewish origin, like their income index, is exceptionally high—about one-third again as high as the index for those of British origin.²

¹ See § 39 and Table 1 in Chapter I.

² B. R. Blishen, using 1951 census figures, ranked the various occupations according to income and level of schooling and obtained results similar to ours. In the upper-level occupations, those of Jewish origin had an index decisively above the levels for the rest of the labour force. They were followed in order by those of British, French, German, Italian, and Ukrainian origin. See B. R. Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXIV, No. 4 (Toronto, 1958), 519-25.

93. As Table 13 shows, the Canadian male labour force was essentially an urban one in 1961. Farming occupations accounted for only 12 per cent of the labour force, having shrunk from 34 per cent in 1931 and 20 per cent in 1951. Another diminishing category was that of unskilled labour; it accounted for 13 per cent of the labour force in 1931, but only 6 per cent in 1961. The proportion in the craftsman category rose from 17 to 29 per cent between 1931 and 1951, but this increase slowed down to less than 1 per cent between 1951 and 1961. Two categories which are clearly expanding are the managerial, and the professional and technical. Between 1931 and 1961, the former rose from 6 to 10 per cent and the latter from 4 to 8 per cent. In order to show more clearly the part played by Canadians of various origins in the country's transition to an advanced industrial society, we shall omit farming from the following discussion and concentrate on the four trend-setting occupational categories: managers, professionals and technicians, craftsmen and production workers, and labourers.¹

Occupations
over time

94. In occupational distribution, the differences between those of British and French origin are quite substantial. In 1961, 21 per cent of the British, compared with 14 per cent of the French, were in the top occupational brackets (professionals and managers); in the two blue-collar categories (craftsmen and unskilled labourers), those of French origin had the larger proportion: 39 per cent, compared with 30 per cent for those of British origin.

Occupation and
ethnic origin

95. In Figure 1 we have presented the proportions which Canadians of six different origins formed in these four occupational categories. The most noticeable item is the consistency of the order formed by the six with respect to their concentrations in each category. In both of the high-paying, expanding categories,² those of Jewish origin had the highest concentration, followed serially by the British, Germans, French, Ukrainians, and Italians. The concentrations were reversed in

¹ The service occupations—whose rapid expansion is considered a prime characteristic of the post-industrial society—include in this context all people not directly engaged in producing goods. For example, medical and legal occupations would fall into this broad definition of services. The census occupational category of services is far narrower, covering only such people as policemen, firemen, waiters, entertainers, barbers, and funeral directors. Because of the restricted and unrepresentative nature of the census category, we have limited our analysis to four census categories: managerial occupations, including managers in specific functions such as advertising, credit, and purchasing, and owners and managers classified by industry; professional and technical occupations, including engineers, teachers, health professionals (physicians, nurses, etc.), artists, clergy, social welfare workers, photographers, librarians, etc.; craftsmen and production workers, including blue-collar workers identifiable by function, such as bakers, shoemakers, bookbinders, welders, painters, etc.; and labourers.

² In 1961 the average incomes of managers and professionals were \$6,833 and \$6,578 respectively. At the other end of the scale, the craftsmen were earning \$3,723 and the unskilled labourers \$2,257.

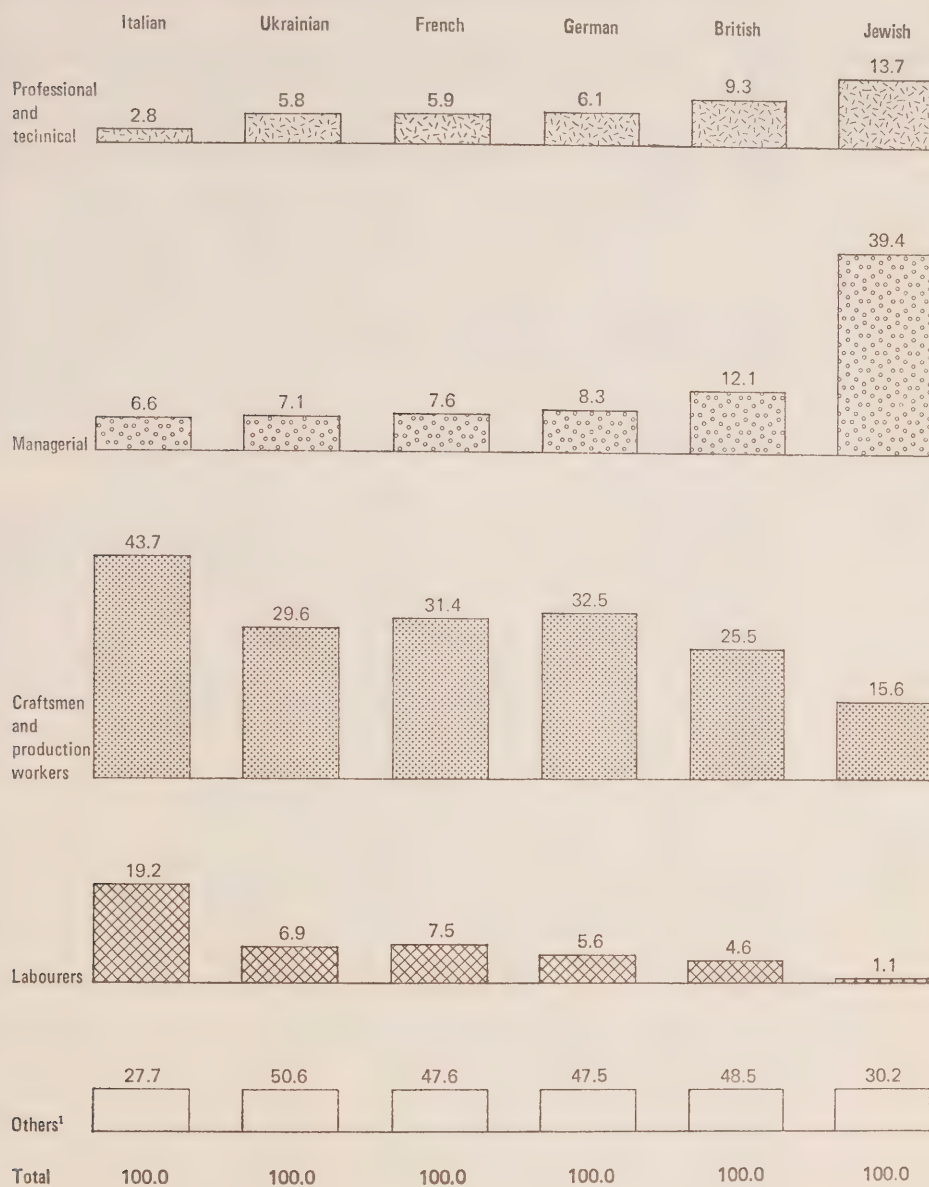
Table 13. Occupational Structure

Percentage distribution of the male labour force, by ethnic origin and occupation—Canada, 1961

	All origins Number	%	British	French	German	Italian	Jewish	Ukrainian	Other
Professional and technical	356,578	7.6	9.3	5.9	6.1	2.8	13.7	5.8	6.9
Managerial	481,379	10.2	12.1	7.6	8.3	6.6	39.4	7.1	9.5
Clerical	324,811	6.9	8.2	6.7	5.0	3.7	6.8	5.7	5.1
Sales	263,229	5.6	6.6	5.2	4.4	3.2	14.1	3.5	4.2
Service	400,399	8.5	9.2	7.7	6.4	8.5	2.6	7.3	9.6
Transport and communications	354,736	7.5	8.0	8.9	6.2	4.7	2.8	6.4	5.5
Craftsmen and production workers	1,354,594	28.8	25.5	31.4	32.5	43.7	15.6	29.6	29.8
Labourers	294,059	6.2	4.6	7.5	5.6	19.2	1.1	6.9	6.8
Farmers	573,098	12.2	10.8	10.8	21.0	2.7	0.5	23.0	15.8
Other primary	179,593	3.9	3.1	5.3	2.3	2.3	0.0	2.5	4.6
Not stated	123,042	2.6	2.6	3.0	3.0	2.6	3.4	2.2	2.2
All occupations	Number 4,705,518	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
			2,071,417	1,303,280	297,003	137,071	49,820	135,987	710,940

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 94-515.

Figure 1. Occupation and Ethnic Origin—Canada, 1961 (Percentages)



Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 94-515.

¹ Other occupations included in Table 13.

the blue-collar categories, with the Italians considerably the highest, followed by those of Ukrainian, French, German, British, and Jewish origin.

Occupation and
ethnic origin
over time

96. Thus, in the expanding professional and managerial categories it was those of British and Jewish origin who enjoyed the greatest advantage. In comparison, the French and Italians did poorly in these occupations; indeed, these groups had been losing ground over the past three decades.

97. John Porter¹ has shown that, between 1931 and 1961, the positions of Canadians of French and Italian origin decreased respectively from 0.8 to 1.9 points and 3.3 to 5.2 points below the national average in the professional and financial category.² Men of British and Jewish origin also moved further away from the average, but in the opposite direction. Thus, Canadians of British origin progressed slightly from 1.6 to 2.0 points above the national average, while those of Jewish origin advanced more strongly, moving from 2.2 to 7.4 points above the national average.

98. Much the same pattern can be observed in Quebec, but in a more striking form.³ Quebec residents of British ancestry were only 3 points above the provincial average in the professional and managerial categories in 1931; by 1961 they exceeded it by almost 9 points. Those of French origin were 1 point below average in participation in 1931 and 2 points below average in 1961. At the other end of the occupational scale the positions were reversed. In the same 30-year period, the British moved from 6 to 9 points below the average in the skilled and unskilled labour categories. Those of French origin, on the other hand, remained at less than 1 point above the provincial average.

Occupation,
ethnic origin,
and region

99. In each of the provinces, the 1961 distribution according to ethnic origin among the occupations was much the same as at the national level. For instance, in Ontario—the most highly developed province—those of French and British origin in each of the occupational categories had approximately the same positions as they had in Canada as a whole. The only large discrepancy appeared among those of Ukrainian origin; because of their heavy concentration in the Prairies and on the farms, their positions in Ontario and in the country as a whole were quite different.

100. In each province and in Canada generally, those of French origin had a smaller than average proportion in the managerial, profes-

¹ *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto, 1965), 87.

² The figures in this and the next paragraph should be treated with caution since occupational categories vary slightly from one census to another.

³ Yvon Lussier, "La Division du travail selon l'origine au Québec, 1931-1961" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Montreal, 1967). The author does not explain how he overcame the difficulties of comparing data from different censuses.

sional, clerical, and sales occupations (Table 14).¹ At the other end of the occupational scale they had a larger than average proportion in all but one province as craftsmen, labourers, and non-farming workers in the primary sector. Those of British origin provided almost a perfect mirror image of this pattern. As managers they were above the average in all but one province; and as professionals, clerks, and salesmen, their participation was universally above average. In the three blue-collar occupations they were below average in all but one province.

Table 14. Comparative Occupational Distribution

Number of instances where the proportion of the labour force of French and British origin in selected occupational categories is above or below the average proportion in Canada and each province—1961¹

	French		British	
	Above	Below	Above	Below
Professional and technical	0	11	11 ²	0
Managerial	0	11	10	1
Clerical	0	11	11 ²	0
Sales	0	11	11 ²	0
Service	8	3	7	4
Transport and communications	7	4	10 ²	1
Craftsmen and production workers	10	1	1	10
Labourers	10	1	1	10
Farmers	4	7	3	8 ³
Other primary	10	1	1	10

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ The table can be read as follows: in the professional and technical category, for example, those of French origin are underrepresented in 11 instances—that is, in Canada as a whole and in all 10 provinces—and those of British origin are overrepresented 11 times.

² Figure includes one case where proportion was equal to the provincial average.

³ Figure includes two cases where proportion was equal to the provincial average.

101. This clear-cut distribution carries two important implications. First, the industrial structure of a province apparently has little effect on the occupational distribution within a population of a given origin since, despite variations in industrial structure among the provinces, the above- and below-average occupational characteristics persisted.

¹ In each province and in the country as a whole, the occupational distribution of the French and the British is remarkably constant. The British are above all the provincial and national averages in the four highest categories, while the French are consistently below the averages in these categories. In the lower categories, particularly among the labourers, the French are almost always above the average. Table 14 shows the respective positions of the two groups in 10 occupational categories, in relation to the averages for Canada and the 10 provinces.

Second, the impact of language on occupational choice would also seem to be of less importance than ethnic origin. Of those of French origin in Newfoundland, 85 per cent had English as mother tongue, in British Columbia 65 per cent, in Nova Scotia 57 per cent, in Prince Edward Island 55 per cent, and in Alberta 50 per cent.¹

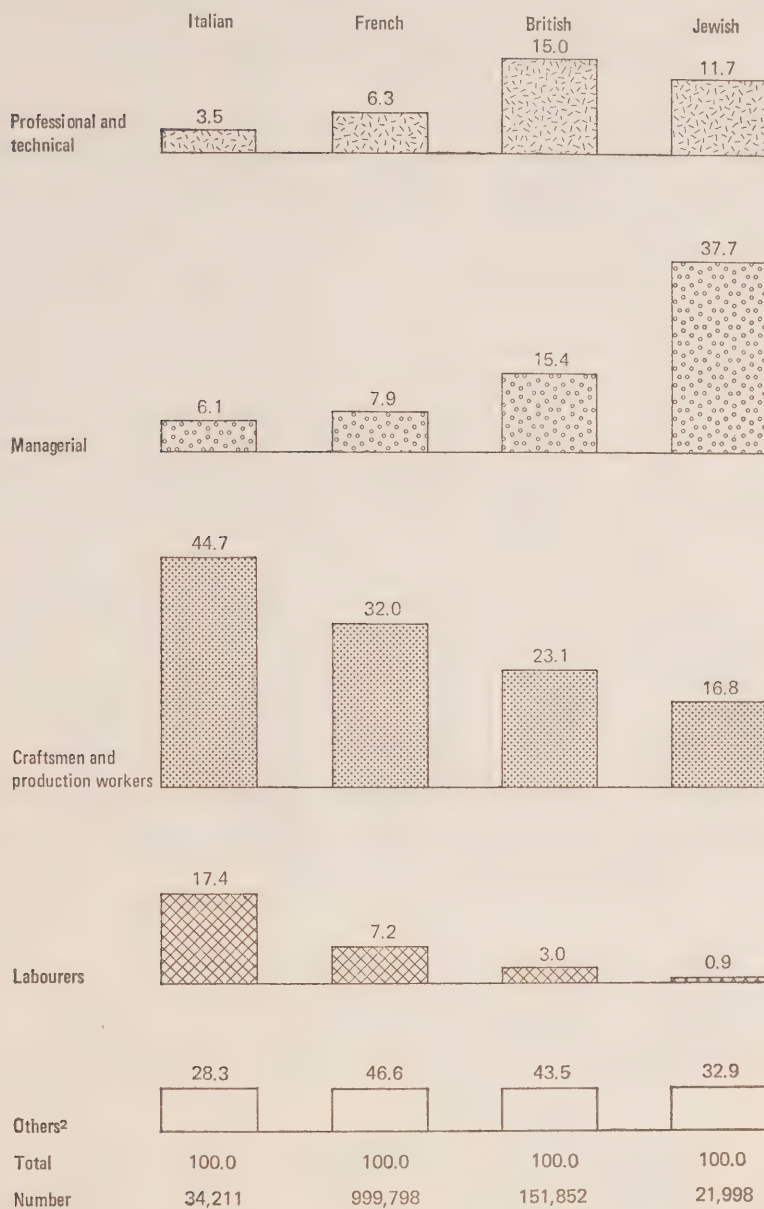
102. If, despite these variations, the relative positions of those of French origin in the various occupations remains the same from province to province, the conclusion must be that one remains "French Canadian" in occupation long after one has lost the French language. Two explanations suggest themselves, and they are probably inter-related. First, Canadians of French origin may have certain occupational preferences which persist even after they have become Anglophones. Second, they may be denied the opportunities to enter certain advanced occupations either because of inadequate education or because of discriminatory practices.

Quebec and
Montreal

103. Figures 2 and 3 show the occupational distributions for the province of Quebec and the Montreal metropolitan census area. A curious phenomenon comes to light when the occupational distribution of those of French and British origin in the two areas is compared with their position in Canada as a whole. The proportion of men of British origin in the combined managerial and professional categories was 21 per cent for Canada as a whole, but 30 per cent in Quebec and 35 per cent in Montreal. For men of French origin the proportion also rose as the comparison moved from Canada to Quebec to Montreal, but in a far more modest fashion. Thus, the difference separating those of British and French origin increased. In the country as a whole there was an 8-point difference, in the province a 16-point difference, and in Montreal an 18-point difference. At the other end of the occupational scale, there was a declining proportion of those of British origin in the craftsman and labourer categories as the comparison moved from Canada (30 per cent) to Quebec (26 per cent) to Montreal (25 per cent). The movement was in the opposite direction for those of French origin. In the country as a whole, 39 per cent (9 points more than the British group) were craftsmen or labourers; in Quebec 39 per cent (13 points more than the British); and in Montreal 43 per cent (18 points more than the British) worked in these occupational categories.

104. Thus we have a rather remarkable—indeed a paradoxical—situation. In relation to those of British origin, those of French origin fare better on the occupational scale in Canada as a whole than they do in the one province where they form a majority of the population; and they fare better on the occupational scale in Quebec as a whole than they do in the industrial centre of the province, Montreal. For those of

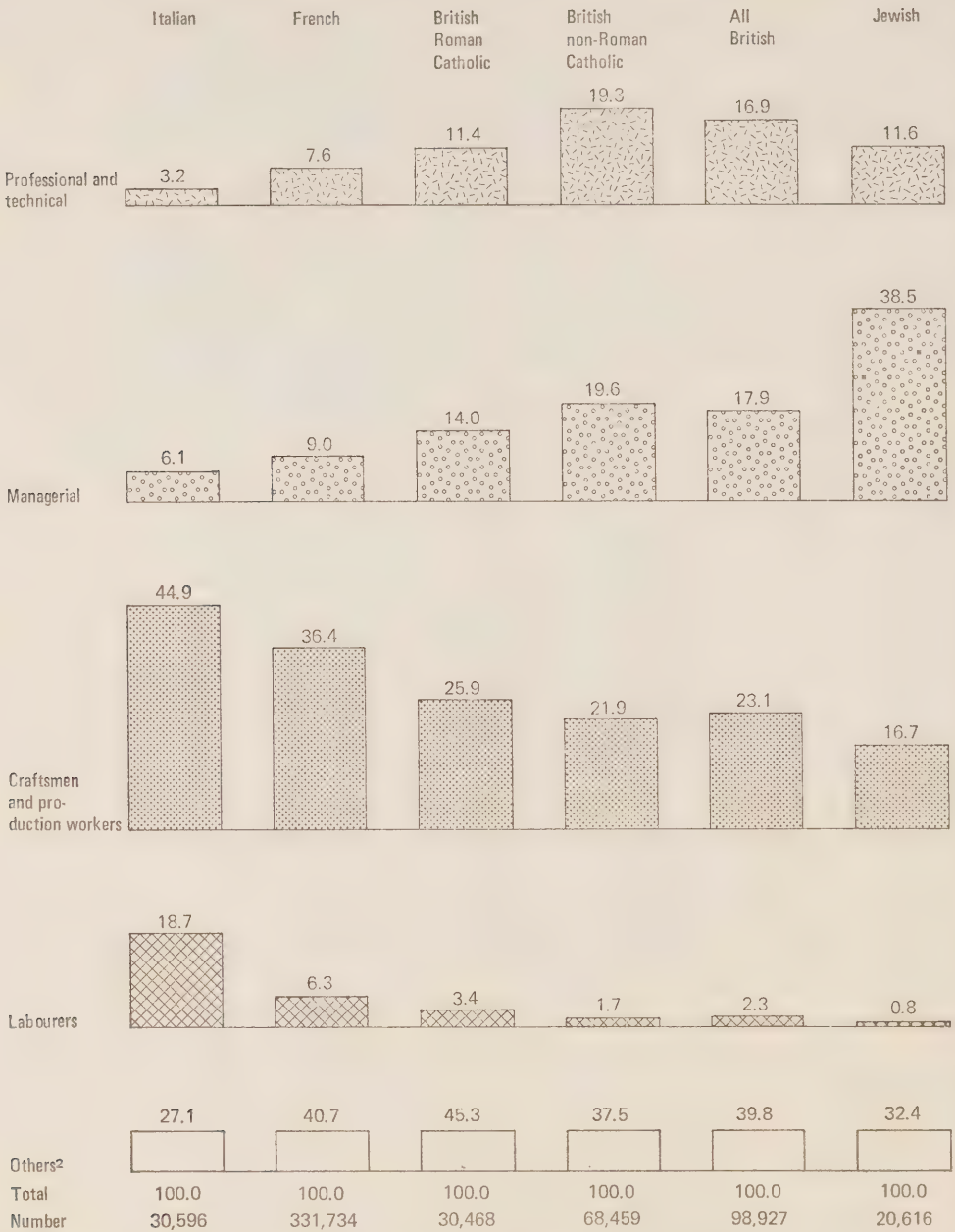
¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, Table 7.

Figure 2. Occupation and Ethnic Origin¹—Quebec, 1961 (Percentages)

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 94-515.

¹ Those of German and Ukrainian origin have been omitted because of their small number.² Other occupations included in Table 13.

Figure 3. Occupation, Ethnic Origin,¹ and Religion—Montreal Metropolitan Census Area, 1961 (Percentages)



Source: Raynauld, Marion, and B  land, "La r  partition des revenus."

¹ Those of German and Ukrainian origin have been omitted because of their small number.

² Other occupations included in Table 13, with the exception of farmers.

British origin, the converse is the case. The increasing disparity, however, is not due to a lower position for those of French origin, since in these terms they fare a little better in Montreal. Rather, it is the result of the fact that those of British origin fare far better in Montreal than anywhere else in the country.

105. Figure 3 includes religion as a variable, as well as ethnic origin, but the two categories are closely related for those of Jewish, French, and Italian origin.¹ Those of British extraction are religiously heterogeneous, but even among them there is a large degree of religious homogeneity: most British Roman Catholics are Irish, and most British non-Roman Catholics are English and Scottish. When these groups are compared according to religion, the full significance of this variable as an indicator of occupational level becomes apparent. The Italians, French, and British Roman Catholics were characterized by low percentages in the professional and managerial categories and by high percentages in the blue-collar occupations. For the British non-Roman Catholics and the Jews, the opposite was the case. Indeed, the occupational distribution of the British Roman Catholics and the British non-Roman Catholics was quite different. The proportion of British Roman Catholics employed as professionals was closer to the proportion of French in this occupational category than it was to the proportion of British non-Roman Catholics. Similarly, although to a lesser degree, in the managerial category the British Roman Catholics resembled the French more than the British non-Roman Catholics.²

Occupation
and religion

106. Clearly, there is a close relation between occupation and education. As we have seen, Canadians of French origin have spent on average two years less at school than have those of British origin. They have also tended to fill the lower positions on the occupational scale. The question arises as to whether they would have an occupational distribution similar to those of British origin if they had a comparable level of education.

Occupation
and education

107. To determine whether this would be so, we can examine the occupational distribution of university-educated men of French and British origin. Table 15 shows that, among the university-educated of both groups, the same proportion—70 per cent—are in the managerial and professional categories. From this fact the following hypothesis can

¹ Because Canadians of most origins are identified more or less with a religion, it is not possible statistically to separate the effects of ethnic origin and religion on occupations and income.

² This finding is supplemented by statistics on income differences in 1961; the average labour income earned by British Roman Catholics (\$4,855) was far closer to that of those of French origin (\$3,998) than to that earned by the non-Roman Catholic British (\$6,362). Moreover, there was a very small difference between the average labour income of British non-Roman Catholics and that for the Jewish population (\$6,462).

Table 15. Occupation and Schooling Level

Percentage distribution of the male non-agricultural labour force, by schooling level, ethnic origin, and occupation—Canada, 1961

Level of schooling	Ethnic origin	Occupation					Total
		Professionals and technicians	Managers	Craftsmen	Labourers	Others	
Elementary	British	1.1	7.5	38.7	8.3	44.4	100
	French	0.8	5.9	44.4	11.0	37.9	100
Secondary 1-2 years	British	2.9	10.8	34.5	5.0	46.8	100
	French	2.9	8.7	37.3	6.5	44.6	100
Secondary 3-5 years	British	9.8	20.4	22.7	2.4	44.7	100
	French	9.9	14.7	24.4	3.9	47.1	100
University	British	50.0	19.8	4.6	1.6	24.0	100
	French	51.5	18.3	5.7	1.0	23.5	100
Average	British	10.4	13.9	28.4	4.8	42.5	100
	French	6.1	8.9	36.7	8.2	40.1	100

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Bédard, "La répartition des revenus."

be formulated: if the Canadians of French and British origin had received equivalent education, the occupational distribution of both groups would be very similar. We have calculated an index of participation for the labour force of French origin, giving them a theoretical level of education equal to the British (Table 16). As expected, the difference between the corrected index for the French and the actual index for the British is considerably less significant than that separating the actual indices of the two groups—11.3 points compared with 28.7 points. In other words, if the labour force of French origin had a level of education equivalent to the British, the observed differences in the occupational distribution of the two groups would be reduced by about 60 per cent.

Table 16. Influence of Schooling Level on Occupation

Percentage distribution of the male non-agricultural labour force of French and British origin, and of a theoretical labour force of French origin having a level of schooling equivalent to those of British origin, by occupation—Canada, 1961

	Actual labour force of French origin	Theoretical labour force of French origin	Actual labour force of British origin
Professional and technical	6.1	10.5	10.4
Managerial	8.9	10.9	13.9
Clerical	7.7	10.3	9.5
Sales	6.1	7.2	7.7
Service	7.7	7.5	8.8
Transport and communications	10.3	9.1	9.2
Craftsmen and production workers	36.7	31.4	28.4
Labourers	8.2	6.4	4.8
Farmers	0.4	0.3	0.9
Other primary	6.2	4.4	4.6
Not stated	1.8	1.9	1.8
All occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sum of differences ¹ between the British and the French	28.7	11.3	—

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹Irrespective of signs.

108. Differences in educational achievement largely explain the differences in occupational patterns. However, a disparity still exists, and there is a further question as to whether the status attached to the various occupations contributes to the explanation of the differences.

Perceived social
standing of
occupations

109. Francophones and Anglophones evaluate the status of occupations in a broadly similar fashion, but they do attach a different status or prestige to many individual occupations. On the whole, "it is unlikely that it is a difference in the perceived social standing of occupations which leads to differences in the distribution of the two ethnic groups in the occupational structure."¹ Therefore, the occupational structures of the two groups cannot be explained by their differing perceptions of these categories in terms of status or prestige or cultural preferences.²

Occupation and
immigration

110. Another factor affecting the Canadian occupational structure is immigration. By 1961 immigrants accounted for more than one-fifth of the male labour force. This substantial group was distributed among the various occupations differently than the native-born labour force. The occupational distribution of the overall male labour force is affected by this fact.

111. Fewer immigrants than native-born men are employed in clerical, transportation, and commercial positions, or in agricultural and other primary occupations (Table 17). The occupations that immigrants have tended to enter are in the service, craftsman, and labouring categories. However, to talk of the occupational structure of the immigrant labour force as a single entity is misleading; the immigrants fall into two distinct groups—those who came to Canada before 1946 and the somewhat larger number who have arrived since then. The pre-1946 immigrants, who formed just under 10 per cent of the total male labour force in 1961, accounted for 14 per cent of the managerial and farming categories. The post-war immigrants, who made up 12 per cent of the total male labour force in 1961, were relatively well represented among the professionals (16 per cent), craftsmen (16 per cent), and labourers (18 per cent).

112. In the 20 years following 1946, there were 14 times as many immigrants of British origin as of French origin. Thus, the labour force of British origin was more affected by the occupational preferences of the newcomers.³

¹ John Porter and Peter C. Pineo, "French-English Differences in the Evaluation of Occupations, Industries, Ethnicities, and Religions in the Montreal Metropolitan Area," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

² It appears reasonable to observe that this overall similarity in occupational preferences runs counter to well-known historic differences in the occupational distribution of Francophones and Anglophones.

³ According to figures of the department of Citizenship and Immigration, although 78 per cent of the immigrants of French origin in 1966 gave Quebec as their destination, they were still outnumbered by the 9 per cent of British immigrants intending to settle in that province. In 1966, 55 per cent of all immigrants went to Ontario and only 20 per cent went to Quebec.

Table 17. Influence of Immigration on Occupation

Occupational distribution of the Canadian-born and immigrant male labour force 15 years of age and above—Canada, 1961

	Total	Canadian-born	Immigrants		
			Total	Pre-1946	1946-61
Professional and technical	7.6	7.4	8.2	5.9	10.1
Managerial	10.2	10.0	10.9	14.7	7.8
Clerical	6.9	7.3	5.7	5.9	5.5
Sales	5.6	6.0	4.1	4.2	4.0
Service	8.5	8.0	10.2	10.5	10.0
Transport and communications	7.5	8.5	4.1	4.8	3.6
Craftsmen and production workers	28.8	27.3	34.2	28.0	39.2
Labourers	6.2	6.0	7.2	4.4	9.4
Farmers	12.2	12.6	10.7	17.2	5.6
Other primary	3.9	4.2	2.4	2.3	2.5
Not stated	2.6	2.7	2.3	2.2	2.3
All occupations	100	100	100	100	100
Number	4,705,518	3,685,694	1,019,824	450,673	569,151

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 94-515.

113. According to one study¹ on the occupational distribution of immigrants according to ethnic origin between 1946 and 1963, 17 per cent of the immigrants of British origin and 12 per cent of those of French origin intended to enter professional and technical careers (Table 18). Both proportions are higher than the 10 per cent for all immigrants. But numbers give a clearer picture than percentages of the disparity between the two groups of immigrants: more than 59,000 persons of British origin, compared to less than 3,000 immigrants of French origin, were intending to work as professionals and technicians. Professional occupations have been attracting to their ranks ever increasing proportions of immigrants, but the increase has been much sharper among those of British origin: in the 1958-63 period, roughly

¹ Louis Parai, *Immigration and Emigration of Professional and Skilled Manpower during the Post-War Period*, Economic Council of Canada, Staff Study No. 1 (Ottawa, 1965), 148-51. The figures in this study refer to both male and female immigrants; the only occupational classification used by Parai that is comparable to our own is that of professionals and technicians. For comparative purposes, the figures for both men and women in the overall labour force are useful: 12 per cent of those of British origin and 9 per cent of those of French origin were engaged in professional and technical occupations in 1961.

Table 18. Occupational Preference of Immigrants

Labour force who immigrated to Canada between 1946 and 1963 and who intended to enter professional and technical occupations, by period of immigration and ethnic origin

Period of immigration	All origins		British origin		French origin	
	Total number	Professional and technical occupations %	Total number	Professional and technical occupations %	Total number	Professional and technical occupations %
1946-51	335,793	4.1	96,605	5.7	5,891	7.3
1952-57	561,075	10.1	182,755	17.9	11,389	11.2
1958-63	287,625	16.2	70,144	29.9	7,242	16.9
1946-63	1,184,493	9.9	349,504	16.9	24,522	12.0

Source: Louis Parai, *Immigration and Emigration*, 148-51.

five times the proportion of 1946-51 were intending to enter professional occupations. The increase among immigrants of French origin has been more modest: the proportions between the two-time periods have hardly more than doubled.

114. Taken together, these observations point to one of the factors underlying the above-average participation of Canadians of British origin and the below-average participation of the French in the professional occupations: more British than French immigrants were professionally or technically trained.

115. On the scale of occupational status, Canadians of British origin clearly outranked those of French origin. However, the French fared better on this occupational scale than they did on the income scale presented in Chapter I.

Summary

116. As the Canadian economy develops, certain occupations are becoming more important and others are declining. In the first category are the managers and professionals and in the second, the unskilled labourers. Craftsmen formed an expanding occupation up to 1951 but have remained at the same level since then. Incomes were between two and three times higher in the managerial and professional categories than in the two blue-collar categories. The fact that 20 per cent of those of British origin and only 15 per cent of those of French origin were in the high-paying, high-prestige, and expanding occupations indicates a serious imbalance in socio-economic status between the two groups. This disparity applied not only to Canada as a whole, but to each of the provinces as well, and it is likely to grow ever more acute with every step forward by the Canadian economy.

117. Education accounted for a substantial part of the disparity, but neither education nor differing evaluations of occupational prestige could account for all of it. Immigration offered another explanatory factor. Since the number and proportion of immigrants intending to enter professional occupations was considerably higher among the British than among the French, the Canadian labour force of British origin has benefitted much more from immigration than the labour force of French origin.

118. The ethnic differences in occupational structures can also be viewed as religious ones. In the Montreal census area, the Jewish population and the non-Roman Catholics of British origin are at the top of the occupational scale. Then, at a substantially lower level, come the British Roman Catholics and the French and Italians, who are predominantly Roman Catholic in faith.

119. In the relative position of Canadians of French and British origin in Canada as a whole, in Quebec, and in Montreal, a curious phenomenon comes to light. Canadians of British origin occupied a

more favourable position in Montreal than in the province of Quebec, and a more favourable position in both these areas than in Canada as a whole. Because of this, Canadians of French origin appear more disadvantaged in Montreal than in the rest of Canada.

120. It is clear that, in socio-economic status, Quebec represents something of a special case in Canada. In terms of income, education, or occupation, the ethnic distribution is to some extent distorted, for the disparity between those of British and French origin is more marked in Quebec than in the other provinces. This is largely because the British generally are in a much more favourable position in Quebec than anywhere else in Canada.

121. The individuals and groups who own or control industrial enterprises play a vital role in the economy. Generally, these are people of high income and a fair degree of economic power. Owners of business constitute an élite group, in which Canadians of both official languages should be represented if equality in the economic field is to be achieved. We have singled out for consideration the industries of Quebec because—given the composition of this province's population—it is here, more than in any other part of Canada, that French-speaking Canadians should be most in evidence as participants in this economic élite.

122. The business establishments in Quebec were classified according to whether the owners were Francophone Canadians, Anglophone Canadians, or foreigners.² The main body of the analysis will focus on the manufacturing sector, but we will begin by considering the whole of Quebec industry. One measure of the relative status of the three ownership groups is a comparison of the numbers of workers employed by each group.

Classification
of business
establishments

123. Taking all the nine industrial sectors listed in Table 19 together, establishments owned by Francophone Canadians employed nearly half (47 per cent) of the provincial labour force in 1961. However, if the individual sectors are examined, it will be seen that the distribution was very uneven, with a heavy concentration in two areas. Roughly half the labour force working for Francophone Canadian

Distribution of
labour force

¹ This chapter is based on André Raynauld, "La propriété des entreprises au Québec," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

² For definitions of enterprises and establishments, and an explanation of the method used to place them in these three categories, see notes on the Raynauld study in Appendix VII.

interests (24 per cent of the total Quebec labour force) was concentrated in agriculture and service industries, the other half (23 per cent of the total labour force) being divided among the remaining seven industrial sectors.

124. This concentration in two sectors becomes even clearer when it is seen that 91 per cent of the total agricultural labour force and 71 per cent of that in the service industries were employed in Francophone Canadian establishments. The other seven industrial sectors had much lower proportions. In the mining industry, less than 7 per cent of the labour force worked for Francophone Canadians. A fifth of those engaged in manufacturing were employed in Francophone establishments, a quarter in financial institutions, a little more than a third in transportation and communications and in wholesale trade, and about a half in retail trade and construction.

Manufacturing

125. Only the establishments in the manufacturing sector will be studied in terms of output, number of employees, productivity, size of payroll, and value of sales outside Quebec. This sector accounted for 27 per cent of the total Quebec labour force and is thus the largest of the industrial sectors.

Table 19. Ownership of Establishments

Size of establishments owned by Francophone Canadians, Anglophone Canadians, and foreign interests in selected industrial sectors, measured by numbers employed—Quebec, 1961

	Employees Number (thousands)	Percentage of labour force in establishments owned by			Total
		Franco- phone Canadians	Anglo- phone Canadians	Foreign interests	
Agriculture	131.2	91.3	8.7	0.0	100
Mining	25.9	6.5	53.1	40.4	100
Manufacturing	468.3	21.8	46.9	31.3	100
Construction	126.4	50.7	35.2	14.1	100
Transportation and commu- nications	102.4	37.5	49.4	13.1	100
Wholesale trade	69.3	34.1	47.2	18.7	100
Retail trade	178.7	56.7	35.8	7.5	100
Finance	62.2	25.8	53.1	21.1	100
Services	350.9	71.4	28.6	0.0	100
All industries ¹	1,515.3	47.3	37.7	15.0	100

Source: Raynald, "La propriété des entreprises au Québec."

¹Excludes forestry, fishing and trapping, the public sector, and unspecified industries.

126. Industrial output is measured by the statistical concept of "value added." This is the value of the produced goods less the cost of energy and raw materials: it represents the transformation wrought by an establishment upon the products or materials it purchases. Table 20 presents the value added in each manufacturing sector, distributed according to the categories of ownership that we have established.

Value added

127. Table 19 showed the weak position of Francophone Canadian manufacturers: they employed only 22 per cent of those working in manufacturing industries. Table 20 shows that these same establishments accounted for a still smaller proportion—only 15 per cent—of total value added in the manufacturing industry in Quebec. In the establishments owned by Anglophone Canadians, 47 per cent of the labour force produced only 43 per cent of the value added. In contrast, establishments under foreign ownership employed only 31 per cent of the manufacturing labour force but produced 42 per cent of the value added. Francophone Canadians predominated in only one sector—the wood industry; they also accounted for nearly half the value added of the Quebec leather industry.¹

128. In contrast, there were nine sectors—including the clothing, textile, printing and publishing, and beverage industries—in which Anglophone Canadian interests accounted for 50 per cent or more of the industrial output. In another nine—including the industries manufacturing petroleum products, non-ferrous metals, transportation equipment, and chemical products—the foreign interests had a comparable representation.

129. Francophone Canadian establishments produced an average value added of \$790,000 a year, those owned by Anglophone Canadians \$3,310,000, and foreign-owned establishments \$5,640,000. The value added by a Francophone Canadian establishment was thus on average a quarter the size of that added by an Anglophone Canadian establishment, and one-seventh of that for a foreign establishment. In all manufacturing sectors, the value added by a Francophone Canadian establishment was smaller than that for a foreign-owned establishment and, with the exception of the leather industry, than that for an Anglophone Canadian establishment as well.

130. When the number of employees, rather than value added, was used as a measurement of size, the typical Francophone Canadian manufacturing enterprise was again smaller than its Anglophone Canadian or foreign-owned equivalent. In fact, the average number of

Number of employees

¹ The wood industry is largely made up of sawmills and "sash and door" factories; the leather industry includes tanneries and factories producing shoes, handbags, and the like.

employees was 94 in Francophone Canadian, 145 in Anglophone Canadian, and 332 in foreign-owned establishments. In average number of employees, Francophone Canadian establishments were below foreign-owned establishments in all sectors, and above Anglophone Canadian establishments in only four of the 22 sectors for which information was available.

Table 20. Ownership of Establishments in the Manufacturing Industry

Size of manufacturing establishments owned by Francophone Canadians, Anglophone Canadians, and foreign interests, measured by value added—Quebec, 1961

	Percentage of total value added in establishments owned by			Total
	Francophone Canadians	Anglophone Canadians	Foreign interests	
Food	30.9	32.0	38.1	100
Beverage	4.7	64.9	30.4	100
Tobacco products	0.9	31.2	67.9	100
Rubber	8.0	37.5	54.5	100
Leather	49.4	46.3	4.3	100
Textile	2.1	68.3	29.6	100
Knitting mills	24.7	53.2	22.1	100
Clothing	8.2	88.6	3.2	100
Wood	84.0	13.2	2.8	100
Furniture and fixtures	39.4	53.6	7.0	100
Paper	4.8	53.3	41.9	100
Paper products	22.0	41.2	33.8	100
Printing and publishing	28.2	65.7	6.1	100
Iron and steel	11.7	28.9	59.4	100
Non-ferrous metals	3.7	11.6	84.7	100
Metal fabricating	23.7	35.9	40.4	100
Machinery	18.3	17.0	64.7	100
Transportation equipment	6.4	14.4	79.2	100
Electrical products	6.6	58.0	35.4	100
Non-metallic mineral products	14.8	51.2	34.0	100
Petroleum and coal products	0.0	0.0	100.0	100
Chemical and medical products	6.5	16.4	77.1	100
Precision instruments	4.6	23.5	71.9	100
Miscellaneous	24.5	41.3	34.2	100
All industries	15.4	42.8	41.8	100

Source: Raynauld, "La propriété des entreprises au Québec."

131. In terms of labour productivity,¹ the Quebec worker produced an average of \$6,500 value added a year in a Francophone Canadian establishment, \$8,400 in an Anglophone Canadian one, and \$12,200 for a foreign proprietor. Within 19 of the 21 sectors for which we have data, the average worker was more productive in a foreign-owned than in a Francophone Canadian establishment. Workers in Anglophone Canadian establishments led their counterparts in Francophone Canadian establishments in productivity in 12 sectors, were equal in two, but were lower in seven. With some exceptions, then, productivity in Francophone Canadian establishments was lower than in Anglophone Canadian establishments; the productivity of both was lower than that of foreign-owned establishments.

Productivity

132. The differences in average annual wages paid in the establishments of the three groups were generally less than the differences in productivity, but they were also more consistent. The average wages paid in Francophone Canadian establishments were respectively 30 and 12 per cent lower than those paid in foreign-controlled and Anglophone Canadian establishments. In all but two of the individual sectors—knitted goods and wood—lower average wages were paid by Francophone Canadian employers than by foreign employers; they were also lower than those paid by Anglophone Canadian establishments in every sector except the leather industry. However, it must not be concluded that Francophone Canadian establishments were concentrated in the industries which paid the lowest wages. For example, the clothing sector, which paid lower average wages than any other sector, was dominated by Anglophone Canadian establishments. In contrast, foreign interests tended to be concentrated in the high-paying sectors and, within these sectors, to pay the highest wages.

Average wages

133. In an examination of markets in which Quebec goods are sold (Table 21), it becomes apparent that Francophone Canadian firms sold only 22 per cent of their output outside Quebec, four-fifths of this amount going to other parts of Canada. Anglophone Canadian establishments, on the other hand, sold 49 per cent and foreign-owned firms 60 per cent of their production outside Quebec. In both Anglophone Canadian and foreign-owned establishments, two-thirds of these amounts went to the other provinces. Of the total sales outside Quebec in 1961, valued at \$3,400,000,000, Francophone Canadian establishments were responsible for \$150,000,000, or less than 5 per cent of the total, while Anglophone Canadian and foreign establishments provided 44 and 52 per cent respectively.

Sales outside
Quebec

¹ To obtain a crude measure of labour productivity, the value added was divided by the number of employees. This index depends among other things on the importance of machinery and the type of technology used by an establishment.

Table 21. Sales outside Quebec

Sales of the manufacturing industry outside the province—Quebec, 1961

	Establishments owned by		
	Francophone Canadians	Anglophone Canadians	Foreign interests
Percentage of the establishments' total production sold outside Quebec	22.0	48.6	59.6
Percentage of the total sales outside Quebec	4.5	44.0	51.5

Source: Raynauld, "La propriété des entreprises au Québec."

134. Quebec manufacturing establishments owned by Francophone Canadians produce mainly for local markets, and this fact becomes even more apparent when the whole of Quebec industry is considered. In Table 19 we noted the predominance of Francophone Canadians in agriculture, services, and, to a lesser extent, retail trade and construction—industries primarily serving the local market, which in Quebec is predominantly French-speaking. It is obvious that the language of the customers influences the language use of a firm; we shall examine the consequences of this fact more fully in Chapter XIII. At this point we will only observe that the fewer Francophones there are among the customers of a given firm, the less likely it is that the firm is owned by Francophones, and that, if the majority of a firm's customers are Anglophones, it is unlikely that French will be the main working language within the firm.

Types of
products sold
outside Quebec

135. There are also notable differences in the types of products sold outside Quebec by the manufacturing establishments of the three ownership groups. For all three groups, food and beverages and paper products were important. Apart from these products, the extra-provincial sales of the three kinds of establishments were distributed as follows:

Francophone Canadian	Anglophone Canadian	Foreign
Leather goods	Primary metal products	Primary metal products
Clothing	Clothing	Transportation equipment
Wood	Textiles	Chemical products
Furniture	Electrical products	Petroleum and coal products

The products sold outside the province by Francophone Canadian establishments belong to the traditional industries—those which have been in existence for well over a century. In contrast, the extra-provincial sales of foreign establishments were mostly produced in industries that have developed relatively recently and in which modern technology plays a key role. Here again, Anglophone Canadian establishments occupy a middle position.

136. It is perfectly normal to find within a given province establishments and enterprises with highly different characteristics. It is to be expected that they will be different in size and importance, in productivity and wages paid, and that some will be international in their operations while others are purely local. These differences are due to the kind of product involved, the technology used, transportation costs, the type of clientele being served, and a host of other factors. What is more significant is that, faced with the same economic, technological, and market conditions as other enterprises, the Francophone Canadian establishment consistently followed a distinctive pattern.

The wider
implications
of ownership

137. On the other hand, just as many kinds of enterprises will be found in an economy as diversified as Quebec's, so the existence of local, national, foreign, and international enterprises is to be expected. In principle there is no requirement that Montreal businesses be under the exclusive ownership of Montrealers, that Quebec businesses be the exclusive property of Quebecers, or that Ontario firms be owned by Ontarians. Not only would this be unnecessary, it would also be undesirable; if both enterprises and markets were fragmented, Canadian business would be deprived of many advantages, such as access to advanced technology and the economies of scale.

138. It is the uneven pattern of ownership and control of Quebec industry that creates uneasiness. While the Anglophone Canadian firms number national and international, as well as local, enterprises among their group, the Francophone Canadian firms in general are much more limited. The contrast with the foreign enterprises is still more pronounced. The existing situation of Francophone Canadian enterprise is, then, an unnatural one.

139. It is obvious that Francophone Canadian industry is on a different scale from the rest of Quebec industry. Canadian industry as a whole is in the same situation with regard to foreign capital and control, although the problem is more acute for Francophone industry in Quebec. The absence of a sufficient number of Canadian entrepreneurs has not resulted in stagnation and underdevelopment. On the contrary, due to the massive importation of capital, Canada and Quebec have undergone a period of intense economic activity.

140. The way Francophone Canadians see their situation is much the same as that in which Anglophone Canadians view their lot with respect to foreign capital in Canada.¹ Many groups in Canada—particularly the Francophones—attach a high degree of importance, both political and economic, to questions of ownership and control.² The issues of economic control and ownership are clearly of prime importance. However, the other ideals of modern society must not be forgotten. Policies designed to “Canadianize” business—whether put forward by Francophones or Anglophones—would do more harm than good if they imperiled the maintenance of full employment, reduced productivity or economic growth, or worked against an equitable distribution of resources. Here, as elsewhere, each ideal has its price.

Summary

141. We have seen that Francophone Canadian industry in Quebec is concentrated in the agricultural and service fields. In the manufacturing sector, Francophone Canadian establishments accounted for a low proportion of the provincial value added; tended to be less productive; had fewer employees and paid them less; produced essentially for the Quebec market; and were based in the traditional industries. The foreign-owned establishments generally stood in complete contrast to this pattern, while those owned by Anglophone Canadian interests tended to share characteristics with both Francophone Canadian and foreign establishments, and thus to occupy a middle position. Industries in a diversified economy may be expected to show many different characteristics, but this does not explain the fact that Francophone Canadian establishments have consistently placed at the lower end of the various scales we have employed.

¹ See *Foreign Ownership and the Structure of Canadian Industry*, a report prepared for the Privy Council Office by the Task Force on the Structure of Canadian Industry (Ottawa, 1968).

² See *A Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (Ottawa, 1965), § 71.

142. Our examination of the social and economic aspects of Canadian life (based on 1961 census figures) shows that there is inequality in the partnership between Canadians of French origin and those of British origin. By every statistical measurement which we used, Canadians of French origin are considerably lower on the socio-economic scale. They are not as well represented in the decision-making positions and in the ownership of industrial enterprises, and they do not have the same access to the fruits of modern technology. The positions they occupy are less prestigious and do not command as high incomes; across Canada, their average annual earnings are \$980 less than those of the British. Furthermore, they have two years less formal education. Quebec manufacturing firms owned by Francophones produce only 15 per cent of the provincial output. In this chapter we try to determine the relative importance of the factors lying behind this inequality.

A. Analysis of Income Disparities

143. There are many reasons for income differences between individuals and groups of individuals; attempts to come to grips with this issue are always confronted with an almost inextricable tangle of cause and effect. Let us look first of all at the main factors which we have retained in our analysis.

1. Factors affecting income

144. First, the age of the labour force is an important factor. Age Obviously, an experienced person at the prime of his career—probably

between 40 and 50 years of age—will earn more than someone just starting out. Thus, if a particular group of Canadians has a larger proportion of its labour force in the younger age categories than another group, the former will probably have the lower average income.

Male: female ratio

145. Wages paid to women are almost always lower than those paid to men. If, in a particular group, women form a higher percentage of the labour force, that group will again probably have a lower average income. However, as we are considering only the income disparities in the male labour force, this factor—while of considerable importance in any treatment of the total labour force—is not relevant.

Differences
between
industries

146. The industries among which a labour force is distributed can also influence income. The same sort of job carries different salaries in different industries; the labourer in an oil refinery, for instance, will earn more than the labourer in a shoe factory. Depending on its distribution between high- and low-paying industries, or on the degree of concentration in regions where industries pay high salaries, one group will have a better average income than another. The determination of high- and low-paying industries depends in large measure on the industries' levels of productivity, market conditions, and employee bargaining strength.

Education and
occupation

147. There is a substantial difference in average years of schooling among Canadians of different origins; clearly, education ranks as one of the most important factors in an explanation of income disparities. Occupation is closely associated with schooling. A group that is concentrated at the bottom of a scale of occupations will obviously have a low average income.

Mobility

148. Although we have little statistical information about mobility, its influence is reasonably clear. Mobility means the capacity and willingness to move between jobs and communities in order to seek out economic advantages, such as a higher salary. Mobility may be impeded by individual preferences (such as the desire to work in the country rather than the town) or by other less subjective considerations. The main barrier to mobility in Canada is the existence of two languages and two cultures. For example, a Francophone is immobile when, with the object of preserving his language and culture, he turns down an attractive job opportunity in an English-language environment. Similarly, an Anglophone may refuse a lucrative offer from a Francophone Canadian firm because he speaks no French or because he prefers to work with people of his own language and culture.

Discrimination

149. Discrimination may also contribute to income disparities. Discrimination occurs when two people with identical qualifications are treated differently; it may be reflected in wages and salaries paid, and in such matters as hiring, promotions, and job assignments. Although

quite distinct from immobility, discrimination may lead to immobility. If a worker is discriminated against in certain places or within certain businesses, he may well take himself elsewhere. Even the fear of discrimination, whether well-founded or not, may lead him to decline certain employment offers. The worker can then be considered immobile, since he has presumably turned his back on opportunities which he otherwise would have accepted.

150. The labour force includes all workers, both employed and unemployed, so any differences in the unemployment level of two groups will be reflected in their average incomes. As well, the rate of participation in the labour force—that is, the proportion of the total group in the labour force—will be reflected in their average incomes. Thus, the group with the higher proportion of its population in the labour force will have the higher average income, other factors being equal.

Underemployment

2. *Relative weight of factors*

151. To the factors most often considered in any study of income disparities—age, industry, region, schooling, occupation, and under-employment—we have added bilingualism, employment status (salaried or self-employed), period of immigration, and ethnicity. Mobility and discrimination cannot be evaluated separately, and we have treated them as components of ethnicity—the only factor on our list which is difficult to interpret. Ethnicity, as we use it in this analysis, is the effect of ethnic origin when all the other factors are held constant; it is the expression of a complex phenomenon composed of many elements which are impossible to separate: among these are the quality of schooling; work attitudes; occupational choice; motivations and values; the quality, orientation, and effectiveness of institutions; obstacles to mobility; discrimination; and the weight of the past. These factors undoubtedly influence behaviour: they may affect aspirations and educational and occupational choices; they may determine where people work and what they do; and they may affect spending and saving patterns. It is only natural that income will be directly affected by them.

Factors to be considered

152. The various factors in the list were analyzed in a number of different ways. In the following pages we shall report the findings of the three main approaches employed in our research.

a) *A first approach*

153. Our first approach was to limit the comparisons to people having the same characteristics; among those, we selected engineers,

architects, and doctors for analysis. As level of schooling and kind of occupation are similar within each of these professions,¹ two important sources of income disparity were thus removed. We restricted the analysis to the Montreal metropolitan area, thus neutralizing a large part of the regional factor. Finally, we considered the labour incomes for men only and classified them by the age and employment status (salaried or self-employed) of the recipients, so that the groups compared were as homogeneous as possible.

Engineers

154. Table 22 shows the average incomes of engineers in the Montreal metropolitan census area. Whether the total or the individual age groups are considered, the small minority of engineers of French origin who were self-employed earned far more than their counterparts of British and other origins. However, most engineers were salaried employees; among them, the French earned an average of \$1,504 less than the British and \$406 less than those of other origins. The income of the French was thus almost 18 per cent less than that for the British. Yet, when the age groups were taken individually, the French fell behind the British by only 8 per cent: in other words, roughly half the total income disparity for salaried engineers was due to the younger age of those of French origin. When all engineers are considered—both salaried and self-employed—the French earned 7 per cent less than the British and 5 per cent more than those of other origins. These differences are not very large, despite the considerable disparities in some of the individual categories.

155. Using this same body of data, we applied a statistical regression analysis in an effort to explain the average income of male salaried engineers.² We retained as explanatory variables age, level of schooling (since a fair number of engineers were not university graduates), the industry in which the engineers worked, and ethnicity. If the influence of ethnicity is negligible, this would suggest that, within this framework, the other factors were sufficient to explain income disparities. On the other hand, if ethnicity is found to play an important role, then the forces related to ethnicity have a significant effect on income disparities. Since the occupation is relatively well defined and the range of specializations small, it is possible that discrimination is among these forces.

156. As it turned out, ethnicity exercised only a secondary influence on the incomes of all engineers. The factors of age, schooling, and

¹ Even within well-defined professions, characteristics of individuals may vary. For example, according to the 1961 census, 21 per cent of the salaried engineers in Montreal did not have a university degree. Nor did all engineers have identical occupations, since within the field of engineering there are numerous specializations for which the salaries paid differ considerably.

² See §§ 170 ff. for a more detailed description of this operation.

industry were sufficient to account for the lower income level of those of French origin. For those of British origin, however, ethnicity added about \$825 or a little less than 10 per cent to their average income. The typical specializations of the French and British engineers—as well as the total combination of factors that ethnicity represents—may account for this result.

Table 22. Income of Engineers

Labour income of male engineers, by ethnic origin, employment status, and age group—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

Employment status and age		Average	Ethnic origin		
			British	French	Other
Number		1,731	824	420	487
Overall average labour income		\$8,084	\$8,508	\$7,919	\$7,150
Salaried					
Number		1,667	805	395	467
Average labour income		\$7,801	\$8,465	\$6,961	\$7,367
Age group	15-24	3,246	3,372	3,113	3,257
	25-34	6,715	7,168	6,540	6,233
	35-44	8,719	9,054	8,262	8,375
	45-54	9,394	10,319	8,216	8,483
	55-64	10,049	10,688	9,244	9,182
	65 and over	7,083	7,288	7,055	4,300
Self-employed					
Number		64	19	25	20
Average labour income		\$15,471	\$10,336	\$23,060	\$10,865
Age group	15-24	4,000	—	—	4,000
	25-34	11,500	8,500	15,500	9,000
	35-44	14,765	6,616	25,416	12,887
	45-54	13,316	12,500	15,211	10,560
	55-64	23,042	15,640	41,000	9,850
	65 and over	11,850	6,666	17,033	—

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Bélard, "La répartition des revenus."

157. Table 23 presents the data for the architects. Those of French origin earned on average considerably less than those of British origin, but somewhat more than those of other origins. A study of the employment status of the architects of French origin did not reveal any special characteristics, as it did among the engineers, but age retained all its importance. In the group aged 35 to 44 years, the salaried architects of French origin had the highest incomes.

Architects

Among those aged 25 to 34 years, the French did almost as well, but they were clearly behind in the older age groups. A statistical regression analysis performed on the salaried architects failed to show any significant result. It follows that the differences in income between groups are not significant.

Table 23. Income of Architects

Labour income of male architects, by ethnic origin, employment status, and age group—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

Employment status and age		Ethnic origin			
		Average	British	French	Other
	Number	106	23	44	39
Overall average labour income		\$9,157	\$12,339	\$8,500	\$8,023
Salaried					
	Number	72	16	25	31
	Average labour income	\$7,036	\$8,675	\$7,456	\$5,851
Age Group	15-24	2,666	3,550	—	900
	25-34	5,385	6,066	5,910	4,900
	35-44	8,777	8,966	10,312	6,942
	45-54	8,723	10,660	7,600	7,483
	55-64	6,850	11,000	5,533	6,750
	65 and over	8,825	11,500	6,500	—
Self-employed ¹					
	Number	34	7	19	8
	Average labour income	\$13,650	\$20,714	\$9,873	\$16,437

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ The income of self-employed architects is not given by age group because their numbers are too small to be statistically significant.

Physicians and surgeons

158. We also examined the labour incomes of physicians and surgeons (Table 24). Because they form a rather less homogeneous occupational category than the preceding ones, our conclusions are more uncertain. Some 45 per cent of all doctors were salaried in 1961 (the proportion for those of French origin was 40 per cent). Those of French origin generally earned less than those of British origin, but about the same as those of other origins. This was particularly true for those aged 35 to 54. The young doctors of French origin (25 to 34 years of age) earned higher salaries on average. Perhaps this was because, in this age group, a large proportion of doctors of French origin were already in practice, while a greater proportion of those of British origin were doing postgraduate work in hospitals.

159. Among the doctors in private practice, those in the group aged 45 to 54 had incomes more or less the same; of those aged 35 to 44 years, the French doctors earned \$3,781 less than the British, but \$1,866 more than those of other origins. In the two oldest groups, the British had much higher incomes than those of all other origins. Once again the problem arises as to whether, within these age groups, the individual characteristics of the doctors are truly comparable.

Table 24. Income of Physicians and Surgeons

Labour income of male physicians and surgeons, by ethnic origin, employment status, and age group—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

Employment status and age		Average	Ethnic origin		
			British	French	Other
	Number	650	147	348	155
Overall average labour income		\$12,728	\$15,206	\$12,770	\$10,283
Salaried					
	Number	293	74	135	84
Average labour income		\$7,527	\$10,232	\$6,985	\$6,017
Age group	15-24	1,666	1,180	2,000	1,700
	25-34	4,302	4,593	4,767	3,362
	35-44	10,878	13,136	9,922	10,004
	45-54	15,765	23,000	9,966	10,550
	55-64	13,189	16,100	13,271	8,250
	65 and over	11,342	3,700	13,933	15,100
Self-employed					
	Number	357	73	213	71
Average labour income		\$16,996	\$20,247	\$16,437	\$15,329
Age group	15-24	—	—	—	—
	25-34	12,012	12,000	11,310	15,320
	35-44	18,334	21,860	18,079	16,213
	45-54	20,734	20,800	20,720	20,681
	55-64	16,153	22,420	16,067	8,583
	65 and over	11,185	15,175	8,900	7,775

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

160. In spite of the fact that doctors of British origin had higher incomes than other doctors, the regression analysis showed that, as far as we can ascertain, ethnicity had no influence on the incomes of either salaried doctors or those in private practice.

161. The study of the incomes of a large number of other occupational groups showed that ethnicity generally had no significant effect on the incomes of lawyers and notaries (whether salaried or

in private practice), pharmacists, policemen and firemen, and workers in the communications field. For other occupations (a total of 23 categories) a reasonably clear pattern emerges: the factors of age, schooling, and industry explain the greatest part of the income disparities. The only exception is those of British origin, whose ethnicity adds substantially and significantly to their income. However, most of these last occupational categories are far from homogeneous, embracing a large number of different occupations.

Conclusion

162. Our first method of analysis permitted us to evaluate factors affecting income within reasonably homogeneous classes of occupations in the Montreal area. It seems apparent that ethnicity is not an important cause of income differences among clearly defined professions. However, this approach scarcely gives an overall view of the subject. Besides its geographic restriction, it ignores a major part of the problem: by examining the situation only for certain occupations, it does not take into account the unequal distribution of Canadians of French and British origin among the various occupations. For instance, it leaves aside the fact that less than 8 per cent of the former held professional and technical jobs in Montreal, in comparison with 17 per cent of the latter. In an attempt to broaden the analysis we turn now to a second approach.

b) A second approach

163. In Chapter III we calculated the occupational structure of a theoretical labour force of French origin with the same level of schooling as the actual labour force of British origin. Essentially the same method is applied here¹ as we seek to narrow the statistical income disparity between the two. By isolating the factors affecting income disparities—age, occupation, industry distribution, schooling, and unemployment—we can measure the contribution of each.

Montreal

164. In order to secure as homogeneous bodies as possible, we shall compare only the labour income in the three metropolitan census areas of Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa. Table 25, which gives the results of the analysis for Montreal, shows that in 1961 6 per cent of the income disparity between those of British and French origin was due to the greater youth of the latter (almost three years for salary- and wage-earners). Hence, a larger proportion of the French were earning beginners' salaries. Those of French origin also tended to work for the low-wage industries: this accounted for a further 4 per cent of the disparity. The greater unemployment among the French labour force accounted for another 6 per cent of the income disparity.

¹ The interaction between the explanatory variables is taken into consideration in the present method.

Table 25. Factors Contributing to Income Disparity (Montreal)

Percentage contribution of selected factors to the labour income disparity (\$1,898) between Canadians of French and British origin—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

	Contribution (%)
1. Age	5.9
2. Industry	4.2
3. Occupation	31.6
4. Schooling	33.0
5. Schooling-occupation	45.1
6. Unemployment	6.3
Total of items 1, 2, 5, and 6	61.5

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

165. The two most important variables were clearly level of schooling and occupational distribution, which accounted for 33 and 32 per cent of the income disparity respectively. But we cannot assume that the two together covered 65 per cent of that disparity, because we know that education has a substantial influence on occupations. Thus, part of the 32 per cent attributed here to the occupational distribution must be due to differences in the educational structure of the two groups. When this overlapping effect was eliminated, the two together were responsible for 45 per cent of the income disparity.¹

166. The results of the analyses for Toronto and Ottawa are given in Table 26. The main difference between Montreal and Ottawa was the greater impact of the schooling-occupation variable in Ottawa—but this difference is subject to interpretation. The schooling, occupation, and income of the population of French origin in the two areas were comparable, but their position was being compared against two different bases, the income of those of British origin being higher in Montreal than in Ottawa. In that respect, Toronto more closely resembled Montreal than Ottawa. The age structure and unemployment rate of the French labour force in Toronto were more important in relation to the income disparity than they were in Montreal.

Ottawa and
Toronto

¹ The measures given for the Montreal metropolitan census area in Table 25 were chosen in order to make them consistent with the figures for Toronto and Ottawa given in Table 26. However, more accurate figures are available for Montreal. When the number of industry classes is increased from 9 to 35, the effect of the industry variable on the total income disparity reached 12 per cent. A direct estimate of underemployment (see footnote to § 172) for Canadians of French and British origin earning wages and salaries increased the contribution of unemployment to the total income disparity from 6 to 13 per cent. Adding to these two figures the contribution of age and schooling-occupation as given in Table 25 (5.9 and 45.1 per cent respectively), the total of 76 per cent is obtained. This figure represents a new estimate of the contribution of all factors together to the total income disparity in Montreal.

Table 26. Factors Contributing to Income Disparity (Toronto and Ottawa)

Percentage contribution of selected factors to the labour income disparity between Canadians of French and British origin—Toronto (\$1,093) and Ottawa (\$1,496) metropolitan census areas, 1961

	Contribution (%)	
	Toronto	Ottawa
Age	16.1	10.7
Industry	4.4	7.6
Schooling-occupation	44.1	62.4
Unemployment	13.0	9.2
Total	77.6	89.9

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

Conclusion

167. The selected factors explained the income disparity most fully in Ottawa (90 per cent), next in Toronto (78 per cent), and least in Montreal (62 per cent). This leaves 10 per cent in Ottawa, 22 per cent in Toronto, and 38 per cent in Montreal which could not be accounted for by the variables we employed. However, the interdependence of the variables could affect the overall result. Some interesting observations on this type of interdependence have been made in the United States.¹ One handicap is enough to impoverish a man, while one favourable factor cannot by itself improve his position. It takes several favourable factors working together to allow a man to earn a higher income, but a single unfavourable factor can have the opposite result, and cancel out the effects of other factors. The chain is only as strong as its weakest link. The impact of the explanatory factors varies according to whether a high or low income is being considered and thus will not necessarily be the same for people of all origins.

168. For these reasons, an absolute value should not be attached to the actual proportion of the income disparities accounted for by our calculations. Indeed, a combination of circumstances that would explain more than 100 per cent of the income disparity in one or another of the metropolitan areas is conceivable. The results become significant only when they are compared; then, a clear pattern emerges: factors such as age, industry, schooling, occupation, and unemployment are substantially responsible for the lower average income of those of French origin. On the other hand, these factors explain less of the

¹ James N. Morgan *et al.*, *Income and Welfare in the United States* (New York, 1962), 182.

income disparity in Montreal than in either of the other two metropolitan areas studied here; it seems that the ethnicity factor may have a stronger effect in Montreal than in the other two areas.

169. This recalls the situation noted earlier in relation to occupational distribution: in the second largest French-speaking city in the world, those of British origin have higher average incomes than anywhere else in the country. It is remarkable that in Montreal, of all places, the fact that one's ancestors came from Great Britain has the strongest influence on the distribution of income.

c) A third approach

170. To explain the income disparities between Canadians of French and British origin,¹ we made a statistical regression analysis of a sample of more than 100,000 people in the Montreal metropolitan census area. We attempted to discover whether the differences in income between the populations of French and British origin were entirely due to the differences in age, schooling, occupation, and so on, or whether the complex forces behind ethnicity must also be considered.

171. The analysis covered only the male salary- and wage-earners of Montreal in order to eliminate the influence of sex, employment status, and region on incomes. To avoid distorting the averages and to simplify the statistical analysis, the extreme cases on the income scale (incomes over \$30,000 or under \$500) were excluded. The explanatory factors retained were age, occupation, industry, schooling, bilingualism, period of immigration, and, finally, ethnicity—which, as we have said, includes work attitudes, occupational choice, motivations and values, quality of training, mobility, and discrimination.

172. For the regression analysis, the earnings recorded by the census were adjusted for the number of recorded weeks worked: if a person had worked only one week in the year, for example, his income for that week was multiplied by 50 to make it comparable with that of a fully employed man. Thus the effects of underemployment² in the labour force were excluded from the regression analysis. This adjustment enabled us to estimate the importance of underemployment for each group. In the second column of Table 27 we calculated the theoretical earnings of each group listed if the wage- and salary-earners had worked the same number of weeks as the Canadians of English-Scottish origin. In fact, 85 per cent of the English-Scottish worked 49

Underemployment

¹ In this analysis, Canadians of British origin were divided into English-Scottish and Irish. The other groups included were the French, Italians, Jews, Germans (including Austrians), Northern Europeans (Swedes, Finns, Dutch, and Norwegians), Eastern Europeans (Hungarians, Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians), and Others.

² To measure underemployment, we considered the number of persons who worked less than 50 weeks in the year, including the unemployed and those who had voluntarily withdrawn from the labour force during the year.

to 52 weeks in 1961, compared with only 74 per cent of Canadians of French origin. The difference of 11 percentage points separating the two groups was such that the earnings of the French would have been increased by \$240 if they had worked as steadily as the English-Scottish. In column 3 of Table 27, the sum of \$240 is divided by the total earnings differential between the two groups to give the contribution of underemployment to the differential—in the case of the French, 13 per cent. Those who suffer most from underemployment are Canadians of Italian origin; then come the Canadians of Other origins, those of Jewish origin, and those of Eastern European origin. The impact in dollars depends not only on the number of people involved but also on the average wage and salary of the group. Thus, the Canadians of Jewish origin lost most in income terms from underemployment—\$402, which represents 73 per cent of the income disparity that separates them from the English-Scottish group.

Table 27. Underemployment and Labour Income

Percentage of salaried men who worked between 49 and 52 weeks, as a measure (in dollars and percentage) of the labour income disparity attributable to underemployment, by ethnic origin—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

	Percent of total who worked 49-52 weeks	Contribution of underemployment	
		\$	%
English-Scottish	85.2	—	—
French	73.9	240 ¹	13.2 ²
Irish	82.0	125	30.0
Northern European	83.1	90	38.0
Italian	65.2	283	11.6
Jewish	74.8	402	72.5
Eastern European	75.0	239	15.5
German	80.6	92	9.2
Other	72.8	291	16.0

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ If the same proportion of Canadians of French origin as of English-Scottish origin had been working 49 to 52 weeks in 1961, their average income would have been \$240 higher.

² The impact of underemployment given in column 2 was divided by the income disparity separating each of the groups from the income earned by Canadians of English-Scottish origin.

Age 173. Average age is an important reason for income differences between Canadians of various origins. The average age for salaried Montrealers of French origin is 37; for those of English-Scottish origin, 40; for those of Jewish origin, 41; for those of Italian origin, 36. The impact of these age differences on average incomes is difficult to estimate because it depends on which age level is being examined. Income does

not increase in a fixed proportion year by year; it rises until the maximum level is reached between 40 and 55 years of age, and then decreases. The net contribution of age to average wage and salary earnings is given in Table 28. Given the average salary of all male wage- and salary-earners in Montreal,¹ the table indicates that a man belonging to the 15 to 19 age group would earn \$1,610 less than the average, and a man belonging to the 40 to 44 age group would earn \$620 more than the average. It is in the latter age group that wages and salaries are highest. Because of this particular age-income pattern, the dollar value of a year of age depends upon the age group one chooses. Taking the 35 to 39 age group to which the average wage- or salary-earner belongs, a year of age is worth \$92 (\$460 in the table for five years). Since the average salaried Montrealer of French origin is younger by 2.8 years than one of English-Scottish origin, it can be calculated that a French Montrealer loses \$258 because of his relative youth, which represents about 5 per cent of the average wage and salary earnings and 15 per cent of the income disparity (\$1,650) between the two groups.

Table 28. Net Contribution of Age

Net contribution of age¹ to the labour income of salaried men, by age group—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

Age group	Dollars
15-19 years	-1,610
20-24	- 808
25-29	- 187
30-34	+ 227
35-39	+ 460
40-44	+ 620
45-49	+ 538
50-54	+ 494
55-59	+ 371
60-64	+ 242
65 and over	- 347

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ "Net contribution of age" means the increase (+) or decrease (-) in dollars to the average wage and salary which is attributable to age, all other factors being held constant.

174. The industries in which people worked in 1961 did not significantly affect the incomes of wage- and salary-earners as a whole. As our first approach showed, however, the industries made a net contribution to incomes in certain occupations such as engineering.

Industry

¹ Taking into account the adjustments described previously, this average is \$4,443.

Schooling and
occupation

175. The two most important factors were clearly schooling and occupation. In the first place, the incomes associated with the various levels of schooling were quite different. Among Montreal wage- and salary-earners, the average income for those with only elementary schooling was \$3,079, while for university graduates it was \$7,916—that is, \$4,207 more. This overall disparity is not entirely due to schooling; when other factors are taken into account simultaneously, it is reduced to \$2,543, as Table 29 indicates ($\$1,619 + \$924 = \$2,543$). This is the net contribution of schooling. Schooling also determines access to the highest paying occupations and thus influences the occupational structure of a particular population, and, therefore, its occupational status. Lastly, schooling represents the main and often the only means of durable social transformation because it lies behind the other factors that determine income. Our statistical studies confirm the importance of educational attainment.

Table 29. Net Contribution of Schooling

Net contribution of schooling¹ to the labour income of salaried men, by educational level attained—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

Educational level attained	Dollars
Primary	— 924
Secondary, 1–2 years	— 703
Secondary, 3–5 years	— 249
Some university	+ 257
University degree	+1,619

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ "Net contribution of schooling" means the increase (+) or decrease (–) in dollars to the average wage and salary which is attributable to schooling, all other factors being held constant.

176. In our statistical analysis, the occupations were divided into 23 classes. On the whole, the contribution of the occupational factor to the differences in income happened to be somewhat higher than that of schooling. More important still, schooling and occupation once again emerged in almost inextricable association.¹ This leads to the expectation that if the level of schooling in a population is raised, people will benefit not only from the higher income associated with schooling as such, but also from the incomes resulting from more profitable occupations.

¹ Age alone explained 8 per cent of the variations in individual incomes; age and occupation, 26 per cent; age and schooling, 22 per cent; and age, occupation, and schooling, 31 per cent.

177. Nevertheless, in our study, income is primarily associated with occupation and only secondarily with schooling. Access to occupations must therefore be considered as a question quite distinct from schooling. Our statistical results confirm the importance we have attached to a real equality in the access to the various occupations.

178. As we indicated earlier, individual bilingualism by itself does not at present necessarily result in any economic reward. If bilingualism, with or without ethnicity, is included with the other explanatory factors, it adds nothing to the total income explanation. When the bilingual people of British, French, and other origins are distinguished from the unilingual population, scarcely anything is added to the total explanation, although the income differences between these four linguistic categories are not negligible.

Bilingualism

179. When bilingual and unilingual persons are compared for each ethnic group separately, it is clear that Canadians of French origin have a definite advantage—albeit a small one—in knowing both English and French (all other factors being held constant). For Canadians of English or Scottish origin, and for those of Irish origin, bilingualism is not a statistically significant factor; the same is true for Northern Europeans and Germans. For Canadians of all other origins, bilingualism is an advantage—especially for those of Jewish origin, who benefit almost as much as the French.

180. These conclusions are not surprising. It is clear that Canadians of British origin have not hitherto learned French for economic reasons. For them, French has not been the language of work or the precondition of promotion, but rather the means of access to another culture. For Canadians of French origin, the premium for bilingualism revealed by the average income¹ is considerably reduced when the other factors characterizing bilingual people are taken into account. If the income of the bilingual French population is higher than that of the unilingual French population, it is above all because they have more education and are in the better-paying occupations. However, bilingualism as such does contribute to the incomes of Canadians of French origin. For those of other origins, bilingualism is a definite advantage, although it is less important for them than it is for those of French origin.

181. Only 20 per cent of male wage- and salary-earners in Montreal are immigrants, so it was not to be expected that period of immigration would play a major role in any explanation of the incomes of the whole population, and this was what our statistical analysis revealed. When the population was divided into native-born

Immigration

¹ See Table 4 in Chapter I.

persons, pre-1946 immigrants, and post-1946 immigrants, the results were analogous to those obtained for bilingualism: while immigration added almost nothing to the whole explanation, the differences between the three classes were significant. Wages and salaries of native-born Canadians were \$81 higher than the overall average, those of pre-1946 immigrants were \$204 higher, while those of post-1946 immigrants were \$285 less. Not unnaturally, the pre-1946 immigrants had a higher average income than the more recent immigrants; they also had a higher average income than the native-born population, the vast majority of whom were of French origin.

182. Length of residence in Canada is not a basic factor in the explanation of income for the whole population, but only for people of some ethnic origins—those of Jewish, Eastern European, German, Northern European, and Italian origin, in ascending order of importance. Period of immigration does not play a significant role in the incomes of those of either French or British origin. When the large number of recent immigrants of Italian origin has been taken into account, the difference in income between Canadians of French and Italian origin either disappears completely or is very considerably reduced; in 1961, Canadians of Italian origin who had lived in Canada for 20 years or more had incomes roughly equivalent to those of Canadians of French origin.

Ethnicity

183. Lastly, we consider ethnicity—ethnic origin after the other factors have been taken into account. In comparison with factors examined previously, it appears to be considerably less important than underemployment, age, schooling, and occupation. However, because this small proportion of the total income explanation was highly significant in determining income, ethnicity must be considered separately.

184. Ethnicity does not necessarily have the same importance for all groups. The first column of Table 30 gives the observed disparities in wage and salary earnings according to ethnic origin. The English-Scottish group is \$1,319 above the overall average and the French group is \$330 below it. The observed disparity is thus \$1,649 between these two groups. The net contribution of ethnicity to disparities in earnings is given in the second column. The average is increased by \$606 when the earner is of English-Scottish origin; it is reduced by \$267 when he is of French origin. Consequently, the initial disparity of \$1,649 is reduced to \$873. This figure is the contribution of ethnicity.

185. By the same token, the difference between \$1,649 and \$873 is the net contribution of the other factors to the income disparities. A comparison of the two columns shows that those other factors—

schooling, occupation, and so on—have the effect of substantially narrowing the income differences separating the French from those of Italian, Eastern European, and Other origins. These four groups now have more or less the same range of income. For Canadians of Jewish and German origin, ethnicity had no significant effect on their earnings—that is, the other factors were sufficient to explain the observed disparities which separated them from the other Canadians. We are left with two major income categories, one including Canadians of English-Scottish, Irish, and Northern European origin, where ethnicity increases average earnings, and the other including Canadians of French, Italian, Eastern European, and Other origins, where ethnicity reduces average earnings.

Table 30. Net Contribution of Ethnic Origin

Net contribution of ethnic origin¹ to labour income of salaried men, by ethnic origin—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

	Deviation from observed average of \$4,443	Net contribution of ethnic origin
English-Scottish	+\$1,319	+\$606
Irish	+ 1,012	+ 468
French	— 330	— 267
Northern European	+ 1,201	+ 303
Italian	— 961	— 370
Jewish	+ 878	+ 9*
Eastern European	— 100	— 480
German	+ 387	+ 65*
Other	— 311	— 334

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ "Net contribution of ethnic origin" means the increase (+) or decrease (–) in dollars to the average wage and salary which is attributable to ethnic origin, all other factors being held constant. We have used the term "ethnicity" to refer to this net influence of ethnic origin.

* Not statistically significant.

186. It is obvious that the identification and analysis of the causes of income disparities are subject to many difficulties. However, the various methods we have used lead us to conclude that schooling and occupation are the two most important factors explaining the income disparities between Canadians of British and French origin. The other factors which we considered—age, underemployment, industry, and region—all influence the disparities, but to a lesser degree. All these

Summary

factors, taken together, explain the greatest part of the income disparities which we have discovered. Bilingualism, period of immigration, and the factors related to ethnicity have a secondary although still significant influence. These are the results of a purely statistical analysis, which takes into account neither the cumulative effect of the factors nor their dynamism over a period of time. Therefore, we must extend our analysis to consider the deeper causes at the root of the socioeconomic disparities.

B. Dynamic Considerations

187. Why do the forces that produce the income disparity between Canadians of French and British origin affect the two groups in a different manner? Why, for instance, do the French have a lower level of schooling than the British? To give satisfactory answers to these questions would require a complete explanation of the way in which a society operates. We aim only to indicate some of the more obvious processes whereby the existing state of inequality has been produced.

1. Interrelation of factors

Mutuality of
of influences

188. We have seen that various factors combine to account for a substantial part of the disparity between the average incomes of Canadians of French and British origin; many of these factors—particularly schooling and occupation—are interrelated. However, the influence of these factors, together or separately, is by no means a one-way process: some factors may affect income, but income in its turn can affect, among other factors, schooling and occupation.

Income and
schooling

189. No matter how free schooling may be—and in most provinces university education at least is far from being free—the cost of maintaining a student in school is still high. Many families, especially the larger ones, simply cannot afford to continue supporting their children after they are old enough to join the labour force. The children's level of schooling is thus curtailed and, with it, the range of occupations open to them. The level and quality of public education are also dependent upon the resources that a society can devote to it and ultimately upon the prosperity of that society. As the average income for those of French origin has always been well below the national average, their educational achievements suffer.

190. While income partially determines the level of schooling, this level is also affected by other more important factors, as shown in a study prepared in the United States. Among the main ones are the

parents' occupation and level of schooling, their ambitions and aspirations, the number of children in the family, and religion.¹

191. Many studies have shown the importance of the parents' occupation to their children's schooling. If schooling primarily affects occupation, occupation in its turn also influences schooling. A child of professional parents is more likely to prolong his schooling; his home background tends to impress on him the importance and value of education and to equip him better to benefit from schooling; he is provided with intellectual stimulation at an early age and with a wider base of knowledge and experience. Again, the occupational structure for those of French origin is a disadvantage to their children. This suggests that, if left to themselves, socio-economic disparities tend to be handed down from generation to generation.

Parents'
occupation

2. *Economic development*

192. The schooling-occupation-income distributions are the expression of a much wider phenomenon—the whole question of social and economic development. The figures we have been considering are based on the 1961 census and reflect an already outdated socio-economic situation, which is still in a state of constant evolution.

193. Any particular figure for schooling levels, for instance, bears the imprint of the whole history of school systems in Canada. This history is in turn closely related to the process of economic development. If the economy of a region is underdeveloped, the educational system will not be required to produce a highly qualified labour force. Conversely, in a fully industrialized province, the educational system will have greater demands placed on it. If the economy is to develop, education must meet the needs of the work world by adapting itself to the technological evolution in the society it serves.

Economic
development
and education

194. The state of the economy affects schooling in another way. In a time of severe economic disruption, money will not readily be available either for improved educational services and facilities or, at a family level, for enabling a child to continue his education. The 1961 labour force was largely made up of men who grew up before World War II in a less affluent and less education-conscious era than our own, and their educational level was thus unfavourably affected.

195. The occupational distributions in 1961 are also an expression of Canada's level of economic development at that time. Obviously, the occupational profile of a mainly agricultural economy will be quite

Economic
development
and occupation

¹ Morgan *et al.*, *Income and Welfare*, 362. This list of factors is taken from the statistical analysis found in this work. Apparently the education of the parents (the mother as well as the father) is the dominant factor in explaining the children's level of education. *Ibid.*, 373.

Economic
development
and productivity

different from that of an economy in the process of industrialization or in the service-oriented, post-industrial era.

196. The factors most closely associated with economic development are income and productivity. A rise in real income or productivity is occasioned by many factors, including once again the increased skill and mobility of the labour force. Another factor is the introduction of more technologically advanced equipment.

Economic
growth

197. The Canadian economy has been undergoing rapid development in this century. We have already noted the changing occupational patterns. As well, real per capita income increased by about 70 per cent between 1925 and 1955, while the average number of years of schooling of the male labour force went up by nearly two-fifths between 1911 and 1961.¹ However, not all Canadians have benefitted equally from this progress; on this fact turns much of the present socio-economic disparity between Francophones and Anglophones.

Industrialization
in Quebec and
Anglophone
dominance

198. The history of economic development in Quebec illustrates this point well, since the impact of industrialization in this province was quite different for its Francophone majority and its Anglophone minority. The present distribution of industry ownership in Quebec—with its Anglophone predominance, particularly in the technologically advanced and highly productive industries—reflects a long tradition in the province's economic affairs.

199. Many explanations of this have been put forward. For instance, at the onset of industrialization, Anglophones were already established in the cities as merchants; they had the necessary capital for expansion and trade contacts in the North American and British markets. Francophone and Anglophone communities in Quebec had different characteristics at the time, and the Anglophones were better prepared to participate in and reap the advantages of Quebec's industrial expansion.

200. John Porter has noted that "the British in Quebec have always been much more industrial and commercial in their occupations than the French."² The Francophones, in contrast, were more rural as industrialization got under way, while later "a combination of historical factors destined the French-Canadian habitant to the role of forming an industrial proletariat."³ The Francophone élite turned to the liberal professions rather than industrial careers: between 1939 and 1950,⁴ the priesthood, medicine, and law accounted for 69 per cent of the graduates of Quebec's classical colleges.

¹ Economic Council of Canada, *Second Annual Review: Towards Sustained and Balanced Economic Growth* (Ottawa, 1965), 63, 76.

² *The Vertical Mosaic*, 97.

³ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁴ See the figures quoted in Jean-Charles Falardeau, "The Changing Social Structure," in *Essais sur le Québec contemporain* (Québec, 1953), 109-10.

201. This social and occupational distribution of Quebec's two societies has its parallel in the history of the province's school systems. The Anglophones were generally ahead in the field of publicly supported schools. As the Parent Commission pointed out, the Anglophone Protestants "wanted to develop a broad public sector intended to prepare a middle-class bourgeoisie of considerable size, adapted to the requirements of modern society."¹ The principle of centralization and amalgamation was adopted by the Protestant schools in 1925 for financial reasons. On the other hand, "educational structures on the French side had led to preferential treatment for a small group of students, who were expected to attend the university, and neglected the great majority of young people in the same age group, who, after their public school studies, were confronted with a blind alley." The report concludes:

Quebec's school systems

The educational structure of the English-language school system—at once more unified, more simple, more flexible and more democratic than that which has hitherto characterized the French-language system—has for a long time encouraged a more rapid passage from the secondary course to the university and has certainly played its part in producing a relatively higher rate of school attendance by English-speaking students at this level.²

202. Because of their higher educational level, their position in the occupational structure, and their original position as leaders in Quebec's industrialization, the Anglophones have always been better prepared than the Francophones to enjoy the benefits of the province's economic development. Once socio-economic patterns have been established, they tend to be self-perpetuating; the momentum favouring the Anglophones was never matched in the Francophone community. The 1961 census figures show the extent to which the Anglophones' head start in Quebec is still working to their advantage.

Anglophone head start

3. *The poverty cycle*

203. Although economic development has benefitted Anglophones relatively more than Francophones, there are persons in both groups who have been left behind. The process of development requires a labour force of sufficient basic skills to be able to adapt to modern technology and to move on to new industries and jobs. Yet, in 1961, 42 per cent of the total male labour force in Canada had only an elementary level of schooling or less. Many of them must now be experiencing in-

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec* (Montreal, 1966), IV, § 158.

² *Ibid.*, § 159.

Situational
factors

creasing difficulty in their relations with the work world. They may be out of the labour market altogether, or unemployed, or underemployed.

204. If poverty is measured in terms of an income below \$3,000, then its incidence in 1961 was high among families in the following situations:¹

- when the male family head was a farm worker, a logger, or a worker in a related area; a fisherman, trapper, or hunter; or a labourer. These are low-income occupations; they are shrinking in terms of the proportion of the labour force they employ, and they provide little job security. More than seven out of 10 unemployed men had last been employed in manual occupations.
- when the family head was unemployed. Clearly, this is related to the highly seasonal nature of many of the jobs held by poor people. Over a third of the heads of low-income families were out of work at the time of the 1961 census.
- when the family head had at best an elementary education. This was the situation in over two-thirds of the low-income families. Because of this generally low level of schooling, the family heads cannot escape their patterns of unemployment and low-paying jobs. Among the unemployed, over nine out of 10 had not completed secondary school and four out of 10 had not finished their elementary schooling.
- when the family head was disabled or 65 years or over. If they are in the labour force, such people have extreme difficulty in securing suitable full-time employment. Many are entirely dependent on government assistance.
- when the family head was a woman. Especially if there are young children, a woman may find it impossible to go out to work in order to support her family. As well, wages paid to women are generally lower than those paid to men. Twice as many low-income families are headed by women as in the general population.

Extent of poverty
in Canada

205. The extent of poverty in Canada is open to varying estimates according to where and how the poverty line is drawn, but its existence as a major problem is clear. According to the Economic Council of Canada, "the statement that at least one Canadian in every five suffers from poverty does not appear to be a wild exaggeration. It is almost certainly close enough to the truth to be taken as one of the most serious challenges facing economic and social policy over the next few years."²

¹ These data are taken from the Privy Council, Special Planning Secretariat, *Profile of Poverty in Canada* (Ottawa, 1965), and Economic Council of Canada, *Fifth Annual Review: The Challenge of Growth and Change* (Ottawa, 1968), 110-21.

² *Fifth Annual Review*, 110.

206. Poverty exists right across the country, although it is most concentrated in the Atlantic provinces, where 45 per cent of all non-farm families in 1961 had low incomes. It is also a phenomenon of both the city and the countryside; although there appeared to be a higher incidence of poverty in the rural areas, there was actually a greater number of poor families living in urban surroundings.

Geographic concentrations

207. Poverty can be most easily defined in terms of income, but it has related social and psychological characteristics that make it a particularly complicated and difficult problem to solve. Poverty means substandard housing—overcrowded, dilapidated, and lacking such facilities as running water. It means health that has been undermined by a deficient diet, lack of money for medical care, and inadequate clothing. It means a lack of community facilities such as schools and playgrounds.

Social and psychological characteristics

208. Children brought up in this environment will have much against them.

Poor housing, ill health, distance to school, lack of money and shabby clothing, have an adverse effect on the student's ability to meet his commitments in school.

.....
Children from poor homes start school with disadvantages for they are unfamiliar with the environment, the disciplines, or even the culture which forms the basis of early school life.¹

If school seems alien to the child of poor parents, he will receive little if any encouragement from home to take his studies seriously. Indeed, he may even be encouraged to drop out and take a job to augment the family income, even though this means the probable perpetuation of poverty for another generation.

209. The successful majority of society—those who have benefitted from the economic development process—have had remarkably little understanding of the poverty situation. The poor have often been dismissed as stupid, shiftless, lazy, and immoral—guilty of a whole catalogue of sins against the middle-class ethic. But to preach thrift to a man who can scarcely provide food and clothing to his family, to commend hard work to another whose lack of schooling has condemned him to a round of ill-paid, short-term, and unpleasant jobs, and to maintain the sanctity and desirability of property to one who has few possessions simply reinforces the alienation of the victims of poverty.

210. The poor man has virtually no chance of improving his position, given his lack of training and past work history; furthermore,

¹ Canada, Privy Council, Special Planning Secretariat, *Profile of Poverty in Canada*, "Education—Its Relation to Poverty," 3, 5.

with the declining need for unskilled labour, his employment situation is likely to grow worse. He lives amidst squalor, continually fighting to make ends meet, and with no savings or reserves to face unexpected demands on his purse or to provide for a better future. Without sufficient education and organization, he can neither articulate his discontent nor seek remedies. Trapped and defeated by his environment, he has given up the search for a better future. Thus do the physical aspects of deprivation produce a state of mind that removes all possibility of escape from the grip of poverty. This is the poverty cycle.

Poverty and
ethnic origin

211. Data on poverty, even when this is simply defined on an income scale, are relatively scarce in Canada, and this is particularly true in the case of any breakdown by ethnic origin or mother tongue. But there are indications that poverty, while not limited to any section of the population, is more frequently found among Francophone than Anglophone Canadians. In 1961, relatively more Francophones than Anglophones had lower incomes¹ and thus were caught in the poverty cycle. Larger percentages among the Francophones showed such characteristics of poverty as unemployment, low schooling levels, and manual occupations. An examination of the census divisions containing high concentrations of "hard-core"² farm poverty shows that many of the areas of French-speaking concentration fall within this category.

212. Solutions to the poverty cycle as a social and cultural problem require a sensitivity towards the culture of its victims. Even though there are over-riding similarities in all poverty situations, the problems of low-income areas in which one ethnic group is concentrated will be different from those in a region where another group constitutes the majority. Relatively little attention has so far been paid in this country either to the socio-cultural aspects of poverty or to the probably differing needs of Francophone and Anglophone low-income families, so the lack of relevant data is not surprising.

Dynamics of
poverty

213. Poverty is related to the two previously mentioned dynamic processes: the cumulative effect of the factors we have considered and economic development. The associated schooling-occupation-income factors contribute to the perpetuation of poverty; on the other hand, economic development and the changes it involves are responsible for

¹ In Montreal, 29 per cent of those of French and 17 per cent of those of British origin earned less than \$3,000 in 1961; in Ottawa, 30 per cent and 16 per cent; and in Toronto, 27 per cent and 17 per cent. These figures are for the male labour force and thus do not take into consideration all those out of work and not looking for a job at the time of the census.

² As defined by ARDA. The appropriate list of census districts is to be found in Helen Buckley and Eva Tihanyi, *Canadian Policies for Rural Adjustment: A Study of the Economic Impact of ARDA, PFRA, and MMRA*, Economic Council of Canada, Special Study No. 7 (Ottawa, 1967), 173-7.

devaluing such schooling and occupational experience as the poor have. But because poverty develops a social and psychological momentum of its own, it calls for treatment as a problem in its own right.

4. Institutional factors

214. A fourth dynamic process associated with socio-economic status is to be found in the policies and practices of the institutions of the work world. Before he even joins the labour force, the individual's social and economic standing in life is certainly partially shaped by the various demographic, historical, cultural, and other factors we have discussed. Yet, once he enters the institutions of the work world, a whole new set of factors enters into operation to check or advance his progress. These factors are particularly relevant to an explanation of the disparities in status between Francophones and Anglophones, since it is within these institutions that linguistic and cultural differences become translated into social and economic ones. "Francophone" and "Anglophone" cease to be merely convenient labels for the two linguistic groups. They take on a new significance as we begin to discover the profound influence of language and culture on socio-economic disparities.

Policies and practices

215. Language and culture influence the institutions of the work world in many ways. How does the individual entrant react to the work world? Does he have some cultural traits which make him restrict his search for employment to his own area or his own kind? Has his ambition been blunted by what he perceives to be his limited opportunities for success? Has the general orientation he has absorbed in his social milieu attuned him to the demands and ethos attached to senior posts in the Public Service and the business world? Will the institutions of the work world in fact place obstacles in the way of his advancement? Will he be discriminated against on the basis of his ethnic origin or language? Will he have to compete with other people while working in a language and culture that are not his own? Will he have to face recruitment, training, and promotion systems whose cultural content is alien to him?

216. In parts 2 and 3 of this Book, we will try to provide the answers to such questions. Since the conditions of work assuredly affect a man's career and income, if Francophones are in fact experiencing greater difficulty than Anglophones in the federal Public Service and in private industry because of their language and culture, this will accentuate the socio-economic disparities between the two groups. Thus, these disparities are to a great extent the result of the policies and practices of the work institutions.

Summary

217. Obviously, as well as the measurable factors such as education and occupation, there are deeper causes for the socio-economic disparities between Canadians. We have grouped these deeper causes into four categories: the cumulative effect of personal characteristics, economic development, poverty, and the policies and practices of the work world.

218. The federal government is involved in the life of every Canadian. Its vast financial bulk and the complexity of its interrelation with the economy have far-reaching effects, both national and regional, on industrial growth, employment, and stability. Both as an employer and as a purchaser of goods and services, the federal government is a direct source of income to many Canadians. As well, in recent years, governments generally have been obliged to develop new and closer relations with private investment and industry.

The role of
federal
government

219. It is more important than ever that the decisions and actions of the Canadian government should recognize and draw on the potential of the country's two linguistic communities. At the intergovernmental level this principle has become widely recognized, since the division of responsibilities and co-ordination of planning between federal and provincial governments are basic to the solving of contemporary problems. If the language and culture of French-speaking Canada are weakly expressed in the federal government or its Public Service, that government cannot even begin to execute its duties towards all Canadians—Francophones as well as Anglophones.

220. In 1966 this enormous institution, in all its departments and agencies, the Crown corporations, and the Canadian Armed Forces, employed 480,000 people, about 7 per cent of the whole Canadian labour force. It is by far the largest single employer in Canada, with a total number of employees "roughly equal to the work force in the twenty-five largest industrial corporations in Canada . . . roughly double the total number employed by the ten provincial governments."¹ The

Unique
character of the
Public Service

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization*, I (Ottawa, 1962), 308.

federal government's labour force is also extremely diversified, employing people in virtually every occupational category.

221. The Public Service has a larger proportion of semi-professional and technical personnel than the labour force as a whole; it also has slightly more managers and qualified professionals than most industries, and far fewer manual workers. In recent years its traditional white-collar character has been continually augmented by the need for more and more scientists and technologists. Correspondingly, the Public Service is better educated than the labour force as a whole. For example, 19 per cent of its staff in 1961 had attended university, compared with 10 per cent of the total labour force.

Individual and
institutional
bilingualism

222. Language rights must be respected by the Canadian Public Service. The Service is obliged to be bilingual; the Canadian citizen is not—nor is the Canadian public servant. The important distinction between individual and institutional bilingualism must be kept in mind.¹ The federal Public Service itself must be bilingual; it should be able to provide adequate services in both French and English and, therefore, some members of its staff will have to be bilingual. However, many will continue to need only one language.

223. An individual should be free to work in the tongue in which he is most comfortable. Because he speaks one and not the other official language, he should not be unjustly penalized. In most fields, a "career in French" should be as readily available as a "career in English." Thus, as a bilingual institution, the federal administration must contain organizational arrangements designed to ensure that individuals can work and develop professionally in their own language.

Receptive
bilingualism

224. For many public servants, of course, it will be wise to develop bilingual capacity, since it will increase their opportunities for advancement. These persons could work in either a Francophone or an Anglophone milieu, or serve as communication links between the two milieux. Such individual bilingualism may not necessarily require complete familiarity and ease with all facets of the other language. Receptive bilingualism—the ability to read the other language and understand it when it is spoken, an ability significantly easier to acquire than total bilingualism—would enable a person to review documents and understand oral presentations prepared in the other language.

Biculturalism

225. Another important distinction is that between biculturalism and bilingualism. This distinction is extremely difficult to make because, although in our view the main objective is a bicultural situation, the more easily definable factor is language. Structures adapted to the

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 29.

linguistic needs of cultural entities enable them to survive, develop, and play the role which is distinctively theirs. Yet, long before we make formal proposals for structural changes in the Public Service, we must determine whether and in what way the cultural qualities of Francophones and Anglophones are distinguishable and significant at work; whether such qualities, if they differ, have equal opportunities for expression; and, if they have not, what the consequences are. The most easily measurable of these cultural qualities—and the key factor—is, of course, language. However, culture consists of more than the language through which it is expressed: “culture is a way of being, thinking, and feeling.”¹ We must examine the expression of these other qualities in the work relations in the federal administration and evaluate their significance and opportunities.

226. Because the Royal Commission on Government Organization (the Glassco Commission) had examined the situation in detail only a few years ago, we did not need to make separate detailed studies of many of the units that make up the federal administration: the Glassco report, along with other public documents, provided much of the necessary background information. However, wide gaps in our knowledge about bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service remained. In his minority submission in the report of the Glassco Commission, Commissioner Eugène Therrien stated: “It is practically impossible to obtain precise statistics of the number of French Canadians employed in the civil service and the number of bilingual public servants; yet statistics on alcoholism in the public service are readily available.”² This indicates something of the problems we faced and of the need to conduct original research. Our research consisted of about 40 separate studies.

Research

227. In most of the research studies we used the census classification of mother tongue—“the language first learned in childhood and still understood”—as our basic linguistic classification of public servants. Refinements of the mother-tongue classification were used in the studies on which the later chapters about career development and the Canadian Forces are based.

Linguistic
classification

228. “Language of service” and “language of work” are differentiated throughout our text. The former applies to any means of communication between the federal government and its clients, whether they be individual taxpayers, business corporations, or other governments. Language of work means the language used between individuals or agencies within the government. In Book I we touched on language

Language
of service;
language
of work

¹ *Ibid.*, § 38.

² *Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization*, I, 69.

Middle- and
upper-level
public servants

of service in the federal government; it is treated in detail here. However, changes in the language of work in the Public Service present the most difficult problems and the greatest challenge.

229. Although we provide a broad descriptive account of the whole Public Service, our chief attention is focussed on the language practices in its middle and upper levels. The employees here are generally university-educated and are performing professional, managerial, scientific, and technical tasks. In 1965, when our research was in progress, we defined the middle level as including those earning over \$6,200 annually, and the upper level as including those with annual salaries over \$10,000. These levels contain only about one public servant in five, but it is at these levels—where important policy decisions are made and research conducted—that the greatest need for staff and programmes for staff development exists.

230. Obviously, these levels of the Public Service include only a small segment of the total population, particularly of the Francophone population. Indeed, this segment contributed little to the statistical expression of the economic disparity between Francophones and Anglophones, but it does represent political, economic, and social power—a critical determinant of the future of the two groups both individually and in relation to one another. Furthermore, for this group and its potential members, conditions inside the federal administration can have a profound effect on status and participation.

231. Most of the personnel at the middle and upper levels of the Public Service are in departments or other units where recruiting, salary levels, and other personnel matters are under the jurisdiction of the Public Service Commission¹ and the Treasury Board. Hence, our comments and recommendations about staffing the Public Service generally refer to sectors influenced and controlled by these two agencies. However, certain types of federal bodies and personnel not directly under the jurisdiction of the two central agencies will be given special treatment in our discussion. These are the Crown corporations and other autonomous agencies, as well as the most senior officers of the Public Service. Deputy ministers, members of boards and commissions, ambassadors and other senior personnel in the department of External Affairs, and the directors of Crown corporations are appointed by Order-in-Council, rather than by the Public Service Commission under the provisions of the Public Service Employment Act. Thus, although we shall often speak in general terms about the upper level, in making our recommendations we shall distinguish

¹ At the time our research was conducted, this agency was still the Civil Service Commission. Its name was changed in 1967. Both names will be used in the text, depending on the period referred to.

between Public (or Civil) Service Commission appointments and government appointments by Order-in-Council.

232. A guiding theme in Part 2 is the participation of Francophones and Anglophones in the organizations of the federal Public Service. Two facets of participation are examined. The first is participation in the sense of physical presence in various departments or agencies, at various salary levels, among persons with a certain type of university specialty, or in groups that have experienced slow or rapid advancement. We were interested in where Francophones and Anglophones were relatively concentrated or absent. Here we had a statistical guideline: in 1965 about 22 per cent of the total Public Service was of French mother tongue. A group containing a higher percentage of Francophones had a relative concentration; conversely, when less than 22 per cent of a particular group was French-speaking, there was a relative absence of Francophones.

Participation:
physical
presence

233. We do not endorse a "quota system" or "representation principle" in the selection of candidates. We do not imply that every sector of the Public Service ought to be 22 per cent Francophone—or 26 per cent, which was the proportion of those of French mother tongue in the Canadian labour force in 1961. Such figures are only gross guidelines for discovering those sectors or groups in the federal administration where Francophones were numerous or few. The proportion of Francophones in a work unit might turn out to be 22 per cent in a particular case, but likely would vary according to the particular circumstances and needs of the unit.

234. The second facet of participation by Francophones and Anglophones is their active involvement in and personal contribution to the work going on in their immediate environment. Are public servants from the two language groups equally interested and influential in their work? To what extent are Francophone and Anglophone cultural traditions expressed in the federal bureaucracies? As the history of the political issues arising from linguistic and cultural problems shows, the public administration has long considered itself devoid of cultural considerations. The claims of French-speaking Canada were usually labelled "political" and treated accordingly. Efforts are now being made to create an equal partnership in the federal administration, but so far these efforts consist almost exclusively of programmes to increase the number of bilingual individuals. Clearly, there is a need for organizational changes and structures to develop the viable use of both languages within specific work contexts.

Participation:
active
involvement

235. A breakdown of the government departments, agencies, and corporations our various investigations surveyed may be found at the beginning of Appendix VII. Some of our results are bound

to be out of date, since policies and practices relating to language matters are constantly changing. Nevertheless, we are reasonably confident that the fundamental character of different branches of government has been faithfully recorded and that significant changes have not been overlooked.

Plan of Part 2:
History

236. Chapter VI provides the historical background to linguistic and cultural matters in the Public Service from the middle of the 19th century to the present, including the reorganization of the Civil Service Commission under the name Public Service Commission, in 1967.

Language use

237. In Chapter VII we examine current policies, programmes, and practices with regard to language use. First, we describe and evaluate language policy on relations with the public (language of service) and with other public servants (language of work). These are prime indicators of the degree to which French is truly regarded as a living language in the federal administration. Then we investigate the language capacities of individual public servants and the relation between actual and potential use of language. The practices relating to serving a public divided in language, the problems of translation of documents, and the techniques for teaching French to Anglophone public servants are critically assessed.

237. In Chapter VII we examine current policies, programmes, and Chapter IX, the participation of Francophones and Anglophones in the Public Service.

Recruiting

239. One of our key findings was that there is a considerable difference in the numbers of graduates of French- and English-language universities. There are also marked differences in occupational distribution between the two groups of graduates. Finally, the proportion of graduates from the English-language universities applying to the Junior Executive Officers and Foreign Service Officers recruiting programme was twice that of graduates from the French-language universities. Certain questions arise from these disparities. For example, are there few Francophone scientists in the Public Service because there are few scientists graduating from French-language universities, or because not many newly qualified Francophone scientists want to work for the federal government? Our statistical research on university output and recruitment programmes was supplemented by an opinion survey, made in the universities, about views held of the Public Service and the advantages and disadvantages of working for it.

Career
development

240. Chapter IX, on career development in the Public Service, explores the impact of a dominant culture on a minority culture. Our basic questions concerned the amount and kind of participation by Francophones and Anglophones in the various agencies, particularly

those in which creative activities (policy development or research) were paramount. Some of the characteristics of the language groups were examined—educational levels, experience in employment outside the Public Service, and geographic mobility. These factors explain, in part, the physical distribution of members of the two groups among the posts and salary groups in the federal Public Service. Comparisons between persons of different language backgrounds in managerial and professional occupations are especially significant. We also examined the relation of administrative structures to the problem of making full use of available talent by considering the social and psychological characteristics of small work groups as well as organizational structures and processes. The work group is the real world of the public servant. Changes take place not in some ideal and abstract realm but in the office, in relations with colleagues, seniors, and subordinates, and under the continuing pressure of work.

Canadian
Forces

241. In Chapter XI we look at the Canadian Forces, which are treated separately from the Public Service because of their relative compactness and their unique traditions. They employ more than one-fifth of all public servants and, through special services for serving troops' dependants and veterans, extend their influence still further.

A dynamic
perspective

242. In this large study we have necessarily concentrated on observing the present situation in an historical perspective; but always our thoughts have been on the future. The concept that the Public Service should reflect the aspirations of all Canadians has now been stated firmly by the federal government and more generally by Canada's political leaders at federal and provincial levels. Our task has been to advise on the transformation of broad concepts into comprehensive policy and operational reality (Chapter X).

243. The possibility of national disintegration has forced a re-examination of the linguistic policies of the Public Service. The debate is no longer about efficiency, merit, patronage, and representation, but rather between thorough-going reform and schism. Change is imminent and no institution requires reform more urgently than does the federal administration.

244. In an institution that is old, large, and internally complex, the main reaction to the contemporary resurgence of French-speaking Canada seems to be fear. But such a resurgence—while it exacts legitimate and difficult changes in preconceptions about language use and culture—holds an enormous potential for the Public Service and Canada. This prospect has helped us approach the Public Service with optimism.

245. The history of concern for participation by French-speaking Canadians in the federal Public Service—and also for the language of administrative services to the public—dates back to pre-Confederation days.¹ However, we shall limit our attempt to trace the development of this concern to the period after 1867, and we shall consider only the cultural and linguistic problems raised and dealt with at the institutional level of Parliament and the cabinet. We will not discuss the discontent with the Public Service which arose in Quebec but did not reach these policy-making bodies. Finally, in examining the successive crises that evinced a political response from Parliament and the cabinet, we shall not attempt to provide a general history of the Public Service or a day-by-day account of the development of language-use practices. Our aim is to provide an historical framework for our study of the Public Service and in so doing to underline the importance of political leadership and direction.

The limits of
our examination

246. Official concern for the participation of Francophones in the Public Service has never been sustained during the post-1867 period. It was given considerable importance when the Public Service was being reorganized immediately after Confederation but was thereafter relatively neglected, receiving only sporadic attention until the 1930's. Controversy reappeared then, but primarily in the form of concern over the status of French as a language of service in the federal bureaucracy, and there was a wave of protests from some quarters of French-speaking Canada that the French language had virtually no status at all.

Absence of
sustained concern

247. In the 1930's these two issues—language use and participation—were first connected by those protesting against the monolithic

¹ See, for example, the quotations cited by Lionel Groulx, *Histoire du Canada français depuis la découverte*, II (Montreal, 1960), 127-9.

"English" nature of the Public Service. Since the 1940's, they have been seen as two sides of a single problem: the development of a bicultural federal administration. It is now apparent that the influence and status of Francophones in the federal sphere are at stake, and that improvement in one area will not be gained without concomitant improvement in the other.

248. Until very recently, these grievances generated only short-lived crises and little public debate. Neglect and inaction in this area are almost a national tradition. But in spite of the past record, the current public debate on the issues of participation and language use suggests some grounds for optimism that just reforms can be made.

A. From Patronage to Merit: Confederation to the 1930's

249. Our interest in this period centres primarily on legislation, since it was partly as a result of legislation rationalizing Public Service appointments that Francophone participation in the Service declined. Furthermore, this legislation set out what little policy there was as to language use.

Civil Service
Act, 1868

250. The first Civil Service Act of Canada was passed in 1868.¹ It contained no provisions with regard to participation but, in the loosely organized, decentralized structures inherited from the earlier régime, French-speaking Canada was relatively well represented, at least numerically.² There were complaints, of course: histories of the period indicate that there was a good deal of resentment against what Francophones considered to be the English-speaking monopoly of the key administrative posts. Even then, Anglophones dominated the federal Public Service, and Francophones resented that domination. The pattern has continued to the present day.

251. Clearly, the architects of the new dominion's Public Service failed to plan for administrative arrangements appropriate to a bilingual federal state. But in 19th-century Canada there were certain mitigating conditions. Government was relatively decentralized and the impact of the federal government on the economic and social life of the new country was largely indirect. The existing political conventions of recruitment to the Public Service—patronage and proportional repre-

¹ The Canada Civil Service Act, 1868, S.C. 1868, 31 Vic., c.34.

² Precise figures for 1868 are unavailable, but according to J. E. Hodgetts, an authority on Canadian public administration, an 1863 list of 450 officials at the administrative headquarters of the public service of the United Canadas showed that 161, about 36 per cent, were Francophones. Obviously, however, most of them held positions junior to the Anglophones, as they received less than 20 per cent of the payroll. *Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of The United Canadas, 1841-1867*, Canadian Government Series, No. 7 (Toronto, 1955), 57.

sensation—provided for some measure of participation by both cultural groups. After the Act of 1868, appointments were made from lists of minister's nominees who had successfully passed a basic examination set by a board of deputy ministers; sometimes two or three attempts at passing were allowed. This ensured that, by and large, those with political contacts or records of service to the successful party were chosen. It also guaranteed that Francophones got jobs. According to the political standards and imagery of the day, they were entitled to their "representation," and patronage practices facilitated its attainment. For most federal officials and politicians, Francophones and Anglophones alike, patronage and representation claims were solidly—and to a large extent legitimately—linked.

252. This situation changed gradually. In 1882 new legislation, reflecting the recommendations of the Royal Commission to Inquire into the Organization of the Civil Service Commission,¹ established a board of examiners to prepare lists of eligible candidates from which ministers might make appointments. Periodic examinations were to be held in the larger cities to provide names for the lists. These examinations were to be "as far as practicable" in writing, and were to be held "in the English or French language or both at the option of the candidate." Notice of recruiting and promotion examinations, and of new regulations pertaining to them, was to be published in the *Canada Gazette* in English and French.² Parliamentary interest in the Act concerned patronage, and hardly touched on language use in the Public Service. There was no provision in the Act for implementing the royal commission's recommendation that all public officials serving in Quebec be able to speak both French and English in order to conduct their business satisfactorily.

The merit system
is born—1882

253. The legislation of 1882 was thus the first break with well-entrenched conventions of patronage. While its impact on the practices of the day was hardly perceptible, it did introduce the ideas of merit and efficiency into the federal administration. It was not until later years that increasing numbers of federal officials saw that staffing decisions would have to be made on a more rational basis if the government were to administer its growing responsibilities properly.

254. Amendments in 1884 and a consolidation in 1885 did not materially alter the effect of the Act in the areas in which we are concerned. However, revisions introduced in 1888 provided, among other things, that a bonus of \$50 be awarded for the ability to execute "composition in French by English candidates [and] composition in English by French candidates." The recruiting examinations were now

Amendments to
the Civil Service
Act—1884 and
1888

¹ This commission was appointed in 1880 and presented its report in 1881.

² Canada Civil Service Act, 1882, S.C. 1882, 45 Vic., c.4, ss.6, 28, 29.

to be held only once a year, and graduates of any Canadian university and the Royal Military College were exempted. Furthermore, examinations were henceforth to be in either English or French but not in both languages.¹ The Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the Opposition, questioned the secretary of State on this point in the House of Commons, and was told that granting a bonus for bilingual abilities had obviated the need for allowing candidates at their option to write the examination in both languages. No further clarification was sought.²

Establishment
of the Civil
Service Commis-
sion—1908

255. In 1908, following the recommendations of a commission set up in 1907,³ there was a second systematic step away from patronage. Created to implement the principle of appointment according to merit, the Civil Service Commission was given powers to examine and appoint recruits.⁴ But it could do so only within a very limited sphere. The architects of the Act made certain that merit would not encroach too heavily on political patronage by limiting the jurisdiction of the new agency to certain parts of the Ottawa-based Public Service.⁵ Departmental chiefs and politicians still retained control over all field appointments and many in Ottawa as well.

Civil Service
Commission
takes over
recruiting—1918

256. After 1914 the demands of war convinced the federal government that the principles of merit and efficiency would have to be placed on a sounder basis. Extensive reorganization of the Public Service was implemented under the Civil Service Act of 1918⁶ and went a considerable distance towards establishing a universal merit system by making all recruitment the responsibility of a truly independent Civil Service Commission, responsible only to Parliament.⁷ The powers of the Civil Service Commission were significantly expanded, and it was now recognized as the key institution that would spearhead the rationalization of federal employment.

257. In the Act of 1918, provisions relating to language use were again simply carried over without change from previous legislation. Neither of the two significant items of legislation concerning the federal Public Service passed during the first half-century of Confederation—the Acts of 1908 and 1918—sought to alter materially the existing practices pertaining to language use in recruitment and government business, or to codify them in any explicit way.

¹ An Act to amend "The Civil Service Act . . ." S.C. 1888, 51 Vic., c.12, ss.4-6.

² Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1888, 2nd session, II, 1436.

³ A Commission to inquire into and report on the operation of the existing Civil Service Act and relating legislation with view to proposing such changes as may be deemed advisable.

⁴ The Civil Service Amendment Act, 1908, S.C. 1908, 7-8 Ed. VII, c.15.

⁵ Canada, Civil Service Commission, *Personnel Administration in the Public Service—A Review of Civil Service Legislation* (Ottawa, 1959), 4.

⁶ S.C. 1918, 8-9 Geo. V, c.12.

⁷ Canada, Civil Service Commission, *Personnel Administration in the Public Service*, 6.

258. In the dozen years following the 1918 Act, no further rules were formulated on language use or representation. Indeed, during this period these matters were touched upon on only one occasion. The principle that all examinations might be written in English or French and, further, that the choice of language was to be made at the time of application, was restated in 1923 as Regulation 19 of the Civil Service Regulations.¹

Regulation 19—
1923

259. After 1918, the departments continued to control many types of staffing decision, and amendments to Civil Service Commission regulations in the 1920's and 1930's placed even further restrictions on the Commission's powers. Yet, in spite of these limitations, the principles of merit and efficiency which it embodied steadily gained in influence, and the traditional idea of representation declined.

260. There was a precipitous decline of the French-speaking proportion of the total Public Service after the establishment of the Civil Service Commission. Although precise estimates are not available, it appears that Francophones made up about 22 per cent of all federal employees in 1918 but less than 13 per cent in 1946.² One possible explanation for this decline is the large number of Anglophones who came into the administration under the veterans' preference arrangements.

Decline of
Francophone
representation

261. This decline in representation resulted in a corresponding decline in participation. Part of the Anglophones' advantage lay in the greater technical and commercial orientation of education in the English-speaking provinces, especially at the secondary level. Whereas both Francophones and Anglophones had earlier been recruited largely on the basis of patronage, the former were now often shut out for lack of technical qualifications. This relative disadvantage was compounded by the Civil Service Commission's recruiting practices, which were fashioned to correspond with the English-language educational systems. Its examinations, even when translated into French, reflected the patterns of thought and cultural style of English-speaking Canada.

Decline of
Francophone
participation

262. The Civil Service Commission and the department chiefs did not relate language use and participation to the goal of bureaucratic efficiency; hence, opportunities for Francophones were further restricted. It was hardly contemplated that French might be entitled to status as a language of work in the federal administration's growing headquarters in Ottawa. The narrowness of the Commission's views was all the more evident in official policy on service to the public. In following the imperatives of the merit principle, educational credentials and technical

Efficiency and
unilingualism

¹ Canada, Civil Service Commission, *Civil Service Regulations* (Ottawa, 1923), 9.

² Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1946, 2nd session, IV, 3520.

experience were all that mattered officially.¹ Even for positions which required dealing with both French- and English-speaking clients, ability in the two languages was seldom taken into account. It scarcely occurred to the senior officials of the day that providing unilingual service to a country with two major language groups was grossly inefficient, not to mention inequitable. Sensitivity to the facts of Canadian federalism did not begin to penetrate official thinking until long after 1918.

263. While not officially taken into account in staffing decisions, language often received unofficial "consideration." Bilingual personnel were indispensable for some types of positions, particularly in Quebec, but it was more difficult for "bilinguals" (as Francophones were called) to reach middle-level or senior positions. Nevertheless, any claims of abuse put forward by Francophones could be, and repeatedly were, attacked as encroaching on the merit system.

B. The Heightened Struggle: The 1930's On

264. The decline in the proportion of French-speaking personnel—which after 1918 occurred at all levels of the Public Service—was most pronounced among senior bureaucrats. The customary practice of placing Francophones in positions more honorific than effective was not eliminated, but it was somewhat less frequently observed. The federal hierarchy, administrative as well as political, remained oblivious to this trend until shocked awake by some such incident as that relating to the Imperial Economic Conference of 1932.

The Imperial
Economic Con-
ference incident

265. Various special studies were organized by Dr. O. D. Skelton, under-secretary of State for External Affairs, in preparation for the conference. Prime Minister R. B. Bennett, who was to head the Canadian delegation, and Skelton appointed all the civil servants who had drawn up the briefing materials as advisers to the official delegates. The list of names was presented to the cabinet by Bennett.

266. After examining the list, one cabinet minister announced that it included no French names. The cabinet was shocked and the situation had to be "rectified" by the addition of some Francophone advisers. This concession to political etiquette did not obviate a sharp discussion, severely shaking the earlier harmony between Francophones and Anglophones in the cabinet. The Prime Minister criticized his Francophone colleagues, charging them with viewing the Public Service as merely a vehicle for patronage.²

¹ Political connections and ethnic and religious factors had, in fact, considerable influence on decisions of this sort, despite the official rhetoric.

² The incident was described during an interview with Norman Robertson, March 1, 1966.

267. The incident impressed Skelton deeply too, and thereafter he made a particular effort to recruit graduates of French-language universities for the department of External Affairs which was then being organized. His success was modest but of long-lasting significance. Many Francophone officials still feel more at home in External Affairs than in most other branches of government, and the department has been the route of entry to the Public Service for many Francophones who later held senior posts in other departments.

268. The Prime Minister's view of Francophones' attitudes towards patronage was characteristic of the 1930's and 1940's. All that it left out was the willing sanction of the situation by Anglophones. Most Francophone cabinet ministers and MPs of the period showed little interest in the Civil Service Commission's new staffing policies; they were content to perpetuate the old practices rather than try to work out ways in which the Public Service might modify its interpretation of efficiency and rationalization to fit the talents and needs of their constituents.

269. A notable exception was Ernest Lapointe, the minister of Justice and Quebec leader in the government formed by W. L. Mackenzie King in 1935.¹ His reputation as a champion of Francophone rights in the Public Service was established soon after he assumed his central role in the government, and thereafter he was the spokesman for hundreds of grievances, large and small. In this respect, of course, he was fulfilling his role as Quebec leader, but the energy and patience he devoted to these political tasks in spite of repeated rebuffs and—more important—the way he was able to grasp the various dimensions of the problem were exceptional for the time. He was pressed with patronage demands from Quebec and grievances over representation and, like any effective political chief, he did his best to keep the party happy. After 1935, however, there was another set of grievances to contend with: a wave of protests and demands arose from Francophones all over Canada, chiefly denouncing the lack of facilities and services in French. Lapointe pursued these two concerns tirelessly but with little success. At that time, even the most trivial concessions to Francophones were considered by the Anglophone majority to be wasteful and misguided. The concept of "biculturalism" was not yet recognized as a goal.

Ernest Lapointe

270. One *cause célèbre* of the period added greatly to French-speaking Canada's sense of grievance. At the outbreak of a serious strike at Trois-Rivières in 1935, the federal department of Labour dispatched three officials from Ottawa to handle arbitration. All three could speak

The Trois-Rivières incident

¹ Material in §§ 269-79 was obtained from a study of the accessible papers of Ernest Lapointe.

only English and were, of course, quite useless. In addition, their alleged high-handedness enraged all parties to the dispute. The bitterness of the complaints that broke out in the House of Commons startled the minister of Labour. English had always been the language of industrial relations in Canada and demands for French in this area were unprecedented. There was no denying their justice, however, and the minister was forced to agree that, in future, efforts should be made to find bilingual officials.

The Lacroix
amendment—1938

271. Incidents such as this, as well as Lapointe's behind-the-scenes operations, led to one minor but significant success: the passage of the so-called Lacroix amendment of 1938. This was an amendment to the Civil Service Act which read:

Except where otherwise expressly provided, all appointments to the civil service shall be upon competitive examinations under and pursuant to the provisions of this Act, and shall be during pleasure: Provided that no appointment, whether permanent or temporary, shall be made to a local position within a province, and no employee shall be transferred from a position in a province to a local position in the same or another province, whether permanent or temporary, until and unless the candidate or employee has qualified, by examination, in the knowledge and use of the language of the majority of the persons with whom he is required to do business: provided that such language shall be the French or the English language.¹

272. Discussion provoked by the bill indicated a genuine awakening of interest in the entire problem within the House. Following second reading, the leader of the Opposition, R. B. Bennett, while agreeing with the principle of the bill, expressed fears that its provisions might endanger the merit system in some appointments. On final reading, Opposition members voiced concern lest the criterion of "the language of the locality" be applied to scientific and technical officers whose duties involved no contact with the public. Mr. Bennett raised a final objection to the bill because no provision had been made for serving a proportionately significant minority in its own language. The government spokesmen, Ernest Lapointe and Fernand Rinfret, felt that in such instances the Civil Service Commission could be relied upon to make a fair accommodation.²

Regulation
32A—1942

273. The effects of the Lacroix amendment on language practice and recruitment turned out to be negligible, probably because the real power was left in the hands of department chiefs, who tended to ignore its prescriptions. The Lacroix amendment was elaborated by Civil Service Regulation 32A, passed in 1942 shortly after Lapointe's death. It gave deputy heads of departments the power to determine language

¹ An Act to amend the Civil Service Act, S.C. 1938, 2 Geo. VI, c.7, s.1.

² Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1938, 3rd session, II, 1485-7.

qualifications for positions in localities where both English and French were spoken.¹ Yet the 1938 amendment was significant because it was the first explicit recognition by Parliament of the need for both languages in the federal Public Service. Up to this time, provisions relating to language use in various pieces of legislation had been viewed as peripheral; in 1938, language use in the federal administration was finally given serious legislative attention.

274. Lapointe had had high hopes that the Lacroix amendment would bring about a substantial infusion of Francophones into the Public Service, and until his untimely death in 1941 he did everything in his power to make this so. His efforts came to little in a federal administration that became even more thoroughly Anglophone as a result of its enormous and rapid expansion during World War II. In the haste to recruit staff in an atmosphere of emergency, informal networks of personal and professional acquaintances became more than ever before the chief means of finding new recruits. The Francophones were even more left out in the cold, and the purposes of the amendment were forgotten.

The effects of
the war

275. Lapointe was aware of this situation and its repercussions on French-English relations in Quebec and elsewhere. He attempted to bring it to the attention of his English-speaking colleagues in the cabinet, but for the most part they ignored his entreaties. Typical in this respect is a letter, dated December 3, 1940, from Lapointe to C. D. Howe, minister of the key wartime department of Munitions and Supply:

Ernest Lapointe
and C. D. Howe

Following our conversation of yesterday, I investigated further as to the reason why there is such a preponderance—I might even say a complete exclusiveness of others—in the appointment of English-speaking officers and employees in the Department of Munitions and Supplies.

You were under the impression, as was Mr. Power, that the provisions of the so-called Lacroix Bill were responsible for that. This is a mistake, because the Civil Service Commission had made a ruling... as follows.

276. The letter went on to quote the Civil Service Commission regulations and explain them. Lapointe said he had found officials in Howe's department were systematically ignoring provisions for hiring bilingual personnel, and suggested how the regulations might be observed. He concluded:

I am grateful to you to have expressed a full understanding of the difficulty and the problem the present situation creates, and your willingness to take steps that it should be remedied. As I told you yesterday, you have done such tremendously splendid work in the carrying out of the war effort that

¹ Canada, Civil Service Commission, *Civil Service Regulations* (Ottawa, 1942), 13.

it is a tragedy that this virtual exclusion of French-speaking Canada from the activities of your Department may cause a dangerous disruption of the unity which is required, and I still believe that it is possible to effect some changes that will greatly improve the conditions I have described.¹

Howe's refusal
to act

277. Howe's reaction was flatly negative. His spokesman, the acting minister, Angus MacDonald, assured Lapointe that in the last six months it had been the policy of the department of Munitions and Supply to make every effort to increase the number of bilingual appointments, but he felt that implementing the requested changes would "needlessly restrict the field of selection."² The irony of this last statement must have touched Lapointe. On the basis of his own detailed investigations, he was well aware that the "field of selection" was already restricted in Howe's department: up to November 22, 1940, there was not one Francophone official in the department. This was so not only in Ottawa, but also in the department's field service in Quebec.

278. The few successes which Lapointe did achieve were victories over resistance that now seems incredible. In one instance it took over a year to get acceptance from the cabinet and higher reaches of the bureaucracy that Quebec offices of the Public Service be furnished with telephone directories in both languages rather than in English only. Another example involved the installation of a separate telephone for the one French-speaking commissioner of the Civil Service Commission. After a flood of complaints from Quebec MPs that their calls were being met by secretaries who could speak no French, Lapointe attempted to arrange for special telephones, so that incoming calls could be directed to the offices of the individual commissioners. The request was refused by the comptroller of the Treasury, on the grounds that there was no money available, and it took Lapointe weeks of importuning before the minister of Finance reversed this ruling.

279. A further example of Lapointe's efforts is the occasion on which he took up cudgels with C. D. Howe in respect to the appointment of a purchasing officer at Quebec for the department of Munitions and Supply. Replying to Lapointe on May 8, 1941, Howe wrote:

I think I have made my attitude clear with relation to this position. I have always been anxious to appoint a French Canadian, realizing how important it is that our Purchasing Agent at Quebec should speak French. However, I have been equally insistent that this officer should be experienced in the business of purchasing. . . . I am still prepared, and anxious, to appoint a French Canadian if the person with the right qualifications can be found.

¹ Public Archives of Canada (hereafter P.A.C.), MS Group 27, Series III, B10, Vol. XXXIII, File No. 148.

² *Ibid.*, letter of December 11, 1940, from Angus MacDonald to Ernest Lapointe.

Lapointe's indignation at the suggestion that the "right qualifications" were the exclusive preserve of English Canadians is easy to imagine. The following day he wrote back to Howe:

Of course, you as well as myself realize that out of over three million French Canadians it is possible to find one who is competent in the business of purchasing. The first essential requirement to meet the difficulty is good will.¹

280. Lapointe's record shows that he was not exclusively interested in more jobs for his constituents but wanted to expand the use of French in government by any means, whether legislation or simply changes in administrative rules or routine. He won a few, minor, laborious victories, such as passage of the Lacroix amendment, but on the whole his efforts failed; he was, in the long run, unable either to persuade his English-speaking colleagues or to affect the administration significantly.

Lapointe's
record

281. Lapointe never used the heaviest ammunition available. He would remind his English-speaking colleagues of "the situation in Quebec" when putting forward requests concerning language use or representation, but he never called up the full weight of the French-speaking MPs and sympathetic leaders of Quebec opinion. He apparently never threatened to rally the French-speaking caucus to back him in a dispute within the cabinet or, as a last resort, to resign if he could not get his minimum demands.

Reasons for
Lapointe's failure

282. Lapointe was fighting a strong historical tradition: the worlds of politics and administration were permeated by the conviction that the use of two languages would weaken efficiency. There was no new legislation on language use in the Public Service between the amendment of 1888 (which awarded a \$50 bonus to bilingual civil servants) and the Lacroix amendment of 1938, and the latter was allowed to become a dead letter due to the exigencies of war.

283. Lapointe accomplished more in areas where bilingualism was symbolic rather than functional. The word *postes* appeared on postage stamps issued in 1927 for the 60th anniversary of Confederation and was retained on all subsequent issues. This surreptitious recognition of bilingualism reflected the government's fear that a more forthright approach would provoke bitter opposition. The debate over bilingual currency in 1936 suggested that this fear had some justification.

Bilingual
postage stamps
and currency

284. Dominion of Canada currency had been issued only in English since 1867. French-speaking Canadians had occasionally proposed bilingual currency, but Laurier probably expressed the official reaction

¹ P.A.C., MS Group 27, Series III, B10, Vol. XXXIII, File No. 147.

when he agreed that this was possible but he saw no reason to challenge an established tradition.¹ However, in 1934, the Bank of Canada was created and it soon had a monopoly of note issues. The Bennett government authorized the Bank of Canada to print some notes in French and to supply them to chartered banks on request. Lapointe criticized this half-measure but his amendment for bilingual notes was defeated. In the first session after the election of 1935, the Liberal government amended the Bank of Canada Act to authorize bilingual notes.

285. This amendment provoked a one-day debate. The reaction of R. B. Bennett, leader of the Opposition, illustrates the acute political sensitivity then surrounding all issues relating to language:

Each one in his own conscience must answer whether or not in a community that is overwhelmingly British the circulation of notes of that kind is not fraught with the gravest danger to harmony between races. . . . I say, sir, that I would be derelict to myself and to my own self-respect if I did not say to my fellow members of this house: I cannot do this thing because it will militate against harmony; it will be a factor in destroying the friendly and peaceful relations that should exist in the development of this great country.²

A Francophone member speaking later in the debate had good reason to question the value of a harmony that would be shattered by the issue of bilingual currency.

Bilingual family
allowance cheques

286. The distribution of bilingual family allowance cheques offers an illustration of the apprehensions of federal authorities. The bilingual cheques were first sent out to mothers in Quebec in 1945; the objective was the gradual extension of the bilingual cheques to other parts of the country, but at that time they were not felt to be politically acceptable outside Quebec. When the matter of extending their use to New Brunswick was raised the following year, the minister of National Health and Welfare consulted the seven New Brunswick Liberal MPs, who decided against extension. A similar consultation and negative result followed a few years later. Finally, in the late 1950's, it was proposed that a month's issue of New Brunswick cheques be sent out in the two languages with the understanding that if a hue and cry were raised a bureaucratic slip-up would be pleaded. Even this must have been considered too dangerous politically as the idea was quashed and no further action was taken.³ In the face of this kind of reluctance to innovate, Lapointe's attempts at reform in the 1930's and 1940's begin to take on the colour of heroism.

¹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1906-7, 3rd session, II, 3655-6.

² Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1936, 1st session, IV, 3781-2.

³ The use of bilingual family allowance cheques was finally extended to all of Canada in November 1962.

C. Increasing Concern: The 1940's to 1960's

1. The Jean Committee

287. Public debate about bilingualism in the federal administration was stimulated in 1946 by the publication of the *Report of the Royal Commission on Administrative Classification in the Public Service* (the Gordon Commission). The commission had received a lengthy and well-publicized brief from the Montreal Chamber of Commerce, documenting the low proportion of Francophones in the Public Service and charging that discrimination was keeping them from top positions. But the commission ignored this problem; apparently it did not feel that Francophone participation was in any way associated with efficient administration.

The Gordon
Commission—
1946

288. After the report's publication there was an outburst among nationalists in Quebec and protests by some French-speaking members of Parliament. A group of five MPs began meeting on an unofficial basis to continue discussion, fact-finding, and pressure on the cabinet.

289. Faced with such unprecedented agitation, Prime Minister Mackenzie King was forced to recognize the informal group of five and give them official status as a committee in the summer of 1947. The committee, led by Solicitor General Joseph Jean, was charged to investigate Francophone participation in all federal departments and agencies.

290. The Jean Committee issued a series of recommendations to the cabinet: it wanted three Francophone deputy ministers appointed immediately, and a system of dual Francophone and Anglophone deputies in four departments—Agriculture, Mines and Resources, Justice, and Trade and Commerce. These recommendations provoked hostile comment in the English-language press and among Anglophone members of the House. Once again it was argued that attempts to provide greater Francophone participation would harm the system of appointment on merit and endanger morale in the Public Service.

Recommendations
ill received

291. The Jean Committee continued to meet with senior departmental officers. Eventually a report was written but it was never tabled in the House or published. Our efforts to obtain a copy of the report were unsuccessful, and full minutes of the committee's meetings were not available.¹ In 1948, Jean was appointed to the bench and his committee dissolved.

¹Our attempts to trace the work of the Jean Committee met with one difficulty after another. The people involved in almost every case refused to let the memoranda they had written be used in any way, or, in some instances, even seen. One man who was known to be thoroughly involved in the meetings of the committee denied any knowledge at all of the investigation.

Civil Service
Commission
report, 1958

292. During the next 10 years, discussion of these issues was muted, except for one anticipation of future developments. On August 21, 1950, Civil Service Commissioner Alexandre Boudreau circulated a memorandum declaring his opposition to the exclusive determination of language requirements by departments. He argued that, since the measurement of linguistic ability was difficult at best, the Civil Service Commission, unlike individual departments, was at least in a position to ensure uniform and adequate standards throughout the Service.

293. In 1958 the Civil Service Commission presented to the government a report containing recommendations for the reform of the Civil Service Act. Three of the recommendations dealt with language use.¹ First the Commission proposed that public servants in contact with the public and working in linguistically mixed localities should not simply have a knowledge of the majority language, as the Lacroix amendment had stipulated, but should be bilingual. It further proposed that Regulation 32A of the Civil Service Regulations be amended so as to transfer the determination of language qualifications from deputy ministers to the Civil Service Commission. Finally, it recommended the insertion of a new provision into the Act: a public servant in charge of a unit composed of a significant number of both Francophone and Anglophone employees should be sufficiently bilingual to supervise the unit's work. All three recommendations were accepted and suitable amendments made.

2. *The Glassco Commission*

294. The appointment in 1960 of the Royal Commission on Government Organization (the Glassco Commission) revived debate on bilingualism. At issue was whether or not the commission's terms of reference included cultural and linguistic matters. The commission decided that the question of bilingualism was relevant, and in July 1961 it organized a special committee on bilingualism.

295. This body was charged with examining the participation of the two cultural groups and the use of the two languages in many parts of the federal administration, from the recruitment of Francophone Junior Executive Officers to the costs of bilingual forms and manuals. Traditional Anglophone concepts of unilingual efficiency were challenged. Lack of Francophone public servants was, in the eyes of the committee, a serious deficiency, since it denied effective service to the Francophone public.

¹ Canada, Civil Service Commission, *Personnel Administration in the Public Service* (Ottawa, 1958), 21, 71-2.

296. After almost a year's study, the committee's findings, conclusions, and many detailed recommendations were presented to the commissioners. The commission in its report recommended that:

- 1. The federal government adopt active measures to develop bilingual capacities among its employees on a selective basis.
- 2. The government intensify its efforts to attract and retain more of the highly qualified young people of French Canada capable of advancement to senior ranks.¹

One commissioner, Eugène Therrien, went much further than his colleagues in a separate statement:

- 1. In the federal administration of Canada, bilingualism is not treated as it should be, that is, as an efficient instrument of administration.²

D. Conclusions

297. The history of language use and participation in the federal Public Service, especially for the 30 years up to 1962, has been strongly influenced by a particular interpretation of the concept of efficiency.

The past record

298. Both Francophone and Anglophone federal politicians and public servants accepted the prevailing orthodoxies linking unilingualism with rationality and efficiency. For Anglophones, the concept of efficiency was an article of faith in a movement that, after 1918, reformed the federal administration on progressive principles. But the idea that language ability in French alone—or even in both French and English—might be a component of merit and efficiency rarely made an impression. Perceptive Anglophones could see that capable Francophone public servants were being held back by gross inequities, but this understanding in no way affected the dominant interpretation of merit and efficiency. They still assumed that English would be the main and, practically, the only working language of the federal administration. As late as the time of the Jean Committee, lack of French-language services in Quebec and discrimination against Francophones in the Public Service—especially at the top of the hierarchy—were viewed as unfortunate grievances which in no way challenged the guiding principles of the Service.

299. The failure of such pioneers as Lapointe might be attributed to the prevailing climate during World War II, bad tactics, or poor propaganda. French-speaking Canada's complaints could always be

Why attempts
at reform failed

¹ Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization*, I (Ottawa, 1962), 267.

² *Ibid.*, 72.

interpreted as a "political" appeal to return to the bad old days of patronage and, therefore, to inefficiency if not corruption, and the French-language partisans were put in the position of appearing to be opposed to efficiency as an administrative aim. At the time, it was not argued that use of the French language and increased participation by Francophones would make the Public Service more efficient. Partisans of reform probably did not press this vital point in the 1930's because of the Depression, in the 1940's because of the War, and at other times because they feared the intensity of the Anglophones' spontaneous resistance would prevent any gains from being secured. In any event, most Francophone politicians and officials probably accepted the dominant Anglophone definition of the situation.

300. Anglophones enjoyed the benefits of a unilingual Public Service, but generally did so unconsciously, for consciousness implies some element of choice, and no alternatives were seriously debated. What we can consider today as effective discrimination against the French language and Francophones, earlier generations took to be the natural order of things. The situation was accepted, for the most part unquestioningly, by Francophones and Anglophones alike, although for different reasons. The Anglophones did not see that such one-sidedness corroded Anglo-French harmony and the continued existence of Canada; the Francophones were lulled into quiescence by patronage and honorific positions. All in all, the history of the Public Service from the two standpoints of language use and Francophone participation represents a tragic failure of Canadian political imagination.

301. When an individual is making a decision about the career he will pursue, the opportunity to work in his own language is an important consideration. A Canadian Anglophone might overlook this factor in making a career choice—he would assume that English would be the language of work in any occupation he might select. A Francophone could make no such assumption; for him, the opportunity to work in his own language cannot be taken for granted.

Importance of
language of work

302. This language factor similarly affects an individual's decision to enter and make a career in the federal Public Service. It determines his capacity to contribute to the work of the organization, because cultural qualities carried by one language may be very difficult to put across in another. It also defines his career prospects: language problems may, in personnel assessment, obscure an individual's true ability and prevent him from feeling accepted and at ease in the work community.¹

303. In this chapter, devoted to an examination of language use in the Public Service, we consider the languages themselves—both as the languages of service to the public and as the languages of work—and the individuals and groups who speak them.

Two
perspectives

304. It is important to understand the difference between individual and institutional bilingualism. A bilingual institution is not necessarily an institution made up of bilingual individuals; it may also be one that contains groups of unilingual persons working in their own language, as well as a number of bilingual individuals. An institution is bilingual not solely because individuals speaking the two languages are involved in it, but also because members of both language groups and cultures are able

Individual
and
institutional
bilingualism

¹ E. Jacques Brazeau, "Language Differences and Occupational Experience," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXIV, No. 4 (Toronto, 1958), 532-40.

to work and participate in their own language at all levels of the institution. This presupposes units with only one language of work. English-language units already exist in Canada's Public Service, in the sense that in the great majority of them English is the sole language of work. But an efficiently bilingual institution is characterized by the coexistence of two languages of work in a rational organization of administrative units; bilingual individuals are key elements only at the points of direction and liaison.

Plan of
this chapter

305. Our examination of language use in the Public Service begins with a discussion of recent government policy in this area, followed by a survey of the language capacity of public servants. Language practices in the Service as a whole are examined; three departments were selected for more detailed treatment because they illustrate particular aspects of the question. Finally, there is a description and evaluation of the government's translation services and language-training programmes.

The principle
of equal
partnership

306. In assessing and co-ordinating our findings we have been guided by the fundamental principles set out in the General Introduction to our *Report*. In particular, we have based our judgements on the principle of equal rights for the two official languages, both for government employees and for the members of the public they serve.

A. Government Policy on Language

1. General policy

Government
policy
statements

307. Until April 1966, no Canadian government had enunciated a general policy on bilingualism in the Public Service, although fairly specific objectives had been stated several years previously. From the time it took office, the Pearson government was concerned with developing a policy of national unity. For example, in June 1963, the Hon. Maurice Lamontagne, then president of the Privy Council, said in a speech that the government intended to "achieve as soon as possible perfect equality for the two official languages, not only with regard to verbal or written communication with the public but within every department."¹

308. Several weeks later, in reply to a letter from the president of the Civil Service Association of Canada about the government's intentions, Prime Minister Pearson said, "The general policy of the government is that it is necessary, in the interest of national unity, to extend the usage of both national languages in the federal service. . . ."² He later enlarged

¹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, 1st session, II, 1548.

² Letter from Prime Minister Pearson to J. C. Best, September 23, 1963, published in the *C.S.A.C. Journal*, Vol. VI, No. 9 (Ottawa, 1963), 1.

on the government's official position on language use in the Public Service: "...it is reasonable that French-speaking people should be able to use their own language, especially in dealing with the government of their country, or in participating in the work of the government of their country..."¹ Statements of this kind have become more numerous during the last few years. What is said varies from one person to another or from one occasion to another, but the objectives remain the same.

309. In May 1963, the government established a special cabinet committee on administrative reform and bilingualism, under the chairmanship of Mr. Lamontagne. Given the immediate task of defining in detail the objectives for bilingualism in the federal administration, the committee enunciated the following minimum goals:

Cabinet
committee—
1963

- 1. To put, in theory and practice, French and English on an equal footing for all public relations of the federal authorities. In practice, for external written or oral communications, the preference of the citizen would determine the language to be used;
- 2. To establish a similar policy concerning internal communications within the civil service. Thus, correspondence and other written communications could be in English or in French, according to the writer's choice. A similar system should finally be set up for oral communications. Handbooks, general instructions and circulars would be published in both languages.²

310. The committee further noted that, even under the best of conditions, these aims could not be realized immediately; therefore, it recommended that the government promulgate its objectives as soon as possible and in such a manner that all departments and agencies would understand clearly what was expected of them by 1975—the target date for full implementation.

311. On the recommendation of an interdepartmental committee of senior officials, the government in November 1963 requested the Civil Service Commission to establish a language-training programme and to examine its recruiting policies with particular attention to language requirements. On June 15, 1965, the Commission issued a policy directive requiring that linguistic qualifications be mentioned in advertisements for all competitive posts. At the beginning of 1966, the commission chairman indicated that a good knowledge of the two official languages was "an additional asset" in applying for appointments and promotions to some posts in Ottawa and in centres where the public included substantial proportions of Anglophones and Francophones.³

Committee of
senior officials—
1963

312. Departments were also asked to review their own operations in the light of government objectives and to consider practical changes. As

¹ *Professional Public Service*, Vol. 44, No .5 (Ottawa, 1965), 4.
² Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, 1st session, VI, 5710.
³ J. J. Carson, "The New Role of the Civil Service Commission," outline of remarks to the Federal Institute of Management, Ottawa, February 1, 1966.

an initial step, the interdepartmental committee suggested that all departments appoint a senior officer whose duty it would be to oversee measures encouraging bilingualism, under the direction of his deputy minister.

Declaration of
Prime Minister
Pearson,
April 1966

313. The most important policy declaration was made by Prime Minister Pearson on April 6, 1966:

The government hopes and expects that, within a reasonable period of years, a state of affairs in the public service will be reached whereby

(a) it will be normal practice for oral or written communications within the service to be made in either official language at the option of the person making them, in the knowledge that they will be understood by those directly concerned;

(b) communications with the public will normally be in either official language having regard to the person being served;

(c) the linguistic and cultural values of both English speaking and French speaking Canadians will be reflected through civil service recruitment and training; and

(d) a climate will be created in which public servants from both language groups will work together toward common goals, using their own language and applying their respective cultural values, but each fully understanding and appreciating those of the other.¹

314. As enunciated by Mr. Pearson, this policy contained certain new elements. "Climate" could have been interpreted as describing a whole environment in which each could work in his own language while applying his "respective cultural values." For the first time, governmental language policy also took account of the two cultures. Elements of this declaration could have been interpreted as an invitation to support bilingualism and biculturalism as goals for the Public Service through adapting the working arrangements of the Service to create French-speaking milieux. But this was not the interpretation that prevailed. Perhaps this was partly because the reference to "climate" was not expanded in detail; certainly it was partly because the thinking at the time was more concerned with individuals than with the environment in which those individuals worked. Further policy specification on this particular aspect was not forthcoming, and the reforms enunciated in this speech have been oriented towards the production of bilingual individuals, without planning for the use of the resultant language skills within the organizational structure.

2. *Policy on language of service*

Service to
the public

315. Until very recently, federal policy on language use was concerned only with providing service to the public. The problems of

¹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1966, 1st session, IV, 3915; quoted in full in Appendix II.

providing services for a clientele with two official languages led governments to develop some limited, specific policies on language. Development of this language policy has had two aspects, political and administrative. Since the establishment of the Translation Bureau in 1934, legislation dealing with language of service has been adopted in periods of significant political ferment in Quebec—during the nationalist movements of the 1930's and 1940's and the "quiet revolution" of the present decade. Policy on language of service has also evolved with the growth of the Civil Service Commission, which has played an increasingly important role since the Civil Service Act of 1918 was passed.

316. Before the Lacroix amendment of 1938, language was considered peripheral to other themes of legislation.¹ However, this amendment to the Civil Service Act required that appointments to local (but not headquarters) positions should be given only to those public servants who had "qualified, by examination, in the knowledge and use of the language of the majority of the persons with whom [they are] required to do business. . . ." In 1942 a regulation of the Civil Service Commission elaborated the principle by providing that deputy ministers were responsible for notifying the Commission which posts required competence in both French and English. The regulation was interpreted by the commission as applying only to branch or field offices, and not to headquarters posts in the federal capital.

Language
legislation

317. In 1961, a new Civil Service Act transferred this responsibility to the Civil Service Commission. Section 47 of the Act says:

The number of employees appointed to serve in any department or in any local office of a department who are qualified in the knowledge and use of the English or French language or both shall, in the opinion of the Commission, be sufficient to enable the department or local office to perform its functions adequately and to give effective service to the public.²

318. The chairman of the commission, S. H. S. Hughes, stated that: Clause 47 of the bill lays upon the commission the responsibility of seeing that this consideration [serving the public in both English and French] is borne in mind not only in local positions but in head office positions of departments and not only in the language of the majority but in terms of the use of both languages where it is considered that their use is necessary to give effective service to the public.³

319. In 1962, 1964, 1965, and 1967 the Commission laid down explicit rules for recruiting staff to give adequate service in English and

Departmental
initiatives

¹ See §§ 255-7 and 270-1.
² Civil Service Act, S.C. 1961, 9-10 Eliz. II, c.57, s.47.
³ Cited by R. S. MacLellan in Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1960-1, 4th session, VII, 7714.

French to minorities within defined regions.¹ These rules and regulations are reasonably clear, but their scope is always narrow.² Only a few departments have developed any general policies and these all evolved separately. "Efficiency," "bonne entente," and "practical necessity" have been cited as isolated, *ad hoc* reasons for language policy in dealing with the public.

320. As late as February 1, 1967, our staff could discover only a few examples of precise and comprehensive directives on this matter: three departments—National Defence, Energy, Mines and Resources, and the Post Office—and three Crown corporations—Canadian National, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation—had prepared such directives. CN had acted most vigorously and comprehensively, but we quote here a large part of CMHC's policy directive because of its specific directions for language of service and for its comprehensiveness in covering language of work as well.

3. The main purposes of the Corporation's policy on bilingualism are to assist in strengthening national unity by contributing to a better mutual understanding and appreciation of the two main elements of the Canadian population; to meet the needs of the Canadian public throughout Canada for the best services possible in both the English and French languages and to provide balanced and equitable representation in terms of both numbers and quality of the two founding races.

.....

5. The specific and immediate objectives should therefore be:

.....

(4) The rapid development at Head Office of a significantly bilingual and bicultural organization which will reflect the geographical and social realities of Canada as they relate to the French- or English-speaking elements of the country. This also means that the composition of Head Office staff should ultimately reflect these realities.

(5) The active participation by all officers of the Corporation at Head Office and across the country in the development and implementation of realistic and appropriate steps to ensure the effective development of a truly bilingual Corporation.

(6) The determination of linguistic requirements for all positions particularly in those areas serving a public made up of a French-speaking and English-speaking population and the provision of an appropriate number of qualified bilingual staff to serve such public.

(7) The systematic evaluation of the degree of bilingualism of employees based on recognized criteria.

¹ The 1967 regulations are quoted in § 352.

² Before the passage of the Official Languages Act in 1969, there was no fully developed general policy on language of service to the public emanating from one central agency and uniformly applied by various departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies.

- (8) The recruitment policy of the Corporation will include the intensification of efforts to attract competent bilingual employees without adversely affecting the career opportunities of present employees of both groups.
- (9) The simultaneous issue of all internal directives in both official languages.
- (10) The rapid introduction of bilingual internal forms and reports.
- (11) The use of internal correspondence of either official language at the discretion of the addressor.
- (12) That every effort be made so that the preparation of information and communications to the various publics is conceived in the language of the recipients.
- (13) The use of oral communication of both languages so as to improve familiarity with both languages and thereby assist in creating a situation, as soon as possible, where an employee may transact business with his colleagues in his maternal tongue.¹

321. Although most departments and agencies have not developed any systematic language policies, most have adopted certain routine practices of language use—for example, most departments reply to a letter in the language in which it is written. But these practices are not part of an overall plan and are not uniform within and between departments. Some, but not all, departments have forms and publications printed in both languages. Many federal offices in Ottawa and Quebec pay special attention to the language used in various publications, signs, and notices—but the same concern by the federal government for French-speaking citizens is not in evidence in the rest of Canada.

322. The Civil Service Commission's policy on bilingual positions demonstrates its concentration on service to the public rather than on language of work. The formal expression of this policy, in section 47 of the Civil Service Act and in the Civil Service Commission's administrative practices is of considerable significance. It is thus not surprising that the majority of bilingual positions are in branch or field offices where officials meet the public face to face: most of these positions are in Quebec and some are in Ottawa. If the number of bilingual positions is the measurement of the implementation of policy on language of service, that implementation is weak indeed: in 1965 less than 9 per cent of the positions covered by the Civil Service Act were designated as requiring bilingual personnel, and an eighth of these positions were occupied by individuals who were not bilingual.²

323. In January 1966, about 5 per cent of the positions under the Civil Service Act required bilingual managers and professionals. Since so few Anglophone university graduates are bilingual, filling these posts is in practice a matter of appointing bilingual Francophones.

Bilingual
positions

CMHC, "Bilingualism in the Corporation," General Memorandum, B-339, File 100-1-41, January 30, 1967.
² Hillel Steiner and Herbert Taylor, "Bilingual Posts and their Incumbents," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

324. This situation reflects the psychological climate of the Public Service. First, the number, level, and location of these bilingual positions, and the responsibilities attached to them, form the simplest index of the status accorded to Francophones in the Public Service itself.¹ This attitude has deep roots in the history of "bilinguals" in the Public Service. Second, although individual positions are designated as bilingual, it is taken for granted that English is the usual working language in virtually all work units. Third, an emphasis on individual language skills tends to diminish the importance of professional qualifications and proven competence in the case of the Francophones.

325. Before March 17, 1967, there were no general criteria for language requirements in headquarters positions. This is not surprising, since service to the public was the basis of language practice and policy, and the incumbents of many headquarters positions rarely if ever come into contact with the public. Except in cultural agencies and the Translation Bureau, we could find no consistent approach to the obvious need for correspondence and conversation in French between Ottawa headquarters and field offices in French-speaking Canada. However, under the regulations issued pursuant to the Public Service Employment Act of 1967, the criteria for determining bilingual positions were broadened by providing that preferential treatment be given to candidates with bilingual abilities applying for all posts in the federal capital region.²

3. *Policy on language of work*

326. Historically, the question of language of work in Canadian government policy was first recognized in Prime Minister Pearson's statement in April 1966 on bilingualism in the Public Service. Our researchers found that only two of more than 60 government departments, other agencies, and Crown corporations—CN³ and CMHC—had a precisely articulated policy on language of work.⁴

B. Language Capacity in the Public Service

327. An investigation of language use in the Public Service must include an examination of the existing degree of capacity in the two

¹ Appendix III, Tables A-1, A-2, and A-3.

² Public Service Employment Regulations, 1967. See § 352.

³ CN's linguistic policies, including those on language of work, are treated in Chapter XIV.

⁴ The general organizational policy of the CBC (and, in many ways, the National Film Board) provides automatically for a complete French-language system as well as an English-language one.

official languages among individual public servants of both mother tongues,¹ and of the changes in their language skills over a period of years. These factors are relevant because, although a bilingual institution does not—indeed, should not—require that all its employees be able to speak both languages, some employees must be bilingual to ensure effective communication between and supervision of unilingual employees.

328. We conducted two large surveys in 1965, one of the departmental Public Service and seven agencies,² and the other of middle-level public servants in Ottawa.³ Respondents were asked to rate their own skill in the other official language: French for those of English mother tongue, English for those of French mother tongue; those of other mother tongues were asked to specify their preferred official language and then rate themselves in the other.⁴ Language skills were classified as reading, speaking, writing, and understanding oral communication.⁵

1. *Individual Bilingualism*

329. Public servants of French mother tongue were more often bilingual than those of English mother tongue. Only one in 10 of the employees of other mother tongues reported fair or considerable competence in spoken French.

In the Public
Service as a
whole

330. Figure 4 shows that 83 to 91 per cent of all public servants of French mother tongue rated their competence in English as fair or considerable. Only 8 to 18 per cent of all public servants of English mother tongue assessed their competence in French as fair or considerable. Indeed, in three of the four skills, more than half of those of English mother tongue admitted to no command of French whatsoever and claimed facility only in the fourth skill—reading. Clearly, about three-quarters of all bilingual public servants are of French mother tongue.

¹ The linguistic composition of the Public Service by department is given in Chapter IX, Table 49.

² John C. Johnstone, William Klein, and Denis Ledoux, "Public Service Survey," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. The seven non-departmental agencies are Air Canada, Bank of Canada, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, National Film Board, National Research Council, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (uniformed personnel).

³ Christopher Beattie, Jacques Désy, and S. A. Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers: Anglophones and Francophones in the Canadian Public Service" (the "Career Study"), a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

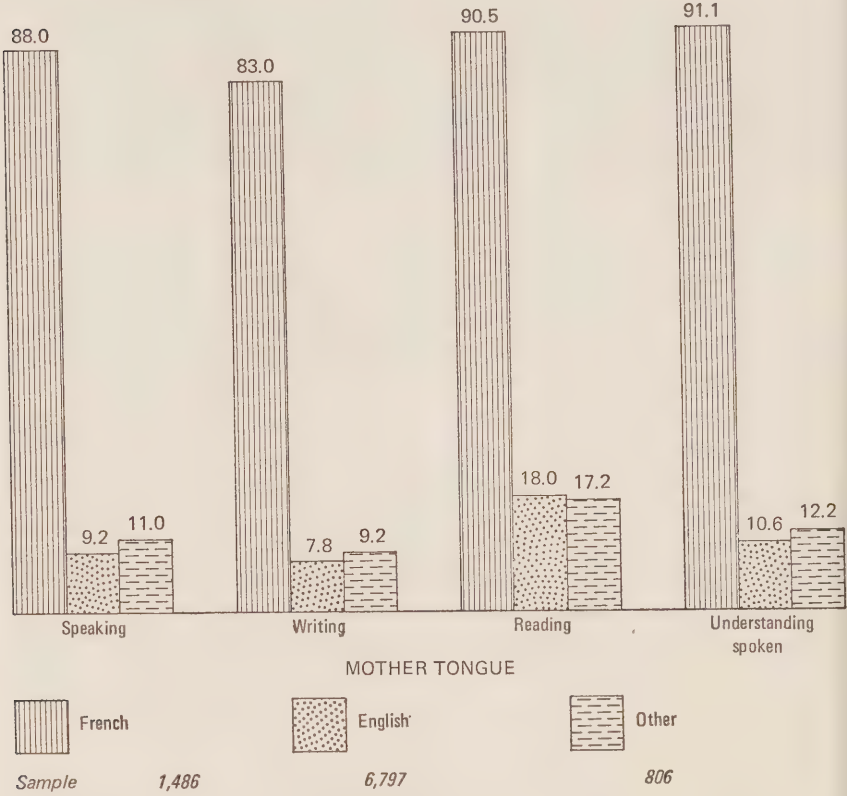
⁴ Self-ratings are probably valid for indicating significant differences between groups but not for individuals; they are used here only for the former purpose.

⁵ The Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux survey questionnaire was distributed in both French and English, but 21 per cent of those of French mother tongue completed questionnaires in English, rating their own proficiency in French. The results presented here have been statistically adjusted to allow for this.

At the middle
level

331. At the middle level (Figure 5) the gap between language groups was still large, but both groups displayed greater bilingual capacity than their fellows in the rest of the Public Service. Here, all of the Francophones claimed they could read English and almost all (97 per cent) said they could understand the spoken language. More than half the middle-level Anglophones said they could read French ade-

Figure 4. Linguistic Skill¹ of Departmental Public Servants—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



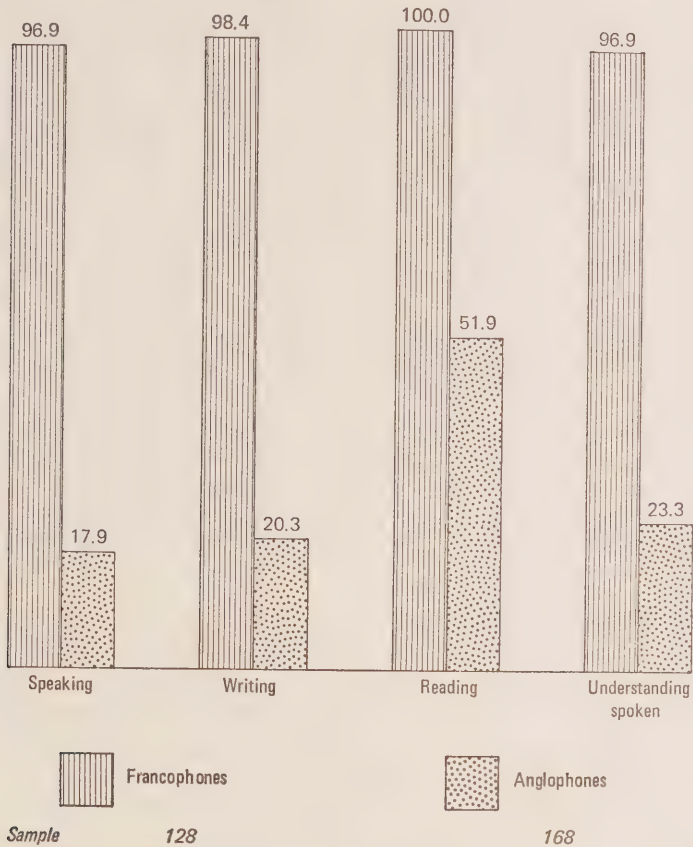
Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ Percentage of public servants of French mother tongue claiming fair or considerable skill in English and of public servants of English or other mother tongue claiming fair or considerable skill in French.

quately and just under a quarter claimed they could understand spoken French. Bilingual capacity appears to be almost a necessity for Francophones at the middle levels of the federal administration.

332. Thus, work areas where bilingual staff were concentrated were in fact those where Francophone public servants were concentrated.

Figure 5. Linguistic Skill¹ of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

¹ Percentage of Francophone public servants claiming fair or considerable skill in English and of Anglophone public servants claiming fair or considerable skill in French.

These men and women were mostly under 40 years of age;¹ had fewer years of schooling than their Anglophone co-workers;² and were working in non-professional and non-managerial positions, except for lawyers and social scientists.³

333. Knowledge of the two languages varied according to an individual's type of work, but the variation was much less among Anglophones than among Francophones. In general, proportionately more Francophone managerial and professional personnel than Francophone clerical workers were bilingual. The latter were more often bilingual than were manual workers. In particular, a high proportion of managers as well as physical and biological scientists reported competence in English. This may reflect higher educational attainment or it may indicate that higher-level positions place heavier demands on their incumbents to work in English; both influences are probably at work. Among Anglophone employees, capacity in French was generally meagre but was most often found among managers and engineers.

Bilingualism
in non-
departmental
agencies

334. For the seven agencies studied, bilingual ability was above the average for the whole Public Service except in the RCMP, and the level of receptive bilingualism was higher than facility in writing or speaking the other language. Among the seven agencies there was little variation in Francophones' command of English, but there was considerable difference in Anglophones' ability in French between, for example, the National Film Board and Air Canada.⁴ Among other reasons, this is probably because there are proportionately only half as many Francophones in Air Canada as in the NFB, and because the NFB is a "cultural" organization and produces many films in French.

2. *Changes in language ability*

Effect of work
environment

335. An individual's ability to speak both official languages may be increased or diminished by his work; the environment in the Public Service can reinforce or weaken language skills. In general it appears that Francophones increase their ability in English in the Public Service while Anglophones remain uniformly unilingual regardless of their length of service.⁵ Our research showed that the greater the length of service for the Francophones, the higher they rated their proficiency in English; but in no group of Anglophone employees, of whatever length of service, did as many as 4 per cent describe their ability in French—even their reading knowledge—as considerable. The generation of

¹ Appendix III, Table A-40.

² Chapter IX, Table 51.

³ *Ibid.*, Table 50.

⁴ Appendix III, Table A-4.

⁵ Our research was carried out in 1965 and therefore does not take account of the public servants who have learned French in the Public Service language schools.

Anglophone public servants now at the middle level has the same low rate of bilingualism as their superiors, men who have been in the Service perhaps 20 years longer. Among the Francophones, ability in English and movement up the ladder of promotion are correlated.

336. Anglophone personnel have felt no necessity to change their language preference and hardly any to increase their knowledge of French. When the Francophones and Anglophones were compared as to preferred language of work on entering the Service and language now preferred (Table 31), it was clear that change has been confined to the Francophones. Almost none of the Anglophones said they could work best in any language but English while, on entry, 10 per cent of the Francophones said they worked best in English and 33 per cent said they could work in both languages. Furthermore, 57 per cent of the Francophones stated that on entry they could do their best work only in French, but only 32 per cent maintained that French was still their best language of work. This represents a decline of 25 points of the group as a whole. There was an increase of 22 points in those who said they were professionally bilingual in all respects, and an increase of over 4 points in those who said they worked best in English. In contrast, there was no significant change in the reported linguistic competence of public servants of English or other mother tongues.

Table 31. Optimum Working Language

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants within mother-tongue groups, by optimum working language¹ on entry into the Public Service and in 1965

Optimum language of work	Mother tongue					
	French		English		Other	
	On entry	In 1965	On entry	In 1965	On entry	In 1965
French	57.4	31.9	0.1	0.1	1.7	0.5
English	9.8	13.3	98.3	98.0	95.4	96.7
English and French	32.8	54.8	1.6	1.9	2.9	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	1,487	1,487	6,852	6,852	819	819

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ Established by the answers to the following questions: "In what language(s) could you have best performed your work initially? In what language could you best perform your work now?"

Survival and
acquisition of
language
ability

337. Of those whose initial exclusive choice of working language was English, 98 per cent were currently using it, but only 53 per cent of those who claimed on entry that their best language of work was French still did so.¹ Several other facts relating to retention of the mother tongue and acquisition of the other language in the departmental Public Service as a whole came to light as results of our research:² a) English invariably survived as an optimum language of work; b) among persons who said that they had worked best in French or equally well in French and English when they joined the Service, 8 per cent said that they now worked best in English; c) 14 per cent of those who said that on entry they could work equally well in both languages now worked best in only one—English in the great majority of cases; d) about 50 per cent of those who had declared French as their best language of work on entry were now able to work best in English or equally well in both languages; e) it was extremely unlikely that an Anglophone unable to work in French or in both languages at the time of recruitment would acquire this ability within the Public Service.

Length of
service

338. It was mainly in the first six years of employment that the designation of French as a respondent's optimum working language fell sharply. After six years, the likelihood of change was significantly less.

Geographic
location

339. Tendencies for the optimum working language to change also varied geographically,³ as one might expect. Those who said that, on entry into the Public Service, English was their best working language were unlikely to reverse their choice in any region of Canada except Quebec. In Quebec, 20 per cent now worked equally well in both languages or had changed to French as their best language for work, while in the federal capital and everywhere else in Canada, less than 3 per cent reported developing similar competence in French. In Quebec and the Atlantic provinces, we found the highest proportion of public servants for whom French was still the best language of work—more than 60 per cent. The greatest trend away from French occurred in the Ottawa-Hull region, where 73 per cent of those who said that initially they worked best in French reported that they now were more competent in English or equally competent in both English and French.

340. In the West it is understandably more difficult to preserve bilingual capacity than it is in other regions: 54 per cent of those who on entry were capable of working in both French and English felt at the time of the survey that they could do their best work only in English. In contrast, in the Ottawa-Hull area and throughout Quebec, 88 and 89 per cent respectively reported that they had remained bilingual.

¹ *Ibid.*, Table A-5.

² See *ibid.*, Table A-9

³ *Ibid.*, Table A-6.

341. Government departments varied in the likelihood that persons entering with a desire to work in French would be able to do so. Some of the rates of survival of French as best working language are given in Table 32. The figures indicate a virtual certainty that public servants will be able to continue doing their best work in French or in both languages in the departments of the Secretary of State and National Health and Welfare, and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics; they also suggest that there is much less certainty in the departments of Citizenship and Immigration, Industry, Defence Production, and even External Affairs.¹

Departmental
location

Table 32. Survival of French as the Optimum Working Language

Index of the survival of French as the optimum working language in selected federal departments—Canada, 1965

	Index ¹ %	Sample
Secretary of State	99.7	39
Dominion Bureau of Statistics	99.1	30
National Health and Welfare	98.7	74
Post Office	97.1	294
Finance	82.1	68
Citizenship and Immigration	76.4	34
External Affairs	72.8	52
Industry; and Defence Production	67.8	48
All departments	91.5	1,445

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."
¹ Percentage includes those who said that on entry into the Public Service, and still in 1965, they could best perform their work in French or that they could work equally well in both languages.

342. Pressures to use English at work, and particularly as the main working language, were felt more keenly in more senior posts.² Fewer than 40 per cent of the managerial and professional staff who initially stated that French was their best language of work still retained this preference. By comparison, more than half of the clerical staff still performed their work best in French, as did 60 per cent of all those in other non-professional and non-managerial occupations. One in eight managers and professionals had changed to English as their best language of work.

Occupation

¹ These results are explained by the concentration of Francophones in the Translation Bureau of the department of the Secretary of State, in the regional offices of the department of National Health and Welfare, and in the field staff of DBS. But the situation is not the same in the department of External Affairs, where the Francophones are scattered throughout the department. The preceding paragraphs also show that these variations can be affected by length of service, educational level, and occupation.

² Appendix III, Table A-7.

Acquisition of
English: a
condition of
advancement

343. Ability and willingness to work in English appear to be conditions of advancement in the Public Service for those of French mother tongue. We compared salaries of men with up to 10 years' service who had, on entry, felt they did their work best in French; we found that only 50 per cent of those who had remained unilingual had had salary increases of \$2,000 or more, while 65 per cent of those who had acquired bilingual ability or who now felt that they worked best in English had won similar increases. Among those with more than 10 years' service, almost 11 per cent of those who remained unilingual in French, but less than 5 per cent of those who had improved their English, had received salary increases of less than \$2,000.¹ Thus, it appears to be advantageous for public servants of French mother tongue to acquire proficiency in English, regardless of length of service.²

Non-departmental
agencies

344. The situation in the seven non-departmental agencies surveyed was similar to that in the departmental Public Service, but there were some interesting exceptions. For instance, while Anglophones usually reported little if any loss of capacity in English or little increase of capacity in French, 11 per cent of the National Film Board employees who said that on entry to the Public Service English was their optimum language of work now declared that they could do their best work in French or that they could work equally well in both languages.³

345. The situation of French and of the two languages as preferred languages of work was much more complex; it varied significantly from one agency to another. The bare survival of French is probably not in doubt, but it is quite clear that, in the seven agencies, between 1 and 17 per cent of those who claimed that on entry they could work best in French or equally well in both languages now consider English to be their best language of work. Those who had felt they could work equally well in both languages tended to become—so far as language of work was concerned—unilingual Anglophones, especially in Air Canada and the National Research Council. There were two exceptions: the CBC and the NFB. At the CBC, French and the two languages generally survived as preferred languages of work; among those who had originally worked equally well in both languages, 9 per cent now preferred to work in French. At the NFB there was no change among Francophones who had originally favoured French or the two languages as languages of work.

346. Most of those who said that French was their best language of work at the beginning of their careers claimed that they could now work best in English or equally well in both languages. They had learned English together with the routines of their jobs.

¹ Appendix III, Table A-8.

² However, we cannot be sure that these differences are statistically significant.

³ *Ibid.*, Table A-9.

347. This change varied according to individuals' ranks and occupations. In Air Canada, the NRC, and the CMHC, the highest rate of conversion to working in English was found in the senior posts, suggesting that these organizations "think in English" even more than our figures have indicated. In the NFB, the lower-level employees who had declared that French was their optimum language of work on entry to the Public Service were more likely than the middle-level and senior staff to say that they could now work best in English or equally well in both languages. In the CBC, the division was between production staff—most of them in television—and the clerical or service personnel; the former did not acquire English or both languages as working languages nearly so often as the latter. In the CMHC, the survival of French varied inversely with salary and seniority; it was assured in Quebec, in doubt in the federal capital, and in danger elsewhere.

348. Our data on language of work illuminate the foregoing observations, for there are significant differences among the agencies.¹ Also, except in the NFB, the non-French language groups did not account for the variation; staff of French mother tongue accounted almost exclusively for the degree to which French was used as a language of work. At the extreme ends of the scale are the CBC, where Francophones used French much more than English as a language of work, and the NRC and Air Canada, where Francophones worked mostly in English. Between these extremes were the NFB, where French was used slightly more than English by the Francophone staff, and the CMHC, Bank of Canada, and RCMP, where English was the dominant but not the sole language of work for the Francophones.

349. We searched for regional variations in two agencies, the CBC and the CMHC. Only when working in Quebec among an overwhelming majority of Francophones did the Anglophones use French as much as half the time. In Ottawa, practices were no different from those in any other English-speaking part of the country: English was used not just mainly but nearly exclusively as the language of work. Only in Quebec were Francophones able to work in French as often as in English.

350. Most employees of English mother tongue, along with a few whose mother tongue was French and nearly all those of other mother tongues, were most comfortable working in English; those who could work effectively either in both languages or in French alone were almost all of French mother tongue. However, except for a relatively insignificant number of individuals in the NFB, Anglophones who worked best in English could work *only* in English, while Francophones who worked best in French often had to work in English much of the time, particularly in Air Canada and the NRC. Some agencies, because of their

¹ Appendix III, Table A-10.

functions, often used both languages, but there was still much less freedom for Francophones to work in their best language. Those who regarded themselves as bilingual worked far more often in English.¹

C. Language Use in Practice

1. Language of service

351. In a bilingual country, the use that governments make of the two languages in dealing with the public is an important indication of quality of service. Service is bound to be better when a citizen can do business with the government in the official language with which he is most familiar.

a) Meeting the public in person or by telephone

Standards of
language of
service

352. Recognizing that improved service must involve a higher degree of bilingualism, the Civil Service Commission began in April 1962 to exercise its new powers by setting out language standards for offices in regions where both English and French were spoken.² Three rules were published as a guide for making staff appointments and as a goal to be approached by field offices. They were revised and formally established on March 17, 1967 in the Public Service Employment Regulations:

4. (1) (a) where forty per cent or more but less than sixty per cent of the public served by the unit have the English language or the French language, as the case may be, as their mother tongue, every employee in the unit shall be sufficiently proficient in both those languages to permit the functions of the unit to be performed adequately and effective service to be provided to the public so served;

(b) where ten per cent or more but less than forty per cent of the public served by the unit have the English language or the French language, as the case may be, as their mother tongue, the minimum number of employees in the unit who are sufficiently proficient in both those languages to permit the functions of the unit to be performed adequately and effective service to be provided to the public shall be such that in the aggregate the number is in the same proportion to the total number of persons on the staff of the unit as the said percentage is of the total number of persons comprising the public so served; and

(c) every employee who is in a position that requires the performance of duties of a supervisory nature shall be sufficiently proficient in the English language or in the French language or in both languages, as the case may be, as will permit effective direction to be given to the persons supervised.

¹ *Ibid.*, Tables A-11 and A-19.

² Civil Service Commission, "Language in Civil Service Appointments," Memorandum to Operations Branch (MOB 8-1962), File 334, Ottawa, April 2, 1962.

(2) Where in accordance with any directive of a specific or of a general nature of the Commission, but subject to subsection (3), ten per cent or more of the public served by a unit have the English language or the French language, as the case may be, as their mother tongue, proficiency in both those languages shall, notwithstanding anything in these Regulations, be regarded in every case in which such proficiency it not an essential qualification for a position as a desirable qualification for the position.

(3) For the purposes of subsection (2), where the unit is the headquarters office, or a part thereof, that is located in the National Capital Region, as that expression is defined in the *National Capital Act*, the public served by the unit shall be deemed to be all the people in Canada.¹

353. These regulations deal explicitly for the first time with the federal capital. Taken as a whole, the provisions for the capital mean that bilingual candidates for headquarters positions (other than those for which bilingualism is essential) should receive preferential consideration. But the regulations do not clearly specify a rule of proportionality of bilingual headquarters staff to the size of the minority group in the client population. The regulations dealing with the capital are not subject to such precise interpretation as those dealing with all other parts of Canada. Bilingualism is "desirable" for those positions for which it is not essential, and these positions are presumably designated in accordance with the criterion of "effective service . . . to the public."

354. The Public Service is apparently still a long way from meeting the standards of bilingualism which it set in 1962. Table 33 lists several regions with language minorities and the linguistic skills of local federal employees. Clearly, Anglophone clients are better off. The proportion of employees who can deal with them in English is considerably greater than the relative size of the English-speaking community in any locality. In Montreal, Granby, Chicoutimi, and Edmundston, for example, at least 95 per cent of the public servants can deal with the public in English. Only rarely does an Anglophone meet a local federal official who cannot speak his language. In contrast, Francophone minorities are very much "underserved," and the occasional proportional excess of Francophone public servants over Francophone residents in English-speaking districts is nothing like that of Anglophone officials in French-speaking regions. In Cornwall, for example, the Francophone minority is more than 40 per cent of the population; according to the regulations of both 1962 and 1967, all employees ought to be bilingual. Instead, nearly half know only English. Among those cities with a Francophone minority of less than 40 per cent, St. Boniface seems especially poorly served. In the federal capital—whether considered as the city of Ottawa or both Ottawa and Hull and their surrounding districts—there is less than adequate service in French.

Achievement
of standards

¹ Public Service Employment Regulations, 1967.

Table 33. Official-language Minorities and Linguistic Aptitude of Public Servants

Percentage formed by official-language minorities in selected cities and metropolitan census areas and the percentage distribution, according to linguistic aptitude, of federal public servants in contact with the public

	Population (1961)		Public servants in contact with the public (1965)					Total	Difference ² C + D - A	
	Total population	A Official-language minority %	Number	B Speaking English only ¹		C Speaking French only ¹				D Speaking English and French %
				%	%	%	%			
Francophone minority										
All Canada ³	18,238,247	28.1	9,692	74.5	0.0	0.0	25.5	100	- 2.6	
Ottawa-Hull ³	429,750	37.7	9,692	74.5	0.0	0.0	25.5	100	-12.2	
Saint John	95,563	6.3	816	90.5	0.2	0.2	9.3	100	+ 3.2	
Moncton	55,768	32.5	895	74.1	0.4	0.4	25.5	100	- 6.6	
Cornwall	43,639	42.4	223	48.9	0.0	0.0	51.1	100	+ 8.7	
Hamilton	395,189	1.5	794	96.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	100	+ 2.5	
North Bay	23,781	18.6	459	76.0	0.0	0.0	24.0	100	+ 5.4	
Welland	36,079	16.6	93	93.5	0.0	0.0	6.5	100	-10.1	
Timmins	40,121	34.3	98	67.3	0.0	0.0	32.7	100	- 1.6	
Sudbury	110,694	30.7	318	63.5	0.0	0.0	36.5	100	+ 5.8	
St. Boniface	37,600	35.6	462	91.8	0.0	0.0	8.2	100	-27.4	
Prince Albert	24,168	8.5	436	95.4	0.0	0.0	4.6	100	- 3.9	
Edmonton	337,568	3.3	2,372	94.6	0.0	0.0	5.4	100	- 2.1	

Anglophone minority									
Edmundston	12,791	10.5	93	19.4	0.0	80.6	100	+89.5	
Quebec City	357,568	3.7	2,074	2.5	26.0	71.5	100	+70.3	
Chicoutimi	105,009	2.8	113	0.0	5.3	94.7	100	+91.9	
Rimouski	17,739	0.9	76	0.0	32.9	67.1	100	+66.2	
Trois-Rivières	53,477	4.0	212	0.9	19.8	79.3	100	+76.2	
Granby	31,463	7.4	71	0.0	2.8	97.2	100	+89.8	
Montreal	2,109,509	23.4	11,690	13.0	3.8	83.2	100	+72.8	

Sources: For the population, Census of Canada, 1961; for the public servants, Jacques LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. in 1965.

¹ Languages other than the official languages spoken by public servants were not considered.

² A + sign indicates that the proportion of Francophone and bilingual public servants is greater than that of the Francophone minority. A - sign indicates that the proportion of Francophone and bilingual public servants is less than that of the minority.

³ The population served by public servants in the capital is the whole population of Canada, not merely residents of Ottawa and Hull. See Public Service Employment Regulations, 1967. Cited in §352.

⁴ A + sign indicates that the proportion of Anglophone and bilingual public servants is greater than that of the Anglophone minority.

355. In most parts of Canada, including the federal capital region, the Francophone minorities have much more difficulty finding someone who can speak their language than do Anglophones in those parts of the country where English is in the minority position.

356. Our survey of the whole Public Service confirmed this. We asked respondents whether they dealt largely with Anglophone or Francophone members of the public. Ideally, the answers should have reflected the distribution in the male labour force, 26 per cent of which is of French mother tongue. However, only 9 per cent of all federal employees reported considerable contact with the Francophone public. This suggests either that Francophones are less likely to approach federal officials than are Anglophones or—more probably—that when they do they often use English.

357. The survey permitted us to identify those who served the English- and French-speaking public. Table 34 shows that 87 per cent of public servants of English mother tongue have considerable contact with the Anglophone public and 66 per cent simply never met a Francophone. Significantly, on the other hand, 37 per cent of the French mother-tongue group have considerable contact with the Anglophone public, although these public servants are more likely to be in positions dealing primarily with the Francophone public; 82 per cent of the public servants reporting considerable contact with Francophones are themselves of French mother tongue.

Table 34. Mother Tongue of Public Servants and Contact with the Public

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants of French and English mother tongue, by amount of contact with the Francophone or Anglophone public—Canada, 1965

Amount of contact with public	Contact with Francophone public			Contact with Anglophone public		
	Mother tongue		All public servants ¹	Mother tongue		All public servants ¹
	French	English		French	English	
None	6.1	66.1	53.6	8.2	4.4	5.2
Limited	24.4	27.6	26.5	26.4	5.3	9.8
Fair	34.1	4.1	10.5	28.5	3.4	8.9
Considerable	35.4	2.2	9.4	36.9	86.9	76.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	1,487	6,852	9,158	1,487	6,852	9,158

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ This category includes those of mother tongues other than French or English.

358. There is an obvious corollary finding. Non-Francophone public servants who deal with Francophones have higher abilities in French than do their colleagues who deal only with Anglophones: 34 per cent of the former rated themselves as bilingual, in contrast with less than 1 per cent of the latter.¹ But two-thirds of the non-Francophones who deal extensively with Francophones do not consider themselves competent in French. By contrast, four out of five public servants of French mother tongue who need English at work say they can use the language effectively. Comparing Francophone public servants who never use English at work and non-Francophones who often need French, about the same proportion are bilingual. Such figures confirm the general impression that, for the whole population, citizens dealing with the government in French are much more likely to have difficulty.

b) *Written communication*²

1) *Correspondence*

359. In 1965, federal departments and agencies received just under 14 million letters; more than a million and a half, or 12 per cent, were in French. There was a great variation among departments: the department of National Health and Welfare and the Unemployment Insurance Commission received 35 per cent of their letters in French; the Civil Service Commission, 23 per cent; the department of National Revenue—Taxation division and the National Gallery, 20 per cent; the department of Agriculture, 19 per cent; and the House of Commons, 25 per cent. In contrast, the departments of National Defence, National Revenue—Customs and Excise division, and Citizenship and Immigration received only 3 per cent of their letters in French; the National Research Council and the Treasury Board, 1 per cent, and the Comptroller of the Treasury, Export Credits Insurance Corporation, and the Fisheries Research Board of Canada, less than 1 per cent.

Departmental
statistics

360. For many years, in most departments, all letters received in a language other than English were immediately sent for translation. For French, this practice is now growing less common. Generally, letters written in French are passed to the division or agency concerned and only when no official in that unit understands French is a letter sent for translation. In the departments of National Defence and National Health and Welfare, precise directives have been issued to limit translation, reducing the volume of work for their translation divisions. However, in 15 departments and agencies, letters received in French are still sent directly for translation before being filed.³

Translation

¹ Appendix III, Table A-12.
² Based on Jacques LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.
³ See Appendix III, Table A-13.

Language of
reply

361. Most departments said that they replied in the language of the correspondent when it was French or English, but some indicated that they occasionally replied in English to avoid delay. When the language was other than French or English, the practice of the departments varied. In the department of National Defence, for example, if the correspondent lived in Canada, letters were answered in English when a foreign language was used; a letter from outside Canada was answered in the language of the correspondent. In the Immigration division of the department of Citizenship and Immigration, letters received in languages other than French or English were always answered in English. In nearly all departments, replies to correspondence in French were drafted in English and then translated. Even if the information needed for the reply was gathered by a Francophone, English was used either because the person signing the letter was an Anglophone or because an English version was required in the file for use by unilingual Anglophone officials. In Quebec regional offices of federal departments, French correspondence was usually but not always dealt with in French.

2) *External forms*¹

Definition

362. External forms, as distinguished from internal forms, are those originating in a government department or agency and filled in by private organizations or individual citizens for return to the government.

Findings

363. The majority (57 per cent) of external forms were in both languages, either in a bilingual presentation or in two separate versions (Table 35). There was variation between departments. All 300 forms of the Secretary of State were bilingual, as were those of the Queen's Printer, the International Joint Commission, and the Royal Canadian Mint; others had all their forms available in both languages, either separately or bilingually: the department of Veterans Affairs, the Air Transport Board, the Canadian Pension Commission, the Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, and the House of Commons are examples. In the department of External Affairs, the Civil Service Commission, the Post Office, and the Taxation division of the department of National Revenue, more than 90 per cent of the forms were in both languages. In the departments of Agriculture, National Health and Welfare, Mines and Technical Surveys, and Northern Affairs and National Resources,² and Air Canada, the National Gallery, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and the Board of Transport Commissioners, between 60 per cent and 90 per cent were in English only. The department of Defence Production, Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd., the National Energy

¹ The complete tabulation of data on language use in external forms by individual departments and agencies is given in Appendix III, Table A-14.

² Since our research was completed some departments have been reorganized and renamed.

Board, the Export Credits Insurance Corporation, the Atlantic Development Board, and the office of the Auditor General had more than 90 per cent of their external forms in English only.

Table 35. Language of External Forms

Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of external forms of federal departments and agencies, including Crown corporations, by language—Canada, 1964

	Number	%
English only	2,984	42.4
French only	68	1.0
English and French (two separate forms)	2,108	29.9
Bilingual (one form only)	1,820	25.8
English and bilingual ¹	61	0.9
Total	7,041	100.0

Source: LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique."
¹ In these cases there was a bilingual form for Quebec and an English form for the rest of Canada.

364. More than half of the French forms were published separately rather than in a bilingual version, thus complicating distribution and increasing the cost of printing. Sometimes a bilingual form needs to be larger, but most departmental forms have very little text and could easily be printed bilingually. A Glassco Commission study of 4,000 external forms (65 per cent in English only, 23 per cent in two versions, and 12 per cent bilingual) concluded that 84 per cent of the total could have been bilingual with little increase in costs.

365. Although the departments said forms published in two separate versions were distributed in all departmental offices, it was generally difficult for Francophones to obtain forms in French if they lived outside Quebec, even where there was a large Francophone minority. For example, in Moncton, the forms of the departments of National Health and Welfare and Agriculture and the office of the Chief Electoral Officer were not available in French. French forms were not available in the offices of the department of Agriculture in Cornwall, North Bay, Sudbury, and St. Boniface. In contrast, English forms were available in all towns in Quebec where the federal government maintained offices.

3) Publications¹

366. The availability of publications in both English and French depends on the topic and the size of the readership. In 1964, all publications of the departments of National Revenue—Taxation division,

¹ The complete tabulations of data on language use in publications by individual departments and agencies appear in Appendix III, Table A-15.

Industry, External Affairs, Public Works, Finance, Justice, and the Post Office, the Civil Service Commission, and the National Film Board were published in both languages. In most other departments and agencies, the number of publications issued in French was relatively small. The most notable was the Dominion Bureau of Statistics where only 94 out of 572 publications in 1964 were bilingual, excluding census material, which is always published in both languages (about 75 bulletins). Overall, 45 per cent (18 million words) of government output was available in French. Publications appearing only in French amounted to only 386,000 words, 1 per cent of the total.

367. In many departments, little more than a third of the publications were translated into French. This was the case in the department of Mines and Technical Surveys (9 out of 25), Labour (19 out of 55), Northern Affairs and National Resources (12 out of 34), RCMP (10 out of 26), Transport (13 out of 49), Fisheries (7 out of 22), and Agriculture (18 out of 68). They were always publications of general interest.

Delay in
translation

368. Virtually all federal government publications in French were translations and they were often issued late. In the department of Mines and Technical Surveys, for example, the delay was three to six months; in Agriculture it was a year. The Quebec farmer, who rarely speaks English, thus finds himself at a disadvantage vis-à-vis his Anglophone competitors. In the department of Fisheries, one of the bilingual publications, *Cost and Earnings of the Quebec Fishing Fleet*, was issued in French each year three months after its publication in English. In the department of Labour, the French edition of the periodical *Labour Gazette* was issued with a delay of one to three months. In the Dominion Bureau of Statistics we found for example that the extremely important publications *Public and Private Investment in Canada* was issued in French about five or six weeks late, forcing Francophone economists or others interested in public affairs to use the English version. Another publication addressed particularly to Quebec, *Road Transport of Merchandise—Province of Quebec*, was issued in French two months after the English version. In the department of External Affairs, the French version of the monthly review *External Affairs* was issued with a delay of up to three weeks. In the department of Defence Production, delays of 20 months were observed.

369. The rights of Francophone readers of these publications are affected in two ways. First there is the obvious disadvantage of delay. Second—and more important—is the fact that the translations are always from English to French so that, even if the difficulty of delay were solved, the Francophone always gets a version which, though in his language, is Anglophone in its outlook.

4) Signs

370. Signs on federal buildings were generally bilingual in Ottawa and Quebec, but in the offices of a certain number of departments in Ottawa—and also in Montreal—signs were often in English only. Overseas offices of the departments of External Affairs and Citizenship and Immigration very often had signs only in English or in English and the local language.

2. Language of work

a) Formal communications

371. Formal communications within the Public Service include forms, manuals, directives, and other documents for the use of staff members.

1) Internal forms¹

372. Only 15 per cent of the internal forms were available in both languages (Table 36). English was used almost exclusively by several large users of internal forms, such as the departments of External Affairs (1,205 forms) and Agriculture (1,750), the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (1,625), Canadian National (2,092), and the department of National Defence (6,063).

Findings

Table 36. Language of Internal Forms

Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of internal forms used in federal departments and agencies, including Crown corporations, by language—Canada, 1964

	Number	%
English only	30,582	83.8
French only	323	0.9
English and French (two separate forms)	2,232	6.1
Bilingual (one form only)	3,289	9.0
English and bilingual ¹	67	0.2
Total	36,493	100.0

Source: LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique."

¹ In these cases there was a bilingual form for Quebec offices and an English form for offices in the rest of Canada.

¹ Complete data on language use in internal forms by individual departments and agencies are given in Appendix III, Table A-16.

373. Some organizations offered to justify the predominant unilingualism of their forms. The Canadian Pension Commission said it had no need for French forms since all its staff members were bilingual or spoke English only. This attitude is of particular importance when examining the Anglophone public servants' motivation for acquiring a working knowledge of French. The Immigration division of the department of Citizenship and Immigration appealed to tradition: "Historically, internal forms have only been available in the English text." Finally, CMHC explained that its forms were for use in the head office where the overwhelming majority of its employees spoke only English.

2) *Manuals and circulars*¹

Manuals

374. The number of manuals reported was 25,172, of which 99 per cent were in English only. The department of National Defence produced 24,497 of these, of which only one-fifth of 1 per cent were in French. Of the 675 manuals produced in the other departments and agencies, 160 or 24 per cent were available in a French version. In many important departments and agencies, all manuals were in English only: the departments of Trade and Commerce, Northern Affairs and National Resources, Mines and Technical Surveys, and Labour, the National Library, and Air Canada (200 manuals). In the RCMP, only 2 of 22 manuals were available in French. The only department with no unilingual manuals was that of the Secretary of State.

375. Manuals as working instruments for officials are vitally important. They are the rule books and chief sources of information about many government activities. Intimate acquaintance with these manuals is often a prerequisite for promotion; clearly, a person who has trouble with English would be handicapped in acquiring this knowledge. Also, if a Francophone official is pressured to use English manuals constantly, he is in danger of gradually losing his ability to work in French; French cannot be a language of work without French-language manuals.

Circulars

376. The administrative circular is an essential instrument for communication within departments since it is the vehicle for promulgating many directives. In 25 departments and agencies, circulars were published in both languages. In all the others they were always or almost always published only in English.

377. Circulars distributed in the local offices of departments in Quebec are generally bilingual, but this was not the case for all federal agencies with head offices in that province: Air Canada published all its directives in English.

¹ Complete data on language use in manuals by individual departments and agencies are given in Appendix III, Table A-17.

378. Divisions within one department sometimes had different policies. In the department of National Revenue, the Taxation division published its circulars in both languages, while the Customs and Excise division used English only.

3) *Files*¹

379. In many departments, a document written in French was never filed or classified without being first translated into English, since these documents might be used in the future by unilingual Anglophones. Only 11 departments or agencies never translated their documents before filing: External Affairs, the Secretary of State, the Auditor General, the National Library, Canadian National, the Canadian Pension Commission, the Tax Appeal Board, the Queen's Printer, the Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, the Atlantic Development Board, and the Farm Credit Corporation. By contrast, 30 of 71 departments and agencies translated every French document into English as a matter of routine before filing.

380. Most file systems need an index and, in Ottawa, indices were almost without exception in English only. In Quebec branch offices, there were proportionately far more indices in French or in both languages but, even here, half the offices maintaining an index kept it only in English.

b) *Informal communications*

381. Much of the communication within any office is oral and informal. The informal language of work determines the real level of active participation of individuals in the organization, because employees learn essential information and try to put across their ideas in casual conversation or in team work. Language handicaps here will limit any person's contribution to the work in hand because a "foreign" cultural climate will make the individual's creative contribution to the organization difficult if not impossible.

382. The narrow limits of policy on language of work indicate little official concern with the problem that faces a Francophone in the Public Service. Table 37 indicates clearly that the use of French in the federal government is disproportionately restricted: 97 per cent of the Anglophones reported either exclusive or dominant use of English on the job, and almost 86 per cent said that they *never* used French. By contrast, only two-fifths of the Francophones reported their main working language to be French, while two-fifths said they worked predominantly in English and one-fifth said they used English and French more or less equally.

Findings

¹ Complete data on language use in the files of individual departments and agencies are given in Appendix III, Table A-18.

Table 37. Use of French and English at Work

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants of French or English mother tongue, by frequency of use of French and English at work—Canada, 1965

Sample	Mother tongue			
	French		English	
	Use of French 1,487	Use of English 1,487	Use of French 6,852	Use of English 6,852
Always	11.4	7.5	0.4	87.8
Most of the time	27.4	32.0	0.4	9.0
About half the time	22.2	20.0	1.2	1.1
Fairly frequently but less than half the time	16.2	17.4	1.2	0.2
Occasionally	17.6	16.5	11.2	0.5
Never	5.2	6.6	85.6	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

383. Comparison of the coincidence of optimum and actual language of work indicates decisively that Anglophone employees enjoy a significant advantage over their Francophone colleagues in this respect.¹ Among those who said that they could work best in English, 86 per cent worked exclusively in English, 97 per cent were able to use it most of the time, 3 per cent had to use French often, and 84 per cent said they never had to use it. Among those who said that French was their best language of work, 29 per cent were able to work exclusively in French, 74 per cent could use it most of the time, 47 per cent had to use English frequently. Among those who claimed that they could work equally well in both languages, 48 per cent worked mostly in English and 26 percent worked mostly in French.

Regional factors

384. Language use in general followed regional linguistic characteristics. The ability to work in English was virtually a requirement for employment in the Public Service except in Quebec. In the western provinces, 99 per cent said that they were required to use only English in their first job in the federal service.² In the rest of Canada the proportions were similar: New Brunswick, 93 per cent; Nova Scotia, over 99 per cent; Prince Edward Island, 97 per cent; Newfoundland, 99 per cent; and Ontario (except for Ottawa), 98 per cent. Only in Quebec

¹ Appendix III, Table A-19.
² *Ibid.*, Table A-20.

and the federal capital were sizable proportions of public servants required to use French on their first job. In all Quebec except Hull, 84 per cent said they needed French—27 per cent exclusively and 57 per cent together with English. In the federal capital, 81 per cent needed only English, less than 1 per cent needed only French, and 18 per cent needed both on their first jobs.

385. Clearly, a Francophone recruit to the Public Service is at a disadvantage unless he seeks out a post in Quebec. Those of non-French mother tongue who wanted a first job where only English was required were given one 98 per cent of the time. Those of French mother tongue who wanted to work in French got the desired type of post only 31 per cent of the time.¹

386. Our surveys found no significant changes in patterns of language use over the last 20 years.² In the Public Service as a whole, about 18 per cent of all staff recruited in that time were required to use French in their first job. In Quebec and the federal capital alone, there was a small increase in the percentage of first posts requiring French: from 83 per cent in Quebec before 1950 to 88 per cent in 1961; and in the capital region, from 18 per cent before 1950 to 22 per cent in 1961. The latter change is statistically large—an increase of a quarter over the original figure—but remains low considering the fact that Ottawa as the capital of a bilingual country has a particular responsibility to reflect the equality of the two linguistic communities.

D. Language Use in Three Selected Departments

387. The language practices of the department of External Affairs, the Taxation division of the department of National Revenue, and the Treasury Board were selected for close examination because they comprise a fair cross-section of the Public Service as a whole, and because each is involved in one or more of the federal government's main activities. External Affairs is one of the highly professionalized sectors of the Public Service, where a lifetime career is strongly emphasized. The Taxation division of the department of National Revenue epitomizes government departments with decades of experience in dealing directly with the public through a chain of regional offices. The Treasury Board, one of the most important central agencies of government, has a pervasive effect on staffing and on the allocation of funds throughout the Public Service, with far-reaching implications for the language practices of the Service.

Departments
selected

¹ *Ibid.*, Table A-21.

² *Ibid.*, Table A-22.

1. *The department of External Affairs*¹

388. This department provides official channels of communication between Canada and other countries, informs the Canadian government about developments abroad, and safeguards the interests of Canada and Canadians in foreign countries. To do so, it maintains about 78 embassies, 20 high commissions, 16 consulates and consulates general, and a number of missions and supervisory commissions. The department participates in international organizations on behalf of the Canadian government; its officials regularly attend meetings of international bodies and can be said to present the "image" of Canada to foreign governments.

Composition
in 1965

389. We focussed our attention on the department's central administration in Ottawa. In 1965 the Ottawa staff was concentrated in 25 divisions and several smaller units.² There were three types of divisions: political, technical, and administrative. The six political divisions were organized on geographic lines: United States, Latin American, Commonwealth, European, African and Middle Eastern, and far Eastern divisions. The 10 technical divisions included the Disarmament, Defence Liaison (1), Defence Liaison (2), Economic, Protocol, and Information divisions. The remaining divisions were broadly defined as administrative: Communications, Finance, Administrative Services, Personnel Operations, and Personnel Services are examples.

a) *Language use*

390. In 1965 the central administration reported that French was used for less than 5 per cent of its written material. Even this low rate of use was not representative: nine divisions reported that they never used French, oral or written, and the range in the use of written French was from one one-hundredth of 1 per cent in the Commonwealth division to about 20 per cent in the European and Press and Liaison divisions.

391. The political divisions averaged 4 per cent of their written work in French, but the European division accounted for a much higher percentage than the others—it had a bilingual head and has traditionally been one to which many Francophones are assigned. Administrative divisions averaged 3 per cent of their written production in French and functional divisions 6 per cent. The latter was attributable largely to

¹ Based on Gilles Lalande, *The Department of External Affairs and Biculturalism: Diplomatic Personnel and Language Use*, a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. (Ottawa, 1969).

² The Lalande study surveyed a total of 27 units. Most of its statistics were drawn from questionnaires completed either by these units in the central administration or by missions abroad.

departmental relations with the Canadian public, particularly in the Press and Liaison, Passport, and Information divisions. In all, 18 divisions reported that they sometimes used written French; in the other nine, French was never used.

b) Linguistic composition of the staff

392. Although written French was so seldom used as a working language in External Affairs, many of the Ottawa-based staff said they could perform part of their duties in either French or English. Returns from heads of divisions revealed that 45 per cent of the Foreign Service Officers, 30 per cent of the External Affairs Officers, and 33 per cent of the clerical and administrative staff were bilingual. Most respondents cited lack of bilingual staff as the main reason for the limited use of French. Other factors mentioned were the need for efficient and prompt work, the practical need to use English, the long tradition of using English, and the influence of an industrial and technical vocabulary drawn from the United States.

Bilingual
capacity

393. There were some positive indications that French could become a working language: the concentration in some foreign missions or Ottawa divisions of Francophone officials, and a comparatively high proportion of Anglophone officials claiming to speak adequate French. The department thus has good resources for making French a language of work. But these resources need the support of policy and appropriate working arrangements. With this in mind, we made a special survey of the Foreign Service Officers.

c) Survey of Foreign Service Officers (FSOs)

394. In September 1965, there was only one Francophone—the under-secretary—among the six senior officials in the central administration of the department. Only 17 per cent of the staff at the upper level were Francophones.¹ Among the Foreign Service Officers (all fully qualified diplomatic officials), about 21 per cent were of French mother tongue.

Composition
at upper
levels

395. We observed a similar tendency in the appointment of FSOs to heads of divisions in the central administration. Only two of the 20 FSOs in these positions in September 1965 were Francophones, and both had charge of units generally regarded as of secondary importance. Between 1945 and 1965, only 7 of the 61 FSOs appointed heads of divisions were Francophones.

Division
heads

¹ See Appendix III, Table A-23.

"Parachuting"

396. The "parachuting"¹ of heads of missions may have helped to correct this imbalance. Most Anglophones appointed heads of posts between 1945 and 1965 were career officers who had worked their way up the ladder, but a significant proportion of Francophones receiving such appointments were brought into the department from outside by Orders-in-Council or were recruited as political nominees. Such "parachuting" may have been intended to balance the department's linguistic composition at the senior level, but it did not alter the fact that Francophones suffer a distinct disadvantage in seeking promotion to the senior headquarters positions.

**Missions
abroad**

397. By contrast, proportionately more Francophone than Anglophone RSOS became heads of missions abroad between 1945 and 1965. Nevertheless, no Francophone has ever been head of mission in Washington or in any Asian country and very few have been heads of missions in Commonwealth countries. Francophones hold a disproportionately high percentage of such senior posts in Latin America and Western Europe.

398. The embassy and the consulates in France were the only missions where French was used to a significant extent. In other countries which have French as an official language, the department's missions used French essentially for local convenience rather than for official purposes. Similarly, the department seemed to take little or no account of the fact that in other countries French, though not an official language, was preferred by the host government as a language of diplomatic communication or was commonly used by the population.

*d) Evaluation***Recent
changes**

399. There seems to have been some increase in the use of French in External Affairs in the three years since our survey was concluded in 1965,² but there has been little tendency for language use to change significantly. Nevertheless, the department of External Affairs as a whole constitutes an impressive example of unused linguistic resources; these resources represent a considerable potential, especially when compared with those of other departments. The situation in this department demonstrates that individual bilingualism, when faced with the enormous weight of well-established traditions, cannot by itself make an organization bilingual unless the minority language is defined and supported as the official language of work in specified parts of the organization.

¹ This term has had some pejorative connotations, but its usage is now sufficiently widespread to preclude any misunderstanding in this respect.

² See Paul Martin, "Bilingualism in the Department of External Affairs," *External Affairs*, XIX, No. 8 (Ottawa, 1967), 320.

2. *The department of National Revenue—Taxation division*¹

400. The department of National Revenue is the third largest employer in government, after the departments of National Defence and the Post Office. It has two main divisions: Customs and Excise, and Taxation. We studied intensively only the latter.

401. The Taxation division is responsible for assessment and collection of income taxes, estate taxes, gift taxes, part of the old age security tax, and federal pension plan contributions. In addition, under the terms of a 1962 agreement between the federal government and the provinces, the division is charged with the collection and accounting of certain provincial taxes for all provinces except Quebec. Its goal, then, is to obtain public compliance with taxation legislation, both federal and provincial. To do so, it deals directly with many citizens through its regional offices.

a) *Linguistic composition*

402. About 30 per cent of the employees in the head office of the Taxation division in Ottawa were Francophones, but most were at the lower levels of the organization: they made up 45 per cent of the employees earning less than \$6,200 a year but only 16 per cent of all employees above that level. Not one of the top echelon of head office—branch directors and assistant directors—was a Francophone. Only 7 of the 53 section supervisors or group heads were Francophones. At all levels, Francophones were not evenly distributed throughout head office. The highest concentration of Francophones earning more than \$6,200 was in the Legal branch (25 per cent of the staff); under the \$6,200 level, the proportion was highest in the Planning and Development branch (61 per cent).

Head office

403. In the Montreal office, approximately 83 per cent of all employees were Francophones in January 1966. Of the 107 staff members at the level of unit head and above, 94 were reportedly bilingual but, even here, two of the three most senior supervisory positions were held by unilingual Anglophones.

Montreal
office

404. The linguistic composition of the senior staff in Montreal corresponded in general to the distribution of the population it served, but in Ottawa it was radically different. As long as there is only a handful of Francophone senior officials in head office, the department's hierarchy will tend to be out of touch with French-speaking Canada, and not many Francophones of talent will feel induced to join it.

¹ Based on Peter Pitsiladis, "Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the Department of National Revenue (Taxation Division)," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

405. The strong regional orientation of this division clearly provides opportunities for increased participation of Francophones, together with a structural framework for the use of French as a working language. However, the trend to recentralization in the department—particularly with the establishment of a computer data centre in Ottawa—may very well adversely affect the possibilities for the growth of institutional bilingualism in the department, in view of the absence of individual bilingualism in the head office.

b) Language use

406. Except for dealings within Quebec and with some French-speaking countries, English was the only language of communication between the head office of the division and other departments of government and the public. Since the head office has limited bilingual capacity, English was the predominant language of oral communication even with branch offices in Quebec.

407. At the district level, however, offices were equipped to give service to the local clientele in the appropriate official languages. French and English were used in the Quebec offices and by offices outside Quebec fully or partly staffed by bilingual employees. As a matter of policy, all correspondence received from taxpayers in French was answered in French. Inquiries from Francophone taxpayers to head office were either redirected to the appropriate district office or answered in French directly, through the use of translation facilities. But personal meetings with taxpayers and their representatives in head office were usually held in English, regardless of the language of the taxpayer.

408. English was used throughout the head office organization, except for informal communication among Francophone employees. English was also the dominant language in all district offices, except for the four in Quebec. All the Quebec offices except the one in Montreal were for most purposes French-language offices. French was the dominant language of work in Montreal but, because of the larger number of Anglophone residents in Montreal and on staff in the Montreal office, English was used extensively. Formal communications among members of the Montreal staff were written in the language of the sender. Simple communications from a supervisor to a subordinate were usually written in the language of the recipient unless the supervisor was himself a unilingual Anglophone. Formal general instructions and circulars were written in both languages. In group meetings where unilingual Anglophones were present, English was usually used to accommodate them. Written communications from head office to Montreal were usually in

English but those from Montreal to head office could be sent in either language. At the higher level, English was usually used because of limited bilingualism in the head office. At lower levels in the Montreal organization, technical assessing reports to the head office could be prepared in French at the discretion of the assessor.

409. Formal policy statements and procedural instructions were usually made available in both languages, although the English versions preceded the French by some four to six months.

410. Over the years French has become the basic language of work in the Montreal office, as more Francophones have joined the staff and been promoted to supervisory positions. In all the Quebec offices, French can now be used more extensively on the job and slightly more frequently in communications with head office.

411. In head office, changes in the participation of Francophones at the senior levels and in the use of French were not nearly as pronounced. There was widespread acceptance of the need to deal with taxpayers in the official language of their choice, but this did not extend to interoffice oral communication. The extremely limited bilingual capacity among Anglophones in the higher echelons accounted for the meagre use of French, and for the prevailing attitudes towards language use and the participation of Francophones.

Francophones
and the use
of French at
head office

412. Interoffice reports and other memoranda in French were possible within some branches and at certain levels of head office. Some officers expressed a desire to learn French, but few seemed sufficiently motivated actually to do so. Their attitude could be explained by the fact that Francophone staff could look after Francophone clients and, since those in responsible posts were able to deal with Ottawa in English, there was little need for change. While acknowledging the need for more Francophones in district offices, most officers indicated that they did not think similar participation at head office was necessary or desirable in itself. Many senior officials implied that more use of French might interfere with present standards and the administration of the division. No significant change from the present situation was seriously contemplated.

c) Evaluation

413. We have already discovered that individual bilingualism is insufficient by itself to permit both French and English to become languages of work. Nevertheless, it is indispensable for liaison between unilingual units and above a certain directive level. Thus, if individual

bilingualism existed at the points of liaison and direction, the Taxation division might even now be described as a bilingual institution since the regional organization of its offices permits the almost total use of French as a viable language of work at this level.

3. *The Treasury Board*¹

414. Because of its function of controlling departmental budgets, finance, and establishments, the Treasury Board occupies the key position in the management structure of the Public Service. The Treasury Board is a committee of the Privy Council; it has six members: its president, the minister of Finance, and four other ministers.² Its unique composition puts it in a privileged position and should permit it to assume a leading role in the understanding and solution of the linguistic and cultural problems that confront the whole Public Service. The scope of its activities is indicated by the three branches of its administrative arm, the Treasury Board secretariat: the Personnel Policy branch, the Management Improvement branch, and the Program branch. The Treasury Board is a small agency in the upper levels of the Public Service, with only a few hundred employees, all of whom work in Ottawa and about half of whom are relatively senior men.

a) Linguistic composition

415. Usually one or two members of the Treasury Board are Francophones, and one of the three assistant secretaries is a Francophone. However, never since Confederation has the president of the Treasury Board—until recently the minister of Finance—been a Francophone. The Board has been an Anglophone organization presiding over an Anglophone Public Service.

416. Table 38 shows the distribution of the Francophone officers among the total officer staff of the secretariat in July 1965. Twelve per cent were Francophones, approximately the same percentage as held senior positions throughout the Public Service. There was a very low proportion of Francophones in the Program branch, and relatively high proportions in the other two, especially in the Personnel Policy branch. At the time of our study all the top management positions, including that of the secretary of the Treasury Board, were held by Anglophones.³

¹ Based on C. E. S. Franks, "Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the Federal Treasury Board," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

² The Treasury Board was declared a department under the Government Organization Act, 1966, S. C. 1966, 14-15 Eliz. II, c.25.

³ The clerical staff of the secretariat is not included in the following analysis.

Table 38. Francophones in the Treasury Board Secretariat

Distribution of officers in the Treasury Board Secretariat, by branch and level—
Canada, 1965

	Level			Total	Percentage of Francophones
	Branch head	Division head	Other officers		
Personnel Policy branch					
All officers	1	3	29	33	
Francophones	0	2	5	7	21.2
Program branch					
All officers	1	5	26	32	
Francophones	0	0	1	1	3.1
Management Improvement branch					
All officers	1	4	12	17	
Francophones	0	0	3	3	17.6
Other branches					
All officers	5	0	5	10	
Francophones	0	0	0	0	0.0
All branches					
All officers	8	12	72	92	
Francophones	0	2	9	11	12.0

Source: Franks, "Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the Federal Treasury Board."

b) Language use

417. Most of the contacts of the Treasury Board and its secretariat are with the upper levels of the Public Service, which are almost exclusively Anglophone. Because the Board does not deal with the public and is only rarely in direct contact with non-governmental organizations, linguistic problems with an outside clientele do not exist. Consequently, practically all the outgoing communications of the Board were in English only.

Inter-service
communication

418. Documents in French were received, of course: for example, letters from Quebec MPs and enclosures in files from elsewhere in the Public Service. Sometimes these were sent to the Translation Bureau when they were received; at other times they might never be translated in full, but an English summary would be prepared within the secretariat.

Documents

419. Some Treasury Board minutes and regulations affect government employees or agencies and are therefore publicly promulgated. A

step towards external bilingualism was taken in 1964 when the Board was authorized to issue such documents in both languages. They are normally drafted in English and then sent to the Translation Bureau. The French text is then closely edited by secretariat officers to ensure that shades of meaning are presented accurately.

420. Another recent introduction of French has been in the financial estimates submitted annually to Parliament by the minister of Finance. These used to be submitted to Parliament in English and made available in French weeks afterward. Now they are submitted simultaneously in French and English.

As collective
bargaining
agent

421. Now that collective bargaining is established in the Public Service, the Treasury Board secretariat represents the government at the bargaining table. Because some employee associations might prefer to negotiate in French, the Treasury Board has begun to develop resources to enable it to carry on negotiations in both languages.

Intra-service
communication

422. Within the Board, virtually all written work was in English. On occasion, Francophones wrote informal memoranda in French to one another, but when these were to be used by an Anglophone they were written in English. French was also used for informal communication between Francophones, or with the few bilingual Anglophones in the secretariat. English was the language of business meetings.

423. After the Glassco Commission submitted its report, a group of Francophones within the secretariat set up (at the suggestion of their senior officers) an informal committee of bilingual employees of both language groups to study and propose solutions to the problems raised by bilingualism in the Public Service. This committee worked in French, and submitted a report to the interdepartmental committee on bilingualism established by the government. It was the first staff committee ever to use French as its language of work.

424. At the time of our study there was no expectation that the secretariat, or any unit of it, would in the foreseeable future adopt French as a language of work on an equal basis with English, except perhaps for a portion of the collective bargaining unit. Many Anglophone officers said that working in French would be impractical because so few senior officials of the Treasury Board itself and the government departments it deals with can understand French. However, most of the Francophone staff said emphatically that the present system was unfair and that bilingualism was urgently needed. Several Francophones remarked that they had suggested that French should be used more, perhaps in weekly staff meetings, or that some projects should be worked on in French, but that nothing had come of these suggestions.

425. Several officers of the secretariat were attending the hour-a-day French course in 1965. Employees were selected largely on the basis of

interest rather than with any expectation that they would subsequently use French regularly in their work.

426. The attitude of most Anglophones in the secretariat was that the secretariat used English because most of the senior people they dealt with in other departments preferred it that way. They said there was no pressure for change from within the Public Service. They did not consider it their place to encourage greater use of French at the top of the Service.¹

Anglophone
attitudes

c) Evaluation

427. The Francophone employees of the secretariat and some of the Anglophones expressed a keen interest in bilingualism in the Public Service. They anticipated change in language use within the secretariat but were not aware of any concrete programmes leading to such changes. For instance, there was widespread interest and active involvement in learning French among Anglophones, but this was not related to any expectation that French would become a working language of the secretariat.

428. This powerful agency could do much to alter language practices in the federal Public Service, but it has failed to show the initiative and leadership it might have in changing the status quo—the continued dominance of English in governmental affairs. Until very recently the Treasury Board had not shown any desire to serve as an instrument for encouraging the development of bilingualism in the Public Service. As in other central agencies of government, there was a display of immense goodwill towards bilingualism. However, the lack of concrete concern was evident from the general reluctance to assume leadership in this field or to experiment with the use of French within the secretariat. If it had been more eager to assert its central leadership role, it would probably have insisted that responsibility for this important function—important in the overall managerial sense as well as in respect of personnel policy—should be vested in the Board itself.

4. Prospects for institutional bilingualism in the three departments

429. Close examination of these three sectors of the federal administration convinced us of the limitation of any omnibus approach to the question of language use in the Public Service. Certainly, French is not used as much as it ought to be, but the reasons for the situation in each

¹ It should be recalled that our survey antedated Prime Minister Pearson's statement of April 1966 to the effect that by 1975 bilingualism should be a requirement for promotion to executive and administrative positions. See Appendix II.

department vary according to the different functions, occupations, and traditions of each, and any linguistic policy must take into account these particularities.

Department of
National Revenue
—Taxation
division

430. Our studies of the departments called into question a number of strongly advocated solutions to the problem of bilingualism. One such "solution" is that the development of bilingualism in head office will result spontaneously from its "seepage" up from district offices, where it should first be implemented on the principle of language of service to the public. Unfortunately, because there has been no overall policy, this has not happened. The Taxation division of the department of National Revenue is one instance where the existing organizational structure constitutes a base upon which institutional bilingualism could have been developed. Thanks to the existence of regional French-language units, that language is already a language of work in Quebec. Such an organization could be systematized and made viable at the regional level, at the headquarters level, and at the points of direction and liaison; however, without a certain degree of individual bilingualism in the latter two places, French cannot be effectively used beyond certain lower echelons.

Department of
External Affairs

431. Another proposal has been to increase the number of Francophone employees in a given department, in the expectation that this will make the department itself bilingual. But the increased presence of a minority-language group cannot itself change the structures, as the situation in the department of External Affairs illustrates. Largely because of its relatively high number of Francophone officers, this department possesses enough language skills, but not the organizational intent or structure for institutional bilingualism. Although a proportionately large number of its senior Anglophone staff claim to have some knowledge of French, and although that language is the mother tongue of over 20 per cent of its Foreign Service Officers, the amount of work done in French is still minimal. In other words, individual bilingualism plus a Francophone presence are not sufficient to make the organization a bilingual institution. These factors must be supported by an organization conceived and thought out on the basis of the coexistence of both languages at work.

Some elements
of institutional
bilingualism

432. None of the situations just described reflects institutional bilingualism. In each case, however, there are certain important elements that can serve as springboards to real changes. These elements were found in the structures of service (Taxation division), in the existing linguistic resources, albeit largely unused (department of External Affairs), and in prestige, power, and intellectual capacity (Treasury Board). Yet, essential though these capacities are, they cannot themselves make an institution bilingual. Furthermore, an institution composed entirely of

bilingual members would probably cease to be institutionally bilingual: one of the two languages would become redundant, at least as a method of communication. Thus, in a bilingual institution, it is neither necessary nor desirable to have bilingual individuals everywhere, but they are necessary in the liaison and directive functions. As far as possible, policies on language use should be uniform throughout the Public Service, but there must be room for flexible adaptation to particular departmental conditions.

E. Existing Programmes for Bilingualism in the Public Service

433. The Translation Bureau and language schools are the main means by which the government of Canada has attempted over the years to develop a particular pattern of language use in the Public Service. Neither was set up and neither is now being developed within an overall framework of comprehensive language policy. The service-wide language-training programme launched in 1964 was, in particular, a specific response to political demands; it was not integrated or systematically planned with a view to the general goal of creating a bilingual Public Service. Some of the Translation Bureau's difficulties and shortcomings have also stemmed from a similar lack of overall planning and evaluation.

1. Translation Bureau¹

434. Since the creation of the Bureau for Translations in 1934, central translation facilities have been developed to meet the minimal requirements for communication with the Francophone and Anglophone public in the absence of widespread bilingual competence throughout the Public Service. The Bureau's main function is to facilitate communication between the government and its clients; it is used very little for internal communication, except for the minimum quantity of directives, forms, regulations, and so on. Two-thirds of its work is translating from English—the dominant language—into French.

a) Organization

435. The Translation Bureau is part of the department of the Secretary of State. It has three operations branches and two concerned with administration and training. Each operations branch supervises the

¹ Based on LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique."

translation units in several government departments, and the departments are grouped roughly according to their type of work: parliamentary, scientific, or administrative. A special unit of the Parliamentary and General branch was created in Montreal to increase recruitment of translators living in Quebec.

Independent
facilities

436. Four important agencies of the Public Service provide their own independent translation facilities. These are the National Research Council, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and Canadian National. Although there is a case for maintaining these independent translation sections, there are evident disadvantages—such as lack of standards of workmanship for the whole Public Service, discrepancies in salaries, and difficulties in the transfer and promotion of staff.

Relations
with
departments

437. In 1965, government departments seemed to be poorly organized for working with the Translation Bureau. There were complaints about delays and occasional comments on the quality of translation, but the translators' clients had no organized way of formulating their needs or evaluating the Bureau's output. There may have been some improvement since the appointment of advisors and committees to deal with matters of bilingualism in a few departments.

438. In most departments and agencies, official responsibility for translation did not lie with any one unit or person. This was frustrating to the clients, most of whom described it as a failure of the Translation Bureau. But the departments were partly responsible themselves because they had not taken the initiative in organization. Some attempts at reform were blocked by the Treasury Board or the Public Service Commission on grounds of cost or personnel.¹ However, the Bureau's recent reorganization into specialized branches may help to end this sort of complaint.

Personnel

439. The career system of the Bureau of Translation seems far from adequate. Because many of the staff had not planned on translation as a lifetime career but had come to it after experience in other professions, almost 40 per cent of the 314 translators were over 50 years old, and less than 20 per cent were between 20 and 30.

440. Candidates for employment as translators have to take an examination; a bachelor's degree is supposed to be the minimum qualification for sitting the examination but, of the 314 translators, 140 had no university degree, 127 had bachelor's degrees, and only 47 had higher degrees (including 10 doctorates). Very few translators had had specific training in their work.²

¹ Michel Chevalier, "The Dynamics of Adaptation in the Federal Public Service," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

² However, see § 449 for recent developments.

441. Since it paid its more experienced personnel less than other employers of translators, the Bureau had, in the years before our study was undertaken, suffered a very heavy turnover of staff and was not able to attract many recruits from Quebec. A salary increase of 10 to 45 per cent, awarded in July 1966, was designed to alleviate this situation.

b) Operation

442. In 1965 the output of the Bureau reached 102,000,000 words. The division of Foreign Languages translated the largest amount—12,500,000 words—followed by the Montreal division with 7,900,000, General Translation in Ottawa (serving departments that did not have their own branches of the Bureau) with 7,500,000, and the National Revenue department's translation division with 5,600,000. Publications accounted for more than a third of the output; correspondence accounted for about a fifth.

Output

443. Although some departments have succeeded in reducing the amount of translated correspondence, the total passing through the Bureau has grown steadily. Besides delaying the reply to each letter, translating correspondence takes up a disproportionate amount of translators' time, which could be better spent on publications. In 1965, 22,000,000 words of government publications went untranslated; this is almost exactly equal to the amount of correspondence translated by the Bureau in the same period.

Correspondence

444. Only about 20 per cent of the translation was from French to English. Texts translated from English to French almost always originate with officials and are intended for the Francophone public or other officials. Texts translated from French to English almost always originate outside the Public Service and are intended for one or several unilingual Anglophone officials.

Direction of translation

445. Much of the translators' time is spent on correcting proofs. In some departments, such as National Defence and Transport, correcting proofs takes up to 20 per cent of their time.

Extra workload

446. The quality of translation—a crucial matter—was not effectively supervised until very recently. Most of the heads of translation divisions were reasonably satisfied with the quality, but most deplored the fact that time limitations prevented the production of fine quality texts. We ourselves experienced great difficulty in obtaining translation of acceptable quality; many complaints have been made in the House of Commons, and many other Royal Commissions¹ engaged special per-

Quality

¹ For example, those on Canada's Economic Prospects (the Gordon Commission), Banking and Finance (the Porter Commission), and Taxation (the Carter Commission), as well as the Glassco Commission.

sonnel to revise or make initial translations of their reports. In 71 departments and agencies surveyed on the subject of quality of translation, opinion was divided: 35 per cent said they were "very satisfied," 51 per cent were "somewhat satisfied," 3 per cent were "dissatisfied," and 11 per cent either did not use the Bureau or did not answer. Many departments provided specific opinions. Some complained that translations were usually too literal and they commented on the subtler demands of truly satisfactory translations. Dissatisfaction was registered in the following way by an official in the National Film Board:

One might say that translation goes from excellent to the worst. Excellence is very rare, medium quality dominates and mediocrity is not exceptional. It often happens that a translation is only useful to us as a basic text which must be revised if one wants to use language which is a little elegant and precise. . . . It is important to indicate that time pressures condition the quality of translation. When one submits a large report and one wants a rapid translation, the quality can suffer. One must take into account that in an agency like the National Film Board there is a specialized terminology that is not familiar to the translator.

Delays 447. Delays in translation were frequently mentioned. Only 11 of the 71 departments and agencies surveyed indicated that there was no delay in translation; 41 complained of slight delays and 9 of excessive delays. Apparently the service was satisfactory for correspondence and other short texts but, for long reports, delays were considerable. Some departments emphasized the slowness of translation of technical reports.² However, the Bureau and the departmental divisions did not appear to have the necessary staff to satisfy such specialized demands. For example, the department of National Health and Welfare noted that its translation needs had doubled between 1963 and 1965, but its translation division had not obtained the staff to meet the new demands.

c) Summary and evaluation

448. Translation has been an essential function of the Canadian Public Service for many years and is likely to remain so. An increased number of bilingual individuals in the Service will not automatically decrease the need for translation services. On the other hand, the widespread need for translation into French is a continuing indication of how few public servants in responsible posts can work effectively in French—whether as their first or second language.

² An extreme example was cited by one department where a major source document used by scientists all across the country has been available in English since 1958. The French translation did not appear for eight years, during which time a total revision of the English version was all but completed.

449. At the time our research was done, we judged that, although the Bureau was aware of its problems, it had not been given or had not used sufficient means to recruit and retain enough good translators. There was virtually no specialized training and the school for upgrading translators seemed inadequate for a fully competent service. Special linguistic and technical skills are needed for translation of much technical material, and translators with scientific as well as linguistic qualifications must be recruited. The Bureau has recently made efforts to recruit translators in Europe; it has also been instrumental in the establishment of schools for translators at the Universities of Ottawa and Montreal, and has instituted a system of scholarships for students studying translation in these universities.

Training

450. There are two sources of waste of translators' time: performing ordinary editorial work on documents drafted in French and making unnecessary translations. It is quite appropriate to translate any public document, from a form to a long government report, and any document that must be signed by a unilingual official. But, in 1965, 30 of 65 government departments still had every piece of paper with French on it translated as a matter of course. This situation creates a morale problem among translators presented with too many apparently trivial documents. For those of the Bureau's clients who automatically receive a formal translation of every memorandum drafted in French, there is little incentive to develop even rudimentary reading ability in the other official language. Since there is so much strain on the Bureau's capacity, complaints about the quality of its work are hardly surprising. No change can be expected until there is an agency in each department to decide what material is worth translation and what is not.

Waste of
translators'
time

451. Better organization and administrative liaison are obviously the keys to improved speed and quality of translation. Especially needed are enough supervisors to review and improve the work of the primary translator. This function is at present either not done at all or inadequately done because of pressure of time. However, reorganization of the Bureau is unlikely to be successful until the function of translation in the Public Service is clearly and thoroughly defined as part of a systematic language policy integrating all demands for language abilities with all language resources and, above all, planned language practices. Once such a policy has been promulgated, individual departments can decide what should be translated and in what order of priority. This sort of planning would free the Bureau from extraneous duties. Translators' morale and the quality of their work would almost certainly improve. The unification of dispersed translation units around their technical specialties—something the Bureau has already undertaken on the administrative level—is obviously the best long-run solution.

Suggestions for
improvement

2. *Language training*

452. The federal government's language-training programme is a significant step towards development of individual bilingualism in the federal administration; no single such measure has received so much attention in the last few years. However, any study of the programme is limited by its very newness and its rapid development.

a) Recent developments¹

453. Although there have been language-training programmes in some departments and agencies for more than 15 years, a Service-wide programme is a recent innovation. Among the units that have had programmes in the past are the departments of National Defence, External Affairs, Northern Affairs and National Resources, the Post Office, and Trade and Commerce, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the Bank of Canada, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the National Film Board, the Export Credits Insurance Corporation, Canadian National, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The department of National Defence, in particular, has had an extensive programme of language training for many years. With the institution of Service-wide training, there has been a gradual regrouping of departmental and agency programmes under one central agency. Despite their technical limitations, these programmes laid the base for the introduction of language training into the federal Public Service.

1) Civil Service Commission programme (1963-5)

Glassco
Commission

454. In 1961, the Glassco Commission's committee on bilingualism suggested that the educational aim of the government should be to make public servants bilingual after entry, with French courses available to all. In the part of its report devoted to personnel management, the commission recommended that "the federal government adopt active measures to develop bilingual capacities among its employees on a selective basis."²

Interdepart-
mental
committee

455. On August 3, 1963, the cabinet approved the establishment of an interdepartmental committee on bilingualism in the federal Public Service. This committee of senior officers was enjoined to give sustained attention to the various aspects of the problem of bilingualism within the federal administration. Its first task was to study and make recommendations on the "nature and organization of French and English

¹ We wish to acknowledge the use of many internal documents of the Language Training Directorate for our historical sketch.

² Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization*, I (Ottawa, 1962), 267.

classes within the public service, for government officials as well as for other employees.”¹ The Committee submitted a report to the cabinet committee on government organization and bilingualism, and the government approved a preparatory programme, to be carried out by the Civil Service Commission on an experimental basis, which was to be used to determine the content of the comprehensive programme launched in 1964.

456. The objectives of this comprehensive programme were considered to include the following: Objectives

(1) The ultimate objective of the comprehensive language training programme for the federal public service is the achievement over a period of time of sufficient fluency and facility in both languages by members of the Public Service to permit the day-to-day business to be conducted interchangeably in either or both languages without the necessity of translation services in routine matters.

(3) Priority of attention can and should be given in the first instance to the Ottawa-Hull Headquarters Area and certain other major centres where bilingual qualifications are immediately necessary or desirable for intensely practical reasons.²

457. After consultations with linguists and university specialists, the Civil Service Commission decided to adopt *Voix et images de France* (VIF), an audio-visual course developed from a long-range research programme sponsored by the government of France, based on “le français fondamental.” Method

458. The growth of the language-training service has been striking. Following on from the programme tried experimentally in 1963 by the department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, it began with a pilot school in 1964, which taught French to 32 civil servants and English to 10 civil servants, using four teachers and two types of courses. Table 39 shows its growth since then, with a cumulative total of 6,731 enrolments by 1967. This figure includes 4,848 public servants who completed courses—of whom 1,008 returned for second or third courses—and 875 “drop-outs.” The demand is indicated by registration figures of September 1967, when government departments and agencies, using their own selection processes, submitted 8,811 applications for 5,800 places.³ Success of the courses

¹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, 1st session, VI, 5711.
² G. G. E. Steele, “Bilingualism in the Canadian Public Service,” an address to the National Conference, Civil Service Federation Convention, Windsor, Ontario, August 25, 1965, in *Civil Service Review*, XXXVIII, No. 3 (Ottawa, 1965), 68.
³ By October 1967, there were 9,895 applications.

Table 39. Enrolment in Language Courses

Enrolment in the French and English courses of the Civil Service Commission, 1963-7

	Total	French courses	English courses
1963-4	42	32	10
1964-5	708	625	83
1965-6	2,793	2,425	368
1966-7	3,188	2,422	766
Total	6,731	5,504	1,227

Source: Public Service Commission.

2) The programme from 1966 to 1968

Criteria and priorities

459. After its early activity and Prime Minister Pearson's policy statement of April 6, 1966,¹ the Civil Service Commission proposed criteria to determine:

a) the language skills required, both long-term and short-term, to fulfil the government's primary objective of providing service to the public in the official language of choice; and

b) a system of priorities, based on the Prime Minister's speech, for selecting candidates for language classes. Those given preference since September 1966 include:

i) Senior department officials, since the Prime Minister said that by 1975 bilingualism should be a requirement for promotion to executive and administrative positions within the public service;

ii) personnel who need the other official language in their work—for example, those who deal with the public or who represent Canada in an official capacity at functions where both languages are necessary or where it is judged important to project a "bilingual image";

iii) those who already have some degree of competence in the second language or who have participated in a language course;

iv) staff members of unilingual branches, divisions, and sections, in order to develop language-of-choice service in regions with a language minority;

v) recent university graduates recruited for the Junior Executive Officer or Foreign Service Officer programmes; and

vi) employees due to be transferred to offices where the use of the other language is necessary.

Individual bilingualism

460. In this programme, there was no mention of the fact that liaison positions would be an important factor in the development of a system permitting members of each of the two language groups to work in their own language. Individual bilingualism is still seen principally in the role of service to the public rather than as a factor in the transformation of the Public Service itself. There is no reference to the necessity of

¹ See Appendix II.

creating working arrangements in which the new language can be used, although Prime Minister Pearson's policy statement, which inspired these criteria, was capable of being so interpreted.

461. The announcement of government policy greatly increased the demand for language training. By October 1967, 13 schools had been approved by the Treasury Board: seven in the federal capital area, two in Montreal, one each in Quebec City, Toronto, Cornwall, and St. Catharines. The courses were organized at three levels of ability,¹ and presented on several schedules: full-time ("complete immersion"), full-time (regular), partial immersion, half-time, one hour a day, two hours three times a week, three hours twice a week, and evening.

Organization
of courses

462. Two major innovations for training senior officials were introduced. The first is the "complete immersion" course of eight hours of instruction daily for three weeks, alternating with instruction for one hour a day for five to six months, until the required proficiency is attained. The second and more profound is year-long immersion in not only a new language but a new cultural community. In 1967-8, 30 senior officials and their families spent a year in either Quebec City or Toronto; during their stay they received intensive language training as well as general exposure to the community.

463. Table 40 shows the demand for second-language training in 1967-8: there were 8,811 applicants for 5,800 places, but relatively few took immersion, full-time, or even half-time courses. This does not take into account those taking external immersion courses or university courses in their second language.

464. The total cost was estimated at \$3,659,000 for the year 1966-7, when about 200 teachers and 100 other staff were at work. At least 250 teachers were needed for 1967-8. Cost per student was estimated at \$2,014 in the immersion courses; half of this cost is the student's ordinary salary, drawn as usual during the course. Unit cost for successful completion of the hour-a-day courses was \$3,093, including time lost from work (more than six weeks a year). Courses are nominally comparable regardless of their schedule but, since it takes over two years to complete a course at the rate of one hour a day, the comparison is invalid. The hour-a-day courses cost half as much again as immersion courses, largely owing to time lost from work.

Cost

465. In 1967 it was estimated that five additional schools would be required each year until departmental needs are met. Thirty schools in 1971 would cost \$10,000,000 a year.

¹ The third level of the French curriculum was not fully compiled until 1968. The Language Training Directorate has also been preparing a fourth level, and the Public Service Commission's *Annual Report*, 1968 indicates that during that year a few students also received instruction in French at that level as well.

Table 40. Applications for Language Courses

Distribution of applications for the French and English courses of the Public Service Commission, by type of programme chosen, to September 22, 1967

Programme	French courses	English courses	Total	%
Total immersion	527	4	531	6.0
Partial immersion	363	16	379	4.3
Full-time	149	52	201	2.3
Half-time	281	224	505	5.7
One hour per day	1,998	177	2,175	24.7
Two hours, three times per week	753	226	979	11.1
Three hours, twice per week	701	263	964	10.9
Evening	2,220	857	3,077	35.0
Total	6,992	1,819	8,811	100.0

Source: Public Service Commission.

466. The output of the programme up to January 1967 is shown in Table 41. Few advanced graduates had been produced, and the English courses had—both relatively and absolutely—more advanced graduates than the French courses. There are undoubtedly two main reasons for this: first, the Francophone students of English usually have a greater knowledge of English before beginning their courses, and, second, in a milieu where the working language is overwhelmingly English, the Francophones studying English have ample opportunity to practice it when they return to work.

Table 41. Results of the Language Training Programme

Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of French and English diplomas granted by the Civil Service Commission, by level, to January 1967

	French courses		English courses		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Basic	458	72.9	34	19.0	492	61.0
Intermediate	116	18.5	85	47.5	201	24.9
Advanced	54	8.6	60	33.5	114	14.1
Total	628	100.0	179	100.0	807	100.0

Source: Civil Service Commission.

467. Developments in language training took place very rapidly, although training capacities fell far short of the expressed demand. The Public Service has shown a genuine concern at both political and administrative levels, and the programme to date represents a remarkable effort by those responsible.

b) Evaluation of language training

468. Our researchers undertook comprehensive analysis and evaluation of language training in three areas: the individuals' motivation for taking the course, the training itself, and the subsequent use made of the training. At the same time, the 50 staff members of the Language Training Directorate were analyzing the programme and establishing standards.

469. Up to that time there had been little opportunity to assess the importance of the individual students' motivations or the use they might make of their newly acquired skills after completing a course. Obviously, these factors have a profound effect on the results achieved. It is not hard to understand why an Anglophone would have very little interest in learning the other language for the purpose of speaking French to colleagues who are either also Anglophones or accustomed to working in English. Because the language schools were set up so quickly, sweeping initial assumptions had to be made about the curriculum. These assumptions lacked the guidance of any general and systematic language policy for the whole government, and our evaluation of the language training programmes is made in this broad context.

470. Analysis was extremely difficult because everything about the language schools was new and still changing rapidly. Two special surveys were made of students' experiences: the first was a study of the 32 members of the first government language class;¹ the second surveyed 62 students who completed half-time and full-time courses before February 1966.² A third relevant survey, part of the "Career Study," involved 130 Anglophone officials in the departments of Finance, Agriculture, Public Works, and National Revenue—Taxation division.³ Such small units of observation can yield only an impressionistic picture that must be treated with caution, and we therefore use them primarily for illustrations of responses to language training. Our researchers also interviewed language-school and departmental officials,⁴ and conducted research at the technical level.⁵

¹ Hubert Benoit, Marcel Collin, Claude Desjardins, and Peter Lyman, "Language Training—Hull," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

² Jacqueline Buchanan and Marcel Collin, "Analyse du questionnaire aux étudiants de l'École de langues de Hull," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

³ Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

⁴ Chevalier, "The Dynamics of Adaptation in the Federal Public Service."

⁵ L. G. Kelly, "Language Training in the Civil Service," and L.-P. Valiquet, "Language Training in the Federal Public Service," studies prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

1) *Departmental responses to language training*

471. Because of the pioneering and voluntary nature of the newly created programme, the informal and official attitudes of their superiors towards it had a significant influence on the individuals concerned. There was great variation in attitude between departments; those of the departments of Finance, Agriculture, Public Works, and National Revenue—Taxation division are summarized here.¹

Department of Finance

472. The department of Finance emphasized the predominantly English character of both its employees and its clientele, and reiterated that the main language of business and economics in Canada is English. However, senior officials seemed receptive and quite ready to have all officers learn French, especially those involved in federal-provincial negotiations. These officials seemed aware of limitations in the courses, but efforts were being made to bring the courses to the attention of the staff, to emphasize their importance for the present and the future, and to pave the way for those who wished to take them. Clearly, one of the most important factors determining attitudes towards language courses is the immediate use the students foresee for the acquired linguistic capacity.

473. Of the groups studied, the Finance sample had the highest percentage (18) of bilingual Anglophones, as well as the highest percentage (25) of officers taking the course. No respondent felt that he was blocked by the administration in his wish to take the course. The overall attitude was a positive one of willingness to put up with understaffing and lost time, despite acknowledged inadequacies in the course itself.

Department of Agriculture

474. The policy-making level of the department of Agriculture was generally unsympathetic to bilingualism in the Public Service and to French classes. In this department, where the majority of the employees at headquarters are either in the Research branch or engaged elsewhere in research, it was repeated time and again that English was the language of science and that any attempt to make the department and its scientists bilingual would be futile.

475. Many of the people we contacted were not aware of the available language courses and only 11 per cent of the sample were actually taking a course. A few who felt that they could use a course in French complained of unanswered requests.

I took an aptitude test in Hull about a year ago and nothing has happened since then. That was the last that I heard. Actually, there are several that I know who have had the same experience. I have asked and asked to be able to take the Civil Service Commission French course. I have only

¹ See also Appendix III, Table A-24.

gotten so far as to have the evaluation test over in Hull. I took that test, but things have not gone any farther than that at the present time. And I think that I need the course.

476. The general consensus was that French was unnecessary for research workers, and this was the line followed by the senior officials. Language courses were practically out of reach for the junior staff, whether they wanted them or not, since all they knew about them was that their chiefs did not think much of them.

477. In the department of Public Works, the problems of bilingualism were felt at the senior levels more than in other departments. Many of the lower-level employees are Francophones, and senior officials generally felt that more individual bilingualism in the higher levels would facilitate the inner workings of the department as well as satisfy public demands. But many problems had arisen in the application of this policy.

Department of
Public Works

478. One of the men involved in the administration of the courses was in our sample. His remarks bear out the evidence found in the interviews with senior administrators:

Last fall I was involved in organizing the French courses from our end of things. Actually we had about 200 apply, but our deputy said that we couldn't possibly spare that number; so we cut the number down to about 115. Ultimately we had 65 in the daytime training, of which only 55 stuck it out. The figure is low because our work in the branches began to suffer. To a certain extent there were squawks from the branch heads. There would have been far more if some of the senior people hadn't dropped out. Now all of our senior people have dropped out. . . . It just got so that they were missing so many classes because they had to attend meetings, or go on trips . . . things like that. It got to the point where they were missing more than 50 per cent of the classes. Anyway, for the next year I foresee the same thing happening again. The department just can't let too many off for daytime courses. Night courses would be far better.

479. Despite such strains, 19 per cent of the Public Works sample were taking courses and, although there were some complaints about the method of selection,¹ it appeared that the department was genuinely exerting itself to make full use of the French language-training facilities.

480. The predominant feeling towards language courses expressed by senior personnel in the Taxation division of the department of National Revenue can be summed up—perhaps harshly—as indifference. The department recognized the usefulness of bilingualism and seemed to

Department of
National
Revenue—
Taxation division

¹ For example: "I don't like the way they go about selecting people in this department. They came around and pointed a finger and said you, you, and you, will take the course. You're it. There was no choice. I wasn't around when they were pointing the finger so I got left out. I took a test but that was after the course started."

make good use of the courses for its purpose—dealing with taxpayers. But the programme appeared to be given very little publicity and attention in the division.

481. Many of our respondents mentioned that they had not been given the opportunity to consider taking a course, and some felt that there were barriers in the way of their taking French. Only 9 per cent of the sample were taking the course, the lowest percentage of the four departments. The following response was typical:

It should be made more available. I found it very difficult to even put my name down on the list. I had to search out the people concerned. Nobody came to me. As far as the C.S. [courses] are concerned, I have not had the opportunity or been approached or seen any advertisements or anything.

Summary of
departmental
responses

482. Most senior departmental staff felt that French courses were a necessary response to government policy directives, a useful gesture to Quebec, and, to a lesser extent, a benefit in terms of improved departmental services. But they felt that the courses were slow, inefficient, and inconveniently organized. Few senior staff members seemed to understand that a unilingual federal Public Service in a bilingual country is by its own terms an anomaly and that the situation places a particular responsibility upon them. Officials were aware of inadequacies and impracticalities, and there was a general air of discontent among senior management: pessimism about the ability of many to learn French; the feeling that pressure of work made the effort and energy required to learn French almost impossible; and scepticism about the value of language training, because there were few opportunities to use French at work and because "most French are bilingual anyway." These feelings of senior officials and their lack of agreement with junior staff members as to the place of French and French classes in departmental operations generated unnecessary worry throughout the federal administration. This was augmented, at the middle and lower levels of the staff, by a sense that the government had announced and done something about language training but that "this department" had not really put the staff in the picture. It may be that failure to endorse language training vigorously was the result of doubt in the senior officials' minds about exactly what it would do for their own departments; under the circumstances, such doubt is not surprising.

2) *Personal responses to language training*

Middle-level
staff

483. In contrast to their immediate superiors, most middle-level staff were enthusiastic in their general response to the language training programme, feeling that it was of definite personal benefit. Few were indifferent or hostile. While there were variations among the four

departments surveyed, 53 per cent of our sample had recently taken, were then taking, or definitely intended to take some type of French course,¹ even though a third of the respondents said they would have no opportunity to use French at work.²

(a) Variations among departments

484. English is considered the language of work of the department of Finance. Sixty-one per cent of our respondents stated that they used or could use little or no French. Many of those who said otherwise pointed out that French would be used only at international conferences, not in Canada.

Department of
Finance

485. Very few respondents in Finance cited their present work as a reason for taking a course. The most common reason was personal betterment, which matches the insistence that French was not needed much within the department.

486. Scientists of the department of Agriculture did not follow their superiors' lead in openly objecting to the courses, but still seemed to be no more interested in learning French. This was largely explained by the assertion that English is the language of science. Thirty per cent of the respondents were very doubtful about taking a course and 19 per cent had no intention of taking one. Although 27 per cent were currently in French classes, 81 per cent reported that they used little or no French in their work.

Department of
Agriculture

Probably in our work, a French course is the least beneficial of all the courses that I could take. It has nothing to do with our research field. Languages are just not the sort of training we can really use.

I just don't use French in my work. Basically, the type of work that I do—it's just not relevant. I might just as well learn to knit as learn to speak French for my work—it would be just as useful. If I was going to take any course, I would take something like mineralogy, which would be relevant to the work I do.

Again, among those taking or wanting to take a course, the main reason given was that of personal interest.

487. The department of Public Works was very much concerned with bilingualism and the French courses, and its employees were quite aware of this. The courses were generally accepted simply in compliance with a government order, and sometimes grudgingly. Most of our respondents were engineers and architects, but the sample included a sizable proportion of less well-educated technical workers. This biased the general reaction, which ranged from panic to well-informed rationality.

Department of
Public Works

¹ See Appendix III, Table A-25.

² *Ibid.*, Table A-26.

Department of
National
Revenue—
Taxation
division

488. Despite the official statement that Public Works has a very high number of Francophones working for it, 72 per cent of our middle-level sample insisted that they had little or no occasion to use French. Confirming this, 59 per cent gave personal improvement as the reason for taking the course and only 14 per cent its usefulness on the job.

489. The Taxation division of the department of National Revenue offered a striking contrast. As mentioned earlier, the administrative policy of the department seemed to be one of indifference; but the staff turned out to be anything but indifferent. Of the entire sample, these respondents were by far the least informed and the most worried. They expressed an unexpectedly great demand for language training. Almost 40 per cent, compared with the average of 28 per cent in the four departments surveyed, stated that they could use French in their work. However, the 45 per cent of this sample who had taken or were taking the course, or strongly intended to do so, was relatively smaller than the average rate of 52 per cent for all four departments. A relatively large number were rather uncertain about whether they would be able to take a course. This seemed to be the result of poor advertising of the courses as well as an unsympathetic administration—which in turn is related to the division's solution of its problems of language of service while retaining an overwhelmingly Anglophone character at head office.

490. The Taxation division had the lowest percentage of university graduates of the four departmental samples. Respondents without degrees seemed to be the ones most anxious to take French courses, perhaps because they felt their jobs were in jeopardy if they did not learn the language. There was a great scramble for lessons and a feeling of panic when they were found to be out of reach.

You hear rumours that only the top men will have to be bilingual. I wonder if this will put a clamp on my promotion. I'd like to know where I stand. If this is so, I'd like to know about it so I can go out and learn French. People should be given a choice whether they want to learn or not and they should be given the chance to learn properly.

I'm not as frightened as some . . . provided I'm given the chance to learn French.

491. This division was distinguished by the high percentage (52) of respondents who gave promotions and career benefits as the main reason for learning French. Rumours concerning the future effect of bilingualism and biculturalism were rife and nowhere was more concern expressed about the "French fact."

(b) Individuals' motivations to learn French

Personal
improvement

492. Reasons for wishing to take instruction ranged from a desire to be able to "ask for bacon and eggs" in French to the idea that it is "an

ultimate necessity” to retain a Public Service job. However, 48 per cent of those interviewed cited personal improvement as a major reason for taking a French course.¹ Such reasons as these appeared:

I'd say that it was a matter of regret that I'm not fluent. I had made numerous efforts on my own years before all these problems of bilingualism and biculturalism, but it's damned hard to make any progress in a unilingual environment such as we have. I took courses, but nothing or little seemed to stick with me. So when the present B and B problems began to get acute I figured that I wanted to take advantage...for purely personal reasons. I don't need French in my job. But any educated person should know and be able to speak a second language. Especially for Canadians it should be a part of one's general education to be versed in both French and English. I think that our kids will generally grow up with a far greater appreciation and awareness of French than we did.

I think that an additional language would help in the broad sense. Not because it is related to the situation concerning bilingualism in the cs but because I think it would generally enhance my own outlook and capability and knowledge if I was able to learn it adequately.

493. Reasons connected with work were very frequently mentioned. The first group of reasons concerns work benefits and security: promotion, bonuses, and keeping the job.

Work benefits
and security

It will be an asset in getting to administrative positions and will be an asset in these positions. This is the main reason that I am taking the course.

Because I feel there are certain positions in this department which would open up to me if I were bilingual. They require someone with bilingual status, and I would become eligible if I could speak French.

I feel that it would be of use to me as a government official and I'm also interested in learning the language. Besides that there is the obvious advantage to be gained with the incentives and the bonus. And then it's at no expense. It would be silly not to take advantage of it. It's a worthwhile effort and bound to be of use.

This category included 28 per cent of the respondents, coming second only to self-improvement.

494. Another 20 per cent said French would be directly useful in their job. The respondent usually implied either that he was in a position to use French or that he hoped to attain such a position.

Usefulness
in job

It would help me in my work if I were completely bilingual. There might be a time that I would be asked to do a research project in Quebec and I would be severely handicapped. Maybe that's why I haven't been assigned a project in Quebec.

In the cs, a person would be crazy to stay without learning French. It is not necessary to write it because it is easy enough for the translator to do this. But to be conversant [sic] in French would be very helpful.

¹ Appendix III, Table A-27.

The first thing I'd say...well, four of our districts are in Quebec and occasionally I have to go down there to visit them. It's a little embarrassing when I go down there and they all have to speak in English in order for me to understand.

Patriotism 495. Patriotic reasons also appeared. Respondents answering in this way usually talked about bilingual and bicultural problems in terms that went beyond the Public Service milieu. About 5 per cent answered in such terms.

The only thing is that I think it's time the rest of Canada thought of the other side of the nation. A good way to solve all this is to talk to them in their own language. It's easier to understand them if you know their language and can converse with them in it.

My philosophy is that it's good for anyone to speak another language. My personal opinion is that this country and the U.S. have been very slow to learn another language. In Europe, the people speak at least two. We should learn to start our children young at another language.

Summary 496. The great variety of individual and departmental opinions made it difficult to determine how the existing language-training programme was working and exactly what it was doing for different categories of public servants. Few respondents felt any pressing need to use French at work and yet many were ready to attend classes. Clearly, the language-training programme needs analysis in the light of what the Public Service, rather than the individual employee, is getting for its investment. In particular, course content and opportunities to use the language in the work situation require continual and detailed evaluation.¹

497. At the time of our survey, students seemed to feel themselves caught in a course not oriented to their work situations. Furthermore, they appeared to be sure that their work situations were not likely to change in ways that would enable them to use what they learned even if the courses were so oriented.

3) *The training courses*

498. Our criticism of the language training programme must be tempered by an awareness of the acute influences bearing on its inception, including strong political pressure and the demand for speed. Of course, the Language Training Directorate had no control over these outside influences, but serious internal difficulties also arose. Most of these are well recognized by the directorate, and some corrective action has already been taken.

¹ A step in this direction was taken in 1968. The Public Service Commission undertook a survey of the second-language training needs anticipated over the next five years. In the occupational categories then included in the government's order of priorities for such training, the survey identified nearly 17,000 officials and employees, of which almost 14,000 would require training in French. Public Service Commission, *Annual Report, 1968*.

(a) Course content

499. From the beginning, the Language Training Directorate developed its own courses in English. By December 1967 its courses had been largely completed at four different levels, and they were being further refined and developed.

500. We concentrate on the content of the French courses, however, because they account for the vast majority of students. The basic French course is *Voix et images de France* (VIF). It was the sole course available until September 1966, when a pilot course was begun with the University of Montreal's experimental *Le français international* (LFI).

VIF and LFI

501. The first degree of VIF is a course of 32 lessons designed to acclimatize immigrants arriving in France and to teach them the language at the same time. In France it is given at a rate of five hours to a lesson, but the Language Training Directorate has doubled the number of hours per lesson. Both VIF and LFI select syntax and vocabulary material on the basis of frequency of general usage and organize it around "centres of interest"—the house, the street, the farm, and so on. However, the vocabulary is more oriented towards the customs of metropolitan France than towards the needs of daily life in French-speaking Canada. It draws very little on the terms and expressions commonly used in government offices. To this extent the courses may actually encourage students in the belief that they are studying French for personal betterment rather than for use in their work.

(b) Training procedure

502. VIF was designed to be taught at a rate of 20 hours a week, with four lessons covered in that time. The Language Training Directorate allotted 10 hours to each lesson so that the majority (86 per cent) of Public Service students, enrolled in courses scheduled for one hour a day or the equivalent, proceeded at only an eighth of the speed the developers of VIF had planned.

Curricula

503. The Directorate envisaged a complete programme of four courses, each of 400 hours: two VIF courses and two devised by the Directorate. The complete immersion system, available in 1966-7 to only 3 per cent of the trainees, could cover one course in six weeks. For the vast majority of students, however, it took 80 weeks to cover the same ground at an hour a day. On the basis of slow-paced courses (up to 6 hours per week) the programme—including the two levels of VIF as modified by the Commission plus a third level, designed in 1966—would take about seven years. Obviously, only complete immersion, full-time, or half-time courses meet the requirements of VIF as its originators planned, and the last only marginally.

(c) Flaws in the system

Rate of
teaching

504. The question of speed was clearly the major weakness in the Language Training Directorate's system. Apart from the problem of maintaining motivation in the slow-paced course, the memory of each individual student has far less on which to build, so he is more likely to forget the reduced content of each week's work for lack of momentum. Besides this, he takes away almost nothing to practise at the office. The slow speed of VIF at an hour a day, half a lesson a week, is probably a significant discouragement from continuing. Absentee rates from such courses were about 25 per cent, much higher than in more intensive courses.

505. The hour-a-day or slow-paced schedule was created so that classes could be held during the work day without disrupting the students' own offices, and, consequently, so that more individuals could be induced to register. This was discovered to be a false economy. Research has shown that the most efficient method is that which covers a given programme in the shortest overall time.

506. It was undoubtedly because of these defects in the slow-paced schedules that the Language Training Directorate made an important change in 1968:

Beginning in September 1968, the slow-paced courses (up to 6 hours per week) at Levels 1, 2 and 3 will be replaced by intensive courses (half- and full-time and immersion courses). Those now in slow-paced courses will, subject to departmental concurrence, be transferred to intensive courses. Those who cannot be transferred will be allowed to remain in slow-paced courses as long as homogeneous groups can be formed.¹

Opportunity
to practise

507. It is quite obvious that the success of any second-language instruction rests heavily on opportunities for the student to practise outside the classroom. If the vocabulary taught in the courses were more directly relevant to work situations in Canada, the courses would do more to equip the student to use his newly acquired French when he returned to his office. The courses should begin with material related to office situations; the vocabulary taught should relate to the people, things, and procedures ordinarily found in government offices. From this beginning the student should be encouraged to pick up the technical vocabulary appropriate to the special concerns of his own department or occupation.

Range of
skills

508. The VIF programme teaches all four language skills—aural comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing—in an order that may strike students as haphazard, since it is unrelated to their own study and language habits. It moves from oral to written skills in the standard

¹ Public Service Commission, Language Bureau Memorandum, July 25, 1968, s.3(e).

progression recommended by conventional linguistic doctrine, which is largely based on children's experience. Adult students need a different sequence, with passive skills—reading and understanding conversation—coming first. Such a change should allow an early and discernible degree of achievement, which would encourage students to continue studying.

509. This proposal raises a pedagogical problem: should a language student be equipped with a basic mental kit to allow him to translate the other language he hears, or should the ultimate aim be to inculcate fluency so that he can "think on his feet" in French? Receptive bilingualism—the ability to read documents and understand a conversation adequately—is a substantial but far less imposing level of competence to be aimed at than that which the present courses imply. It is also more appropriate to a public servant's education and habits of work, based on the written rather than the spoken word. Since he learns the second language for work rather than for home life, he should proceed from the written language to the spoken, rather than the reverse. In the vast majority of cases it would be quite enough for a senior public servant to be able to read and understand conversation in the other language, thereby permitting his subordinates to work in their own language.

510. The VIF and LFI methods do not make use of translation. It is true that quantities of translation to or from the target language do not encourage the student to immerse himself completely in the new language but, to demonstrate meaning, translation can save time, avoid false impressions, and confirm the conjectures pupils will make when words are also demonstrated in some other way. A pupil often translates a word to himself in any event; thus, in order to forestall mistakes, it is sensible to reinforce other methods of transmitting meaning by allowing for translation; indeed, many words and concepts are taught more efficiently by translation than by other means.

Translation

511. Nor should the grammatical approach be entirely rejected in second-language teaching. Simplified explanations in the student's mother tongue would be useful to short-circuit much of the fruitless bafflement and dissatisfaction with the relative lack of grammar in the present courses. VIF teaches grammar systematically only at later stages of familiarity with French. The Public Service classes, from the introductory level, should include enough grammar for a student to see the logical structure of language; he should not have to rely on powers of simple mimicry and spontaneous memory, which have diminished since his childhood.

512. The goal should be the acquisition of relatively easily attainable skills, considered in a Canadian context and adapted to the work

Goal

situation. The individual's motivation is crucial, and every opportunity must be seized to build it up. This can best be done by revising the order in which language skills are taught, giving the course at such a rate that a student is convinced of his progress every week, using a vocabulary he can try out at the office, and presenting the lessons in a style appropriate to life in urban Canada.

Starting
capacity

513. Greater use should be made of the knowledge a pupil already has. At present it is largely ignored, unless a pupil scores high enough on the selection tests to be admitted to the second stage of the course. The tests do not discriminate clearly enough between those who have some knowledge of the written language and those who have none at all. The main concession made is to class the so-called *faux-débutants* together and try to set them an accelerated pace. In English-language training the situation is much healthier, probably because there are very few absolute beginners in the courses.

Criticisms

514. Criticisms of the programme for teaching French concern three aspects: its theoretical foundation, its purpose, and the technique of the courses. These aspects are interrelated in that the basic theory chosen by the system's administrators was determined in part by its choice of VIF as the basis for the programme and in part by the way problems of technique were handled.

Linguistics and
methodology

515. Because it lacked experience in teaching languages to adults, and because courses had to be established immediately, the Civil Service Commission prudently went to the readiest well-authenticated source of general linguistic doctrine. However, problems arose because, for example, determining the order in which language skills are to be taught "is not purely a linguistic problem, for all the time the nature and circumstances of teaching are to be imagined. The task cannot be carried out except by those with suitable teaching experience."¹ "Suitable teaching experience" for the Public Service's language schools meant experience in teaching fairly well educated adults. But VIF was designed originally to teach less well-educated people who would at the same time be working in a French-speaking community; in fact, its teaching techniques (as distinct from course content) seem more suitable for teaching children than for teaching adults.

516. The classroom system of VIF was probably by far the best for the original Civil Service Commission language schools to follow because it promised to meet the demand for immediate mass training. But, in committing themselves to it, the school authorities side-stepped the question of the purpose of bilingualism. This is the topic of a

¹ W. R. Lee, "Grading," *English Language Teaching*, No. 18 (London, 1964), 88.

UNESCO publication planned for release in 1969, in which at least two authors emphasize that bilingualism is a meaningful expression only in relation to some specific context.

It is doubtful whether bilingualism *per se* can be measured apart from the situation in which it is to *function* in the social context in which the person operates linguistically. The only practical line of approach to this complicated problem which I can suggest is to assess bilingualism *in terms of certain social and occupational demands of a practical nature* in a particular society. Here again the criterion is to be "bilingualism for what?" *Purpose and function* are the main determinants.¹

For what reason does such and such a government or group of people fight in favour of bilingualism? Why does a particular person wish to improve his bilingualism or, on the contrary, why is he completely indifferent to the way in which he speaks the two languages? Become bilingual, of course, but to do what?²

(d) Summary

517. Until changes such as we have proposed in Book II take place in the Canadian school system, government language classes are going to be the only—not just the main—guarantee that enough Anglophone public servants will know some French. Language training must be accepted as an important, permanent responsibility of the federal government. But we repeat that not all public servants will need to be bilingual if the use of the two languages is rationally organized.

518. We are aware of the political pressure to set up the system quickly, of the enthusiastic response of thousands of prospective students, and of the technical problems of catering to such a large enrolment without disrupting the normal operations of government services. Above all, we are aware that this programme was expected to attain almost by itself the unrealistic—and unnecessary—objective of making the majority of federal public servants bilingual.

519. The language-training system was launched on the best basis then available, but, while essential changes in language training may well take place before this Book of our *Report* appears, it remains part of our terms of reference to consider the theory of the system as well as its execution. The individual flaws we have criticized are all directly related to its basic orientation, which ought to make the most of the distinctive common characteristics of language students in the Public Service. The language-training programme ought to be evaluated rigorously in the light of its achievements and the usefulness of those achievements in attaining the goals of the Public Service's policy on language use.

¹ E. G. Malherbe, comment on R. M. Jones, "How and When Do Persons Become Bilingual?" in International Seminar on the Description and Measurement of Bilingualism, *The Description and Measurement of Bilingualism* (UNESCO, in press).

² A. Tabouret-Keller, comment on J. Macnamara's "How Can One Measure the Extent of a Person's Bilingual Proficiency," in *ibid.*

520. Criticism in this section has been largely negative, but its positive side lies in the emphasis on planning language classes with a constant watch on the students' motivation and above all on the use they will be called upon to make of what they have learned. It still leaves completely open the question of accommodating the methods we advocate to the practical exigencies of the Public Service.

521. Changing the content of the French courses to correspond to the work situation of Canadian public servants and setting realistic goals of receptive skill at work will vastly increase the unit returns of this investment of time, providing that the language schools are not the only instrument used to make the Public Service a bilingual institution. Without structural reform of the Service, students will only participate in a waste of time, energy, and money. Acquiring a second language always represents a personal enrichment, but such enrichment cannot alone justify the undertaking. These courses must enrich the Public Service itself, and as such they must be part of a system of two languages of work.

F. Conclusion

Policy and practice

522. This chapter has related policy on language use in the Public Service to actual practice, official and unofficial, and to the forces tending to alter that practice. The first general conclusion is that no general policy had ever been announced before April 1966, and no system of implementation has yet been worked out. Instead, the practice in the Public Service has been to answer correspondence in the official language of the client; in all other aspects of language of service (such as publications and face-to-face dealings with the public), individual departments and local units of the administration have worked out their own widely varying routine practices. The public is thus well served in some respects and regions and poorly in others; particularly poorly served are Francophones outside Quebec. There has been no attempt to implement a policy on language of work, and nearly all the linguistic traditions and characteristics of the Public Service have put pressure on the Francophone employees to become assimilated into an Anglophone environment.

523. The present situation retains the flaws produced by the influences that shaped it. Policies on language use were applied mainly in response to political crises rather than with any general goal in mind, and their results have thus been narrow and haphazard. Even remedies proposed for past failures tend to perpetuate old flaws: for example, in 1967, when bilingual proficiency was first presented in Public Service

Employment Regulations as desirable for all staff in the national capital region, it was subordinated to the long-established principle that only in some specifically defined posts is it actually "essential." Prime Minister Pearson's speech of April 6, 1966, had enunciated general policy aims for both language of work and language of service, which had hitherto gone undefined. But there was no plan to integrate new mechanisms, such as the language schools, into a comprehensive programme of bilingualism affecting the structures of the Public Service. The proposals themselves exempted one of the most important elements of the Public Service—the middle-level and senior staff with professional and technical qualifications. This was in a way understandable at the time, because no structural agencies existed for organizing, for example, scientific work that might be done in French.

524. Language use reflects the lack of overall policy. A Francophone public servant cannot rely on an integrated structure of Service-wide policies and mechanisms applicable to all departments. The Anglophone tradition of the Public Service tends to be self-perpetuating. The current predicament leads to misuse of existing language agencies, such as the Translation Bureau, and of many other language resources which might otherwise contribute to a bilingual Public Service.

Language use

525. Change must take place on two levels: a comprehensive policy for the systematic creation of a bilingual Public Service is needed, as is a central organization for its supervision; in addition, each unit of government must set its own house in order so far as language use is concerned. These two ends of the structure of government can and should support each other.

526. The overall purpose of the policy we envision for the Public Service of Canada is equal partnership as defined in the General Introduction of this *Report*. From this principle and the Public Service's general goal of a bilingual institution, two specific aims can be derived. First, equal services for the public in both official languages must be country-wide. This aim would be effected mainly by increasing the bilingual capacities of the appropriate regional offices outside Quebec (for instance, in Cornwall and St. Boniface). Second, linguistic and cultural discrimination between employees in the Public Service must be terminated, through reorganization to ensure the use of French at work. For the first time, the language rights of employees, as well as of clients would be protected by the Public Service. It is also a huge task, since it involves changing the formal structure and intangible character and traditions of the Service as a whole. However, when broken down into sub-policies and mechanisms for their implementation, the task seems far less difficult and the results less remote.

Equal
partnership

Rationale

527. Our formal recommendations on the Public Service are presented systematically in Chapter X. Most of them are desirable on grounds of efficiency alone, but to this reason must be added the concept of the right to work in either of Canada's official languages. The main administrative need is to enlarge the range of situations in which French can be used for government work, particularly at the middle and higher levels, giving Francophone public servants a real possibility to work in their own language and to make their own positive cultural contribution to the work in hand. This would obviously require reorganization far more sweeping than drawing up a list of criteria for selecting candidates for language classes.

528. Institutional as well as individual bilingualism is essential, for the aim is not merely to increase the number of bilingual individuals in the Service, but also to make it possible for Francophones to participate as Francophones at all levels of the administration and to the full range of their potential.

529. In this chapter we describe government recruiting policies and assess the federal Public Service as an employer competing for staff in the whole Canadian labour market. Our attention is largely confined to the two recruiting programmes which are designed to attract and prepare the key men on whom the Public Service will depend in future years. The policies and routines of recruiting are continually changing; we have examined all developments up to the end of 1967.

530. Our data is of two types: statistics about "hard facts" such as university and Public Service records; and statistics about opinions and attitudes expressed by Francophone university undergraduates, candidates for Public Service positions, and university personnel. Data in the second category indicate future patterns of participation by reflecting the degree of success of the Public Service's campaign to attract talented young recruits. Moreover, these opinions are essential to the Public Service's own evaluation and continuing modification of its recruiting system.

Statistical data

A. Language and Recruiting

531. The Civil Service Act of 1961 provided, for the first time since the amendments in 1882, that "an examination, test or interview under this section shall be conducted in the English or French language or both at the option of the candidate." But the Act said clearly that the function of language in staffing policies was to allow a department or a local office "to perform . . . functions adequately and to give effective service to the public."¹ It made no provision for the use of French as a language of work.

¹ Civil Service Act, S.C. 1961, 9-10 Eliz. II, c.57, ss.38, 47.

Preference for
bilingual
candidates

532. A number of members of Parliament felt that the reintroduction of the right to be interviewed and examined in one's chosen language was not enough to attract more Francophones or bilingual Anglophones. Alexis Caron, for example, urged that a general preference for bilingual applicants be written into the Civil Service Act.¹ In April 1962, the Civil Service Commission issued a memorandum on language requirements and subsequently founded a Language Bureau. The regulations issued in March 1967 under the Public Service Employment Act provided that bilingual candidates should have preference in competitions for posts in the national capital region.² The focus was still on language of service to both Anglophones and Francophones, and the regulations again showed little consideration for Francophones' rights to work in their own language.

Language of
service

533. The criterion of language of service did not evolve in the Public Service until after the responsibility for engaging personnel and defining standards was transferred from government departments to the Civil Service Commission by the Civil Service Act of 1918. In contrast with the earlier patronage system, this development was a by-product of the rationalization and centralization of the Public Service. But participation by Francophones in the decision-making processes of the Public Service—something previously facilitated by patronage—was neither envisaged nor assured by the principle of service to Francophones in their own language.

534. The decentralization of responsibility for personnel policy which followed the Glassco report did not weaken the authority of the Civil Service Commission (subsequently the Public Service Commission) in respect to language. It still had responsibility for establishing and amending the language requirements of Public Service positions and the language policy in recruiting programmes. In recent years, the Public Service Commission has accelerated its efforts to develop a bilingual Public Service. Besides organizing a Language Bureau to provide a more specific focus on the problem, it has improved the language competence of its own staff and has increased its recruitment of Francophones.

B. Supply and Demand

The labour
market

535. The labour market for Canadian university graduates has not yet been adequately studied and analyzed. Our researchers were able to gather only fragmentary evidence from a variety of sources, particu-

¹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1960-1, 4th session, VIII, 8574.

² See §§ 353-4

larly publications of the Economic Council of Canada, the Quebec Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec (the Parent Commission), and the Canadian Universities Foundation,¹ as well as unpublished material from the Civil Service Commission, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and the departments of Labour and the Secretary of State.

536. Nearly all of this material dealt with the supply of rather than the demand for university graduates in the labour market. The one pioneering study in the latter field—an analysis of projections made by a small number of firms representing several types of industry—excluded the federal Public Service.²

537. Analysis of this sort, applicable to the whole labour market, is vital to an appraisal of the Public Service's competitiveness in the recruitment of new graduates. Our review of the work already done indicates that little is known about supply and demand as such, so our observations are confined to generalities. We do know that, in both the Public Service and industry, present shortages are likely to get worse. The greatest demand is and will be for scientists, qualified professionals, managers, technicians, and skilled workers.

538. The supply of potential recruits to the Public Service is augmented by qualified university graduates already employed elsewhere and by the graduates of foreign universities, but by far the largest proportion is made up of recent graduates of Canadian universities. We classified these institutions as English-language, French-language, and bilingual, but the distinction must be treated with caution because science courses at bilingual universities are usually identified with the "English side."

Recruitment of
new personnel

539. We found little indication that the relative lack of Francophones among the professionals and other qualified personnel in the Public Service can be eased quickly. The demand is so great that chances of hiring qualified Francophones away from other employers are small. Immigration contributes significantly to the number of Anglophone public servants but has never supplied a like proportion of Francophones. There have been recent efforts to increase immigration of qualified people from France but, as far as we can foresee, the Public Service's intake of Francophone graduates will continue to be largely limited to the output of French-language universities in Canada.

Relative lack of
Francophones

¹ Wolfgang M. Illing and Zoltan E. Zsigmond, *Enrolment in Schools and Universities 1951-52 to 1975-76*, Economic Council of Canada, Staff Study No. 20 (Ottawa, 1967); *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, II* (Montreal, 1965); *Financing Higher Education in Canada*, the report of a Commission to the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (Toronto, 1965), Chap. XX.

² B. A. Keys and H. H. Wright, *Manpower Planning in Industry: A Case Study*, Economic Council of Canada, Staff Study No. 18 (Ottawa, 1966).

Table 42. Students' Fields of Specialization and University Language Group

Percentage distribution of degrees and diplomas granted by Canadian universities from 1962 to 1965, by field of specialization within each university language group

University language group	Number	Specialization				
		Arts ¹	Social sciences	Natural sciences ²	Commerce	Others
Bachelor	English	55.4	5.2	32.5	5.1	1.8
	French ³	64.2	3.5	25.4	5.9	1.0
	French ⁴	78.5	2.1	15.3	3.5	0.6
	Bilingual	67.6	8.3	14.5	8.6	1.0
	All language groups ³	57.5	5.0	30.5	5.4	1.6
Master and licentiate	All language groups ⁴	62.0	4.5	27.3	4.8	1.4
	English	32.0	18.3	41.6	7.7	0.4
	French	49.1	19.5	11.1	20.3	0.0
	Bilingual	57.5	32.3	10.2	0.0	0.0
	All language groups	39.0	19.4	29.8	11.6	0.2
Doctorate	English	10.9	8.0	80.8	0.1	0.2
	French	49.3	7.1	43.6	0.0	0.0
	Bilingual	36.8	33.1	30.1	0.0	0.0
	All language groups	16.9	10.1	72.7	0.1	0.2
		1,480				

All university degrees	English	67,426	52.1	6.6	34.4	5.3	1.6	100
	French ³	17,999	60.8	7.1	22.4	9.0	0.7	100
	French ⁴	26,857	74.0	4.7	14.8	6.0	0.5	100
	Bilingual	3,848	65.1	12.5	14.4	7.1	0.9	100
	All language groups ³	89,273	54.4	7.0	31.1	6.1	1.4	100
Diploma	All language groups ⁴	98,131	58.6	6.3	28.2	5.6	1.3	100
	English	9,484	28.4	17.2	44.0	9.3	1.1	100
	French	11,029	31.8	4.2	53.8	5.8	4.4	100
	Bilingual	475	0.2	32.9	38.1	28.8	0.0	100
	All language groups	20,988	29.5	10.7	49.1	7.9	2.8	100
All university degrees and diplomas	English	76,910	42.2	7.9	35.6	5.8	1.5	100
	French ³	28,828	49.7	6.0	34.4	7.8	2.1	100
	French ⁴	37,886	61.7	4.6	26.2	5.9	1.6	100
	Bilingual	4,323	58.0	14.8	17.0	9.5	0.7	100
	All language groups ³	110,061	49.7	7.7	34.5	6.5	1.6	100
	All language groups ⁴	119,119	53.5	7.1	31.9	6.0	1.5	100

Source: Herbert Taylor, "The Output of Canadian Universities and Colleges 1962-5," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

1 This category includes degrees in letters, education, philosophy, etc., as well as degrees in arts.

2 This category includes biological, physical, and engineering sciences and mathematics, etc.

3 Excluding *baccalauréats ès arts* granted for Quebec's *cours classique*.

4 Including *baccalauréats ès arts*.

Although there are some Francophones attending English-language universities, their numbers are not large enough to increase the supply of Francophone graduates significantly.

Comparative
value of degrees

540. We have made no studies of the comparative value of the degrees and diplomas granted by French- and English-language institutions to determine, for example, whether the *baccalauréat ès arts* granted for Quebec's *cours classique* is equivalent to a "pass" degree or an honours degree in English-speaking Canada. The Public Service Commission does not consider the *baccalauréat ès arts* as equivalent to the undergraduate degrees (B.A., B.Sc., etc.) granted by the English-language and bilingual universities. In the work milieu of North America, where the B.A. degree is the basic sign of recognition of the university graduate, Francophones with diplomas rather than degrees are likely to be penalized. We do not offer any opinion as to whether this is just or unjust, but the fact is that a Francophone's access to the work world has been limited by these judgements about French-language educational institutions.

Degrees and
diplomas

541. Canadian institutions of higher learning awarded a total of 119,119 degrees and diplomas (including *baccalauréats ès arts*) between 1962 and 1965 (Table 42). Because of the differences between the French- and English-language educational systems, it is not always possible to compare the various types of degrees. However, we can say that the most significant disparity was between doctorates, where the English-language institutions clearly dominated.

Specializations

542. Table 42 also shows the type of educational specialization of each group of universities. In the three academic years studied, English-language institutions were consistently stronger than French-language ones in the sciences, and stress on the sciences increased with the level of the degree. The relative lack of emphasis on the sciences in the French-language institutions remained constant up to the doctoral level. However, there was some degree of specialization in commerce and the social sciences. The two bilingual universities, Ottawa and Laurentian, tended to follow the pattern of the French-language institutions.

543. As a result, the proportion of graduates in natural sciences from French-language universities is lower than the proportion of graduates in all specializations (Table 43): only 15 per cent of the bachelor's degrees and only 6 per cent of the doctorates in the natural sciences are granted by French-language universities, compared with 18 per cent of the bachelor's degrees and 9 per cent of the doctorates in all specializations. On the other hand, 39 per cent of the advanced degrees (masters or licentiates and doctorates) were given in the arts and social sciences, compared with 31 per cent of the advanced degrees

in all specializations. Obviously, if an employer is determined to recruit a Francophone scientist, he will find himself in vigorous competition with other employers; just as obviously, if he wants to recruit a scientist without regard to language, a relatively large number are to be found in the English-language universities.

544. Our studies were carried out too early to take full account of the modernization of Quebec's educational system, begun after 1960 and speeded up after the publication of the Parent Commission report. Presumably opportunities for Francophone students to specialize in the sciences and, after qualification, to find suitable work in industry will increase considerably in the near future. Yet the changes agreed upon in Quebec are so extensive that the transformation of the educational system will take time.

Modernization
and reform

C. *University Graduates and the Public Service*

545. At the time of our study the two main streams of graduate entry to the Public Service were the Junior Executive Officers and Foreign Service Officers programme (JEO-FSO) and the scientific and technical programmes (ST). The former was open to all university graduates and the latter restricted to graduates in biology, physics, chemistry, engineering, and related fields. Tables 44 and 45 show the number of initial applicants related to the total number of graduates eligible for these two programmes in 1962-5.

Two graduate
recruiting
streams

546. Few graduates of French-language universities applied to join the JEO-FSO programme: barely half the proportion of graduates from English-language colleges and universities. The still higher proportion from bilingual institutions is skewed by the dominance, within this small group, of the University of Ottawa. Since Carleton University, in the same city, also sent a relatively large proportion of its graduates into the Public Service, the government's recruiting success in this instance can be attributed to the location of the university.

547. It is striking that the proportion of Francophone and Anglophone graduates in the natural sciences applying for the ST programmes is nearly the same. The rates of application of both are significantly higher than the highest rate for the JEO-FSO programme.

548. It appears that young Francophone and Anglophone scientists have similar attitudes towards working for the federal government; only one in 10 actually expresses an interest in such work. Among non-scientists, however, young graduates of French-language institutions are

Implications

Table 43. University Language Group and Students' Fields of Specialization

Percentage distribution of degrees and diplomas granted from 1962 to 1965, by university language group within each field of specialization

University language group	Specialization					
	Arts ¹	Arts ²	Social sciences	Natural sciences ³	Commerce	Others
Bachelor	English	74.9	62.0	82.9	73.7	86.4
	French	20.2	33.9	15.1	19.6	11.0
	Bilingual	4.9	4.1	2.0	6.7	2.6
	Total Number	100.0 43,664	100.0 52,722	100.0 23,163	100.0 4,107	100.0 1,217
Master and licentiate	English	50.6	58.3	85.9	40.7	100.0
	French	42.6	34.0	12.5	59.3	0.0
	Bilingual	6.8	7.7	1.6	0.0	0.0
	Total Number	100.0 4,542	100.0 2,257	100.0 3,477	100.0 1,349	100.0 25
Doctorate	English	52.8	64.0	90.6	100.0	100.0
	French	27.6	6.7	5.7	0.0	0.0
	Bilingual	19.6	29.3	3.7	0.0	0.0
	Total Number	100.0 250	100.0 150	100.0 1,076	100.0 1	100.0 3
						All special-izations ⁴
						77.8
						18.1
						4.1
						69.4
						26.8
						3.8
						100.0
						75,943
						85,001

All university degrees	English	72.5	61.1	72.0	83.6	65.6	86.7	75.7	68.7
	French	22.3	34.6	20.3	14.4	29.4	10.8	20.0	27.4
	Bilingual	5.2	4.3	7.7	2.0	5.0	2.5	4.3	3.9
	Total Number	100.0 48,456	100.0 57,514	100.0 6,199	100.0 27,716	100.0 5,457	100.0 1,245	100.0 89,073	100.0 98,131
Diploma	English	43.5		72.3	40.6	53.0	17.8	45.2	
	French	56.5		20.7	57.7	38.7	82.2	52.5	
	Bilingual	0.0		7.0	1.7	8.3	0.0	2.3	
	Total Number	100.0 6,201		100.0 2,250	100.0 10,294	100.0 1,660	100.0 583	100.0 20,988	
All university degrees and diplomas	English	69.2	59.3	72.1	72.0	62.6	64.7	69.9	64.6
	French	26.2	36.7	20.4	26.1	31.6	33.5	26.2	31.8
	Bilingual	4.6	4.0	7.5	1.9	5.8	1.8	3.9	3.6
	Total Number	100.0 54,657	100.0 63,715	100.0 8,449	100.0 38,010	100.0 7,117	100.0 1,828	100.0 110,061	100.0 119,119

Source: Taylor, "Output of Canadian Universities."

¹ This category includes degrees in letters, education, philosophy, etc., as well as degrees in arts; but it does not include *baccalauréats ès arts*.

² Including *baccalauréats ès arts*.

³ This category includes biological, physical, and engineering sciences and mathematics, etc.

⁴ Excluding *baccalauréats ès arts*.

much less interested in government work: only one in comparison with two Anglophone graduates in 30 gives serious consideration to such work as a first job.

Table 44. Applicants to the JEO-FSO Programme

Percentage distribution of all degrees granted¹ and of applicants to the JEO-FSO programme, by university language group, 1962-5

	Number	University language group			Total
		English	French	Bilingual	
Degrees granted	89,073	75.7	20.0	4.3	100
Applicants to JEO-FSO programme	4,990	82.5	11.1	6.4	100
Applicants as a percentage of graduates	5.6	6.1	3.3	8.3	

Source: Taylor, "Output of Canadian Universities."

¹ The data exclude holders of *baccalauréats ès arts*. Their degrees were not given the status of university graduation by the Civil Service Commission.

TABLE 45. Applicants to the ST Programmes

Percentage distribution of degrees granted in natural sciences and of applicants to the JEO-FSO programme, by university language group, 1962-5

	Number	University language group			Total
		English	French	Bilingual	
Degrees granted in natural sciences	27,716	83.6	14.4	2.0	100
Applicants to JEO-FSO programme	2,609	84.2	14.5	1.3	100
Applicants as a percentage of graduates	9.4	9.5	9.5	5.6	

Source: Taylor, "Output of Canadian Universities."

D. Attitudes in Universities

549. Figures such as those given above obviously imply broad types of attitudes. They say nothing about the appeal of a Public Service career in comparison with a career in private industry, but show unmistakably that science graduates are more drawn to the federal Public Service than are arts graduates.¹ In order to obtain a direct sample of opinions, we polled Francophone undergraduates in their final year, candidates for the JEO-FSO and ST programmes, teaching staff, and placement officers at several Canadian universities.

550. Group interviews were conducted with senior Francophone students in a variety of faculties at Laval, McGill, and the University of Montreal.² The fundamental opinion expressed was that the work world was largely under "Anglo-Saxon" control. The students said they thought Anglophones had easier access to professional education of a type that perpetuated their domination of the business world, that they had a monopoly on powerful posts, and that they had more money available for research. The students felt that the few Francophones in responsible positions in English-language organizations were merely occupying *postes de façade*. At the same time, they recognized that the Francophone part of the economy was relatively underdeveloped and they resented being shut out of the Anglophone work world.

Francophone
students' views

551. There were also expressions of limited optimism, but such observations did not countervail the overall lack of confidence expressed by our respondents about their future as Francophones in the Canadian labour market. Almost no interest was shown in the possibility of working for the federal Public Service. The students rarely mentioned it spontaneously and, when asked for their opinions, only a few responded favourably and then only with reservations.

Attitudes towards
Public Service
careers

552. Even those Francophone students who had actually applied for work in the federal Public Service were unenthusiastic.³ However, the same was generally true for Anglophone students; when asked how they regarded the Public Service as a lifetime career, only about a quarter responded positively.⁴ The only significant difference between Francophone and Anglophone applicants to the Public Service was in

¹ John J. Carson, "Competition for Quality," an address delivered to the Annual Conference of the University Career Planning Association, Carleton University, June 12, 1967.

² André Thibault, "L'élite universitaire canadienne-française et la fonction publique fédérale," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

³ André Jeannotte and Herbert Taylor, "Survey of Applicants to the 1964-1965 University Programmes of the Civil Service Commission," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

⁴ Appendix III, Table A-28.

the reasons given for their applications: most Anglophones cited the challenge of the work as their reason; Francophones stressed the benefits and security of working for the government.¹

Recruitment
difficulties

553. Recruitment of Francophone public servants increased substantially in 1966, the year after our survey. There were undoubtedly several reasons for this, particularly the government's policy statement on bilingualism and the Public Service's determined efforts to implement it, and a decline in employment opportunities in Quebec. Nevertheless, we think our observations accurately represent the outlook of Francophone students at the time and indicate the extreme difficulty of the Public Service recruiter's task, caused partly by the students' awareness of unattractive facts about Public Service work, and partly by their inaccurate notions about the work. In any event, our concern is with the response to recruiters for the Public Service.

Attitudes of
university staff

554. Many students approached university placement officers to find out about Civil Service Commission examinations: 47 per cent of the Francophone and 37 per cent of the Anglophone students.² (The placement officers are usually members of the university administration but, at the time of the survey, those we interviewed at French-language universities were employees of the National Employment Service.) Fewer students consulted members of the teaching faculty: only 25 per cent of the Francophones and 30 per cent of the Anglophones.

555. Few placement officers encouraged the students to pursue work in the Public Service; about two-thirds of the students said they were neither encouraged nor discouraged by placement officers. Faculty members, on the other hand, urged 52 per cent of the Francophone and 61 per cent of the Anglophone students to consider Public Service work, and actively discouraged 11 per cent and 9 per cent respectively.³

556. Obviously, university staff members cannot advise students adequately about careers in the Public Service unless they keep in touch with it. The most effective, if not the most thorough, way to do so is through personal contacts with former students in the Service. Our investigators found the extent of such contact varied widely.⁴ In general, English-language universities were more in touch with the Public Service in this way than were French-language institutions. But communication operates in two directions and, while French-language universities

¹ *Ibid.*, Table A-29.

² Jeannotte and Taylor, "Survey of Applicants."

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Miriam Moscovitch and Hillel Steiner, "Attitudes and Influence of University Personnel on Civil Service Recruiting," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

may not have kept in touch with the Public Service, the Service could have done more to inform them of its openings and opportunities.

557. It appears that placement and administrative officers at English-language universities maintained little contact with graduates who had entered the Public Service, but half of the teaching staff reported that they were kept informed of job openings. Science professors had more frequent and fruitful contacts with government officials than did those teaching arts subjects. Many such contacts resulted from professional exchanges between university and government scientists. The recruiting processes for science graduates were quite different from those for other graduates; the former are often interviewed by government recruiting officers in their laboratories, a practice not feasible for students in the humanities.

Professorial
contacts with
the Public
Service

558. Staff at French-language universities had no significant "old-boy network" of former students, nor any close links with professional colleagues in the federal Public Service. Of all 76 staff members interviewed, only one—an arts professor—said he received information about job openings from former students. The explanation for the lack of information was that former students do not hold posts that permit them to be well informed of openings for recent graduates, and that they never propagandize to attract other students.

559. The Francophone science professors had even less contact with the Public Service than one might have expected, considering their professional interests. As one said, "You haven't got this kind of contact; you do not participate in the system of recruitment in Ottawa; you feel outside the system." Another professor said the only significant interaction took place when Anglophone friends in the Public Service passed on news about a job opening for a qualified bilingual candidate.

560. The Universities of Toronto and Montreal presented the sharpest contrast in the degree of liaison between universities and the Public Service. The former maintained close contacts, the latter, few connections. McGill, though situated in Quebec, was much like the other English-language institutions. Relations between professors and the federal Public Service were mainly dependent on the professors' general attitudes towards the government and the cultural and linguistic character of the Public Service. For example, most Anglophone professors felt that the new emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism might limit the careers of their students, although the science professors minimized its influence. At the same time, Anglophone placement officers tended to favor the general requirement of bilingualism as an employment prerequisite.

Francophone
university staffs'
views of Public
Service careers

561. Francophone placement officers felt that, although interesting careers were possible within the federal Public Service, there were many disadvantages; in particular, they felt that working in English and living in Ottawa held no attraction for a Francophone. Everything offered by such a career could be found in Quebec, either in private or in public employment. They saw security of employment as the one great advantage of federal careers, but they expressed general pessimism about the probability of radical change in the language situation.

562. Scientists recognized the possibility of an interesting career in Ottawa for a Francophone—particularly in view of the excellent working facilities, attractive salaries, and fringe benefits. However, our respondents also saw disadvantages. One summarized the position as follows: "In the present context I don't believe that a French Canadian graduate can stay there; the atmosphere is too poor. There are advantages from the point of view of money and possibilities for research, but the Anglo-Saxon milieu and irregular promotions work against the French Canadian."

563. Although the scientists noticed a change in the federal government attitude resulting from new emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism, they suspected that this might be more apparent than real. They agreed that there were now more openings for Francophones, but they pointed out that promotions were still as limited as in the past. They attributed this situation to the "natural" tendency of Anglophone superiors to consider their Anglophone colleagues when it came to promotion. Also, Francophones usually remained outside the community of Anglophone scientists.

564. In any event, "bilingualism is a completely secondary factor that will not change the attraction of scientists to Ottawa." The problem of the milieu seemed more fundamental: "the man who chooses the federal sphere must integrate himself into the national—the English—milieu." Any posts outside Quebec involved difficult adjustments.

565. Most of the staff members of French-language universities held much the same views but they did not all draw the same conclusions. In general, arts professors said that a Francophone graduate could have a satisfactory professional career in Ottawa, despite all the traditional drawbacks, and we gather this is what they told their students. But many Francophone scientists and placement officers said that they would not suggest careers in the federal Public Service to their students. The main reasons given applied particularly to science graduates: slow advancement would be one of Ottawa's disadvantages, whereas "the local needs in Quebec are much greater," and therefore, "it is very easy to place students."

566. The social science and arts professors implied that, for them, Ottawa was the centre of things, where one could learn from highly skilled colleagues and where the recent political importance of bilingual abilities and Francophone recruitment had improved the chances for a young graduate to do well for himself. Nevertheless, like both their scientific colleagues and their students, they were skeptical about the degree to which recent political agitation had brought about any real change in the basic fact of working life in Canada: "Anglo-Saxon" dominance.

Overall
skepticism

567. They pointed out that career success for a Francophone in Ottawa was probably dependent on his assimilating to the Anglophone style of thought. A new recruit from Quebec in Ottawa would be living in "a foreign country," where the lack of good educational facilities for Francophone children was one of many problems.

Ottawa's
"foreign"
character

568. In summary, our survey of attitudes established that students and staff at French-language universities viewed the federal Public Service with no enthusiasm at all. They mentioned the considerations that guide the decisions of Anglophones—opportunities in one's profession, the far-reaching scope of government, and the new importance of bilingual abilities—but all of these were secondary to them. What really mattered to Francophone students and their advisers was the general phenomenon of the "Anglo-Saxon milieu." They intensely disliked the "foreign" character of the Ottawa-Hull area. A Francophone recruit would have to choose either to assimilate to it (and lose his cultural roots) or to hold out against it (and become a perpetual outsider). Given the thoroughly "English" cast of the capital area and the federal authorities there, few felt that the two cultures had any real chance of coexisting in Ottawa.

E. University Recruiting Programmes

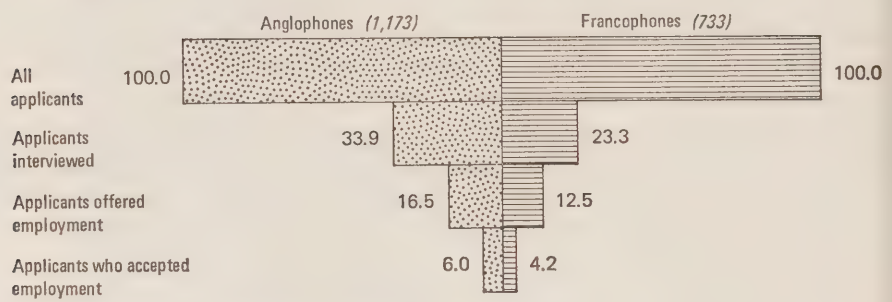
569. The recruitment of staff involves the department of each individual's preference, the Public Service Commission, and the Treasury Board. Although policy changes like the regulations of 1967 on bilingualism have a bearing on procedure, we are satisfied that the methods of recruiting which we studied¹ are not likely to undergo fundamental change in the near future.

570. We expected there would be relatively fewer Francophone than Anglophone graduates involved in the recruiting process, and we found in fact that, over a period of three years, there were 4,692

Recruiting
response

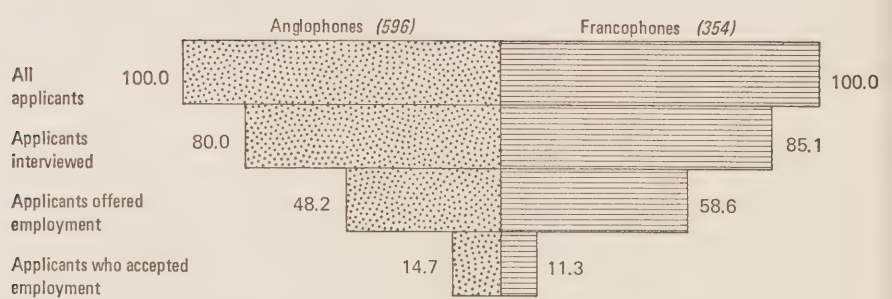
¹ Frank Longstaff, "Statistical Analysis of the Applicants and their Experience with Recruiting," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

Figure 6. Recruitment to the JEO-FSO Programme—Canada, 1962–5 (Percentages)



Source: Longstaff, "Statistical Analysis of the Applicants."

Figure 7. Recruitment to the ST Programmes—Canada, 1962–5 (Percentages)



Source: Longstaff, "Statistical Analysis of the Applicants."

Anglophones in the JEO-FSO stream and 2,384 in the ST stream, compared with 733 and 354 respectively for the Francophones—only a seventh of the Anglophones' total.¹ The disparity was greater at the end of the recruiting process: nine Anglophones were hired for every Francophone. Figures 6 and 7, showing the development of the recruiting procedure for the two programmes, lead to the following conclusions: the majority of all applicants offered employment ultimately refused it; relatively more Anglophones than Francophones were offered employment and accepted it; and the ST programmes reflected the least difference between Anglophone and Francophone response to recruiting.

571. The highest rate of elimination in the JEO-FSO programme occurred before the applicants were interviewed and after they had written a general intelligence test. The test was of the multiple-choice type; FSO candidates had to compose an essay as well, but holders of post-graduate degrees were exempted from the test. The ST programmes had no equivalent to this first filtering process, and the large majority of candidates were interviewed. In the JEO-FSO programme, proportionately more Francophones than Anglophones failed at this first level; but in ST programmes, more Francophones than Anglophones were interviewed.

Tests and
interviews

572. The drop-out rates at the end of the process are also highly significant. Offers of employment were accepted by only a minority of successful applicants: among the JEO-FSO applicants, 67 per cent of the Francophones and 64 per cent of the Anglophones declined; among the ST applicants, 81 per cent of the Francophones and 70 per cent of the Anglophones refused.

Employment
refusals

573. We analyzed the Civil Service Commission's General Intelligence Test—which eliminated 60 per cent of all Anglophone and 72 per cent of all Francophone candidates in 1962-5—to find out whether it was "culture-biased."² Even though it could be taken in French, the test was originally prepared for Anglophones. Thus, no norms had been established for the Canadian university population taken as a whole, or as being composed of two linguistic populations, so it was impossible to know whether the test was fair. In any case, it is an

Shortcomings of
the General
Intelligence Test

¹ This proportion is in the process of changing. In 1966 there was a marked increase in the number of Francophone candidates: 556 applied for the JEO-FSO programme in that year alone, compared with a total of 733 for the years 1962-5.

² Bernard Tétreau and Hillel Steiner, "The Entrance Test and Selection," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. Academic quality is obviously one factor that will affect the outcome of this test. However, our data indicate that the Francophone candidates were at least as well qualified academically as the Anglophone candidates in the period surveyed.

established postulate of psychometrics that no instrument can be culturally neutral, and the assumption underlying this particular test is that there is but one culture in Canada.

574. We also found that the test results were misapplied: they were given to interview boards before the applicant's appearance. This is known as "contamination" in testing—permitting an earlier test result to condition an examiner's mind before a later stage of selection, instead of having both decisions made independently and then compared. The degree of contamination has recently been increased by the practice of altering an applicant's score according to his academic degrees, which are already taken into account in the selection process as educational qualifications.

575. In summary, we found serious technical flaws in the Civil Service Commission's General Intelligence Test and in the use made of it. This does not necessarily mean that the Public Service is selecting the wrong people or rejecting the right ones, but the examining body owes it to itself—and to those examined—to make sure that the intelligence test is correctly designed and used.

576. We surveyed the applicants in 1964-5, when 420 Francophones and 2,923 Anglophones applied for the two programmes.¹ Virtually all the respondents of English mother tongue wrote the intelligence test in English, and so did 18 per cent of those of French mother tongue; the rest of the Francophones wrote it in French. Their opinions of the quality of the language in which the multiple-choice questionnaire was formulated were mostly favourable.²

Candidates'
opinions

577. For 21 per cent of the Francophones but only 4 per cent of the Anglophones, the section on general knowledge was the most difficult part of the test. This would be where cultural bias would show up most overtly, as a matter of content rather than style and presentation. Members of university staffs considered the general knowledge section unsuited to the French-language education system. They recommended that, if the written test must be maintained, it should concentrate on questions within those academic realms common to students of each language. The candidates generally felt that any cultural bias favoured the Anglophone applicants.

578. However, there were differences in reaction to the interview stage of the recruiting process. Less than 23 per cent of the Francophone candidates were interviewed exclusively in French. The large majority, 71 per cent, were interviewed in both languages, and the

Interviews

¹ Jeannotte and Taylor, "Survey of Applicants."

² Their opinions on the cultural adaptation of the Civil Service Commission publicity material are given in Appendix III, Table A-30.

candidates said that the linguistic and cultural bias of the recruiting officers—mostly Anglophones themselves—proved frustrating to them. Asked if they had had practical difficulties in conversing with the interviewers in English, 22 per cent of the Francophones said they had. On the other hand, 91 per cent of the Anglophone applicants were interviewed exclusively in English, and only 9 per cent were interviewed in both languages.

579. Matters of culture are obviously more difficult to assess. Responses are likely to be based on positive and negative attitudes to specific issues. Table 46 shows our best indicator of the general phenomenon of rapport between candidate and interviewer: significantly, more than a third of the Francophones felt that they were unable to bring out their strong points in the interview; only 17 per cent of the Anglophones had complaints of this sort. The difficult areas of questioning concerned foreign affairs and domestic matters of national unity, culture, and ethnic topics.

Table 46. Applicants' Satisfaction after the Interview

Percentage distribution within language groups of applicants to the JEO-FSO and ST programmes of the Civil Service Commission, by opportunity to bring out strong points in the interview—Canada, 1965

Opportunity	Language group	
	Francophone	Anglophone
Great	21.8	49.5
Satisfactory	39.9	27.5
Little	35.1	16.8
No opinion	3.2	6.2
Total	100.0	100.0
Sample	190	665

Source: Jeannotte and Taylor, "Survey of Applicants."

580. Almost 22 per cent of the unilingual Francophones were told by interviewers that it was very important to know English, while only 3 per cent of the unilingual Anglophones were told that it was very important to know French. This must be understood in the context of a situation in which 42 per cent of the Francophones, compared with 5 per cent of the Anglophones, were already confident of their fluent bilingualism (Table 47).

Table 47. Importance of Knowing the Two Official Languages

Percentage distribution within language groups of applicants to the JEO-FSO and ST programmes of the Civil Service Commission, by their evaluation of the importance attached by the interviewers to knowledge of the other official language—Canada, 1965

Importance attached to knowledge of the second language	Language	
	Francophone	Anglophone
Great	21.5	3.3
Average	17.5	13.8
Little	4.0	13.8
None	3.0	39.8
Not applicable ¹	41.5	5.1
No opinion	12.5	24.2
Total	100.0	100.0
Sample	197	665

Source: Jeannotte and Taylor, "Survey of Applicants."

¹ In these cases, applicants were bilingual.

581. Taking all these aspects of the interview together, it is understandable that only a minority of all candidates—and fewer Francophones than Anglophones—felt their interest in the Public Service increased by meeting a recruiting officer face to face (Table 48). The interviewers failed to evoke greater interest in most candidates. Their influence was not felt where it was most needed, but rather among those who had been most strongly interested before being interviewed.

Table 48. Interest in the Federal Public Service after the Interview

Percentage distribution within language groups of applicants to the JEO-FSO and ST programmes of the Civil Service Commission, by interest in the Public Service after the interview—Canada, 1965

Interest	Language	
	Francophone	Anglophone
Increased	15.4	27.7
Unchanged	52.2	57.6
Less	26.9	13.8
No opinion	5.5	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0
Sample	198	665

Source: Jeannotte and Taylor, "Survey of Applicants."

Refusal of
offers

582. After the "offer" stage of recruiting, the numbers were badly depleted. Of the original 3,343 applicants in 1964-5—420 Francophones and 2,923 Anglophones—only 146 Francophones (35 per cent) and 935 Anglophones (32 per cent) were offered posts; 69 per cent of the successful Francophone candidates and 30 per cent of the Anglophones refused the posts.

583. The most common reason given for turning down a firm offer of employment was the decision to do postgraduate study. The Francophone students we surveyed did not often cite matters of language or culture as reasons for rejecting Ottawa's offers; we conclude that these considerations played their part earlier in the recruiting process.

F. Summer Employment Programmes

584. Besides its two programmes for recruiting university graduates, the Civil Service Commission developed two summer employment programmes for undergraduates.¹ The general summer job system has been running for some years and is open to students at any university or classical college in Canada. In 1964 a special programme to attract Francophone undergraduates was begun. Both are regarded as recruiting devices for full-time employment after graduation.

General
programme

585. The general summer job programme had no overt or accidental reference to problems of language and participation in the Public Service. Language requirements were specified for very few positions, and bilingual abilities did not confer advantages on participants. Furthermore, no effort was made to move students from one geographic or cultural milieu to another. Indeed, the reverse was true: the application form stated, "As far as practicable, preference will be given to a candidate applying for a position in the province in which he resides." Once hired, a student was the responsibility of the department to which he was assigned; the department determined what he was to do and presented him with only its own routine.

Francophone
programme

586. Because this system apparently did not have any effect on recruiting Francophones to the Public Service, the special programme was created. This was new in 1964, and we could not go into its nature and degree of success thoroughly. Its objective is to encourage Francophones to follow careers in the federal Public Service, particularly in the federal capital. All French-language universities in Quebec and the University of Ottawa were invited to participate.

¹ Paul Pichette, Miriam Moscovitch, and Franco Pillarella, "Les programmes d'emplois d'été pour étudiants universitaires dans la fonction publique fédérale," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

587. The Civil Service Commission administered the special programme, and the departments' only contribution at the start was to indicate the number of summer jobs vacant. Students were recruited with the collaboration of university authorities and selected by interview. A Civil Service Commission officer acted as a mentor to the students, greeting them on arrival and directing them to the departments where they would work, acting as a counsellor throughout the summer, and conducting "debriefing" meetings. At the end of the summer, promising individuals were invited to appear before a Public Service board to be interviewed for permanent employment, bypassing other formalities.

588. Within a department, a small group of trainees would be under the supervision of a Francophone official. They were not expected to contribute to the department's work so much as to learn its policies and methods and to discuss them informally with senior officials. The trainees were to have access to all the main branches and key officials in the department and were to be encouraged constantly to use French as their language of work.

Work patterns

589. The first group of students, in 1964, numbered 12; the following year there were 45, chosen from 150 applicants—a response the Public Service considered excellent. Our researchers interviewed the 45 students in the 1965 programme.

590. The participants judged the special programme a failure that year. They felt that useful lessons would be learned by the Civil Service Commission for the future but that the stated objectives had not been achieved; with some exceptions, they felt no different from the ordinary summer help. They had virtually no opportunity to discuss policy and methods with responsible officials, and it was not always possible to get access to branches other than those where large numbers of Francophones were already employed. There were many language problems, and French could not be practically used as a language of work. The students complained that nobody seemed to be aware that they were in Ottawa under special circumstances; they often found the Public Service's methods inconsistent with the academic disciplines to which they were accustomed. However, the majority said the experience had been helpful to them and suggested that the programme would improve if their recommendations were implemented.

Students' criticisms of the Francophone programme

591. The summer employment programmes, particularly the special one for Francophones, could do much to improve the Public Service's appeal as a potential employer, but their success depends on their implementation within the departments. The plans of the Civil Service Commission are good but have not been sufficiently implemented. The

response of the Francophone students augurs well for the future: a sympathetic attitude among Francophone students can be expected, but the departments will have to show more co-operation if the plan is to work.

G. Summary

592. The rationalization of the federal Public Service along lines of efficiency and merit in the years after 1918 destroyed the old system of patronage under which there were always a number of Francophone civil servants appointed by Francophone cabinet ministers. No procedure or doctrine was evolved to replace the old system and, with few Francophones in the guiding councils of the Public Service, its explicit qualifications and implicit assumptions became more and more unfavourable to Francophones.

593. The only replacement offered for the patronage system has been the practice evolved in response to the need for communication with the large sector of the Canadian population that does not speak English. This practice naturally failed to make the Public Service a bilingual institution, since it simply provided for a few "bilinguals" here and there to serve a Francophone public in French.

594. That young Francophone graduates should differ from their Anglophone colleagues in their response to the Public Service is, therefore, easily understood. They know its history of indifference to the French fact and are therefore reluctant to seek employment in Ottawa. Their suspicions of widely discussed reforms that are less than radical stem from the failure of previously announced reforms to change matters significantly. The situation is aggravated by the traditional shortage of graduates from French-language universities, particularly in scientific and technical fields. The renewed industrial development of Quebec has multiplied the number of professional, scientific, and technical jobs available in the provincial administration and in business within that province, with the result that the federal Public Service faces more competition than ever before for the services of scarce Francophone university graduates.

595. The climate of opinion at French-language universities is neither wholly hostile nor unchangeably mistrustful, as the increase in recruitment in 1966-7 shows. However, the recruiting service of the administration needs to examine its procedures to make sure that Francophones are not penalized. So long as interviewers fail to establish confidence and communication with Francophone students, they are likely to dis-

courage competent applicants. Also, since the Public Service Commission testing devices do not take into account the two major cultures of Canada, they are undoubtedly eliminating able people without even an interview.

596. The summer employment programme for Francophones, in spite of its initial difficulties, could be useful in recruiting future Francophone public servants. However, at least two large-scale reforms will have to be made if the Public Service is to be able to pick the graduates it wants.

597. It is not enough to tell public servants that they may speak French if they wish; the whole milieu will have to be changed if the Public Service is to become a bilingual institution. At present, when a Francophone comes to work in a setting where English has always been the only language of work, he faces many difficulties and frustrations. He may find that there is no typewriter with French accents; the service personnel are likely to speak only English; most documents in circulation and publications in the library will probably be in the English language; and co-workers will almost all be unilingual Anglophones. Clearly, it will take more than a new Public Service Commission regulation to make Francophones feel at home in the federal government. It is not surprising that the difficulties persist, despite many efforts to improve the situation.

598. Although the decision of both Francophones and Anglophones to enter the Public Service—or any other type of employment—is influenced by many personal and social considerations, the character of the institution itself is often the most important factor. This is particularly true for those at the higher educational and occupational levels, because a choice of work is often available to them. This chapter deals with the careers of Francophones and Anglophones in the federal Public Service; we shall consider the incentives and deterrents for potential entrants in terms of career possibilities, and examine the real dimensions of participation of the two official-language groups. Our approach is based on two principles: first, as a federal institution, the Public Service should be equally accessible and attractive to the trained and talented of both groups; second, those who have joined the Public Service should receive equal treatment.

599. The historical development of federalism in Canada has reflected a continuing predominance of the Anglophone sector, resulting in the growth of federal structures in which the Canadian duality has been poorly expressed. The Public Service is almost totally Anglophone in its language of operation and administrative style. In responding to what have been the realities of power in Canadian society and the overwhelming technological dominance of the English language in North America, the federal administration has not provided equal access to Francophones who want to develop their occupational skills and talents while working in their own language and expressing their own cultural identity.

600. Until recently, the inconsistency between the ideal of equal access and the fact of Anglophone dominance in the federal Public Service was rarely questioned within the federal administration. There

Equal
accessibility

have always been prominent figures, both within and without the orbit of federal politics, who were fully aware of the weakness of the Francophone presence in Ottawa. Over the years, many—Henri Bourassa and Armand Lavergne, for example—unceasingly pushed for greater partnership and participation, but their arguments were largely ignored. When they could not ignore these arguments, federal leaders—Francophones and Anglophones alike—usually countered them by suggesting the superiority of English technology and training, the lack of French interest in the federal sphere, and the absolute necessity of preventing representational and patronage claims (which were usually equated) from encroaching upon the merit system. Now the situation is changing: Quebec's recent evolution has produced, on the one hand, Francophones who are more conscious of their own power as a cultural group to challenge the dominance of the other culture in the Public Service, and, on the other, some Anglophones who are sensitive to Francophone disaffection with federal institutions. There is also an awareness, at least within some sectors of both the Public Service and the wider Canadian community, that the pattern of Anglophone dominance hinders the development of adequate staff resources and generally militates against effective federal administration.

Equal
treatment

601. The second aspect of the problem involves the fate of those who have become public servants: how can the federal administration ensure that personnel are encouraged and advanced on the basis of factors related to job performance only? In their work roles, men and women are identified not only in terms of what they do and how well they do it, but also by personal factors—age, sex, ethnicity, and language—that may colour judgement and block the rational assessment of ability although they do not affect that ability.

Self-confirming
stereotypes

602. The problem of providing equal opportunity is universal. Wherever persons of different languages and cultures work with and for each other, patterns of differential participation in the work process develop. The patterns are based on the realities of group differences in types of training and skills. But they also tend to be based on stereotypes that suggest which people are suitable for what work and what social status. To a certain extent, the stereotypes merge with the realities of genuine cultural difference and even reinforce them; in this sense they are self-confirming. They can colour the whole environment of an organization. A supervisor who looks at subordinates of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds in terms of stereotypes will decide, on the basis of these stereotypes, whom to encourage and whom to ignore. As a direct result, some will become dynamic and self-confident, and others will become reticent and alienated. The upshot is not simply that people of ability or potential ability are overlooked (though this frequently

happens), but that the environment itself partly determines who has ability by giving different labels to different types of people.

603. Admittedly, stereotypes influence the fate of minorities in all large-scale organizations. Yet for the federal administration the problem of attaining the ideal of cultural equality is particularly important. Canadian public institutions ought to embody the common purposes and goals of Canada and provide models for private organizations to follow. The federal administration is a huge organization containing large numbers of competent persons from the two major linguistic groups; the country's human resources are wasted if the skills of all its employees are not developed and used.

604. In spite of differences in the extent to which they are available, people of many different linguistic and cultural backgrounds do pursue careers in the federal bureaucracy. Inside the Public Service they are subject to formal and informal practices that assist some in advancing faster and farther than others. The collective fate of each cultural and linguistic group in the federal Public Service has important implications—it determines in part how well the federal administration is able to understand and serve the needs of a culturally heterogeneous Canadian population and it influences the feelings of Canadians of different backgrounds about federal institutions and symbols. Furthermore, prospective participants learn directly or indirectly what happens in the federal Public Service to people like themselves. Naturally, what they hear greatly influences their interest in seeking government employment.

605. In this chapter we describe the general pattern of participation of Francophones and Anglophones in the federal administration and we consider the background characteristics, training, and motivation of those Francophones and Anglophones attracted to government employment, the major contingencies affecting the progress of their careers, and their satisfaction with job, career, and community. As well, we look at the effects of linguistic and cultural issues on the activities and attitudes of government personnel. In our opinion, these topics deserve detailed consideration because they all bear on the administration's problems of attracting and retaining personnel of various cultural and linguistic backgrounds and of developing and using the full range of their talents.

Plan of this
chapter

A. Measurement of Participation¹

606. One of the main barriers to equal partnership in the federal Public Service is that the French language, although fairly well established as a language of service, is rarely used as a language of work and

¹ Our findings are from Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey," which divided public servants into three groups according to mother tongue.

is almost completely absent from the middle and upper levels of the Public Service in Ottawa. This situation raises several questions. Are Francophones participating effectively at all levels of the federal Public Service, or are they concentrated at some levels? Do they enjoy the same status—as measured by salary and occupation—as Anglophones? In other words, are there enough Francophones in the right places in the Public Service to make French a viable language of work and to give French-speaking Canada an effective voice in government?

Participation
of language
groups

607. We shall concentrate on providing a solid basis of fact about the participation pattern of the language groups.¹ We shall compare public servants of English and French mother tongues and, in most cases, of other mother tongues as well. Although those in this last category are called upon to work in English or French at home, they are an identifiable, if variegated, category. They make up 9 per cent of the total Public Service and differ markedly from both major mother-tongue groups. However, 97 per cent of them reported that English was the language in which they could best do their work.¹

Statistical
basis for
comparison

608. Our statistical basis for comparison among linguistic categories is their physical presence in the federal departmental Public Service:² 69 per cent for those of English mother tongue, 22 per cent for those of French mother tongue, and 9 per cent for those of other mother tongues. The 22 per cent of public servants who are of French mother tongue may be compared with their proportion in the total Canadian labour force—26 per cent in 1961. Our discovery that, for example, only 6 per cent of the staff of the Unemployment Insurance Commission are of French mother tongue leads us to say their participation is relatively low or weak and that, at 28 per cent, it is relatively high in Public Works. But our use of these measurements does not reflect support of a system of proportional representation, and we do not wish to apply this sort of standard. The percentages are used solely as a convenient rough guide.

1. Geographic distribution

609. The distribution of public servants according to mother tongues varied among the regions of Canada according to the geographic distribution of the linguistic communities.³ Except in Quebec and the federal capital, a very small minority of public servants were of French mother tongue; in Ontario, the western provinces, the Yukon, and the North-

¹ Chapter VII, Table 31.

² See Table 49. The term federal "departmental Public Service" is used here to indicate that the text does not include data on Crown corporations and other non-departmental agencies. Comparative data on some of these entities is contained in Appendix IV.

³ See Appendix III, Tables A-31 and A-32.

west Territories, their numbers were exceeded by those whose mother tongue was neither French nor English. Those of English mother tongue on the other hand, were a minority only in Quebec, and they were a large and influential minority in the Montreal region, where a third of the province's population lives.

610. Such a geographic concentration of public servants of French mother tongue is not surprising and may be regarded as one of the bases that could support a system in which the language of work would be French in some work units. But it is significant that even where personnel are not drawn from the local population—that is, in the overseas missions—only 16 per cent of the staff—a considerably smaller proportion than in the departmental Public Service as a whole—were of French mother tongue.

Geographic
concentration
of those of
French mother
tongue

2. *Departmental distribution*

611. Participation by those of French and English mother tongue varied from one department to another (Table 49). In 1965, the proportion of public servants of French mother tongue ranged from 6 per cent in the Unemployment Insurance Commission to 50 per cent in the department of the Secretary of State. These figures suggest that special characteristics of the departments, especially their need for certain types of personnel, account for the relative size of the group who have French as their mother tongue. For instance, the departments of the Secretary of State and Justice employ large numbers of translators and lawyers respectively—groups in which Francophones either predominate or are relatively numerous. In other departments where a specialized and functional need for the French language was not defined by the federal government, the proportion was significantly lower.

612. Only 11 of the 25 administrative units studied had a proportion of staff of French mother tongue greater than or equal to the proportion—22 per cent—in the Public Service as a whole. Many units were significantly below this level, so there was little possibility that Francophones would find them attractive as places to work.

3. *Principal factors of status*

613. Determining the proportions of the language groups in the Public Service is not as meaningful as discovering how successfully they are participating. A measure of this participation is shown in our findings concerning comparative earnings, occupations, and educational levels.

Table 49. Mother Tongue of Federal Departmental Public Servants

Percentage distribution of federal public servants within departments, by mother tongue—Canada, 1965

	Total number ¹	Sample	Mother tongue			
			French	English	Other	Total
Agriculture	6,255	751	12.7	70.6	16.7	100
Citizenship and Immigration	2,618	202	19.5	62.0	18.5	100
Civil Service Commission	713	104	22.9	76.4	0.7	100
Defence Production	2,121	329	18.2	81.1	0.7	100
Dominion Bureau of Statistics	2,093	195	32.2	59.9	7.9	100
External Affairs	1,680	248	24.0	71.2	4.8	100
Finance	4,954	354	25.1	67.1	7.8	100
Fisheries	1,263	97	15.5	82.4	2.1	100
Forestry	971	103	19.9	70.9	9.2	100
Industry	297	175	20.0	76.0	4.0	100
Justice	269	42	41.2	58.6	0.2	100
Labour	644	79	32.7	56.0	11.3	100
Mines and Technical Surveys	2,512	458	11.5	78.0	10.5	100
National Defence	25,025	1,301	21.0	72.4	6.6	100
National Health and Welfare	3,144	452	18.9	63.2	17.9	100
National Revenue	14,702	779	23.9	70.2	5.9	100
Northern Affairs and National Resources	1,662	146	6.8	74.6	18.6	100
Post Office	24,717	1,026	28.8	61.1	10.1	100
Public Works	5,706	305	27.5	62.5	10.0	100
RCMP (civilian staff)	1,251	54	19.9	68.1	12.0	100
Secretary of State	877	84	49.6	39.1	11.3	100
Trade and Commerce	1,324	186	18.5	74.8	6.7	100
Transport	10,504	756	17.2	73.5	9.3	100
Unemployment Insurance Commission	9,016	205	6.1	88.5	5.4	100
Veterans Affairs	10,733	600	26.0	71.2	2.8	100
Other departments	2,241	127	42.8	43.4	13.8	100
All departments	137,292	9,159	21.5	69.4	9.1	100

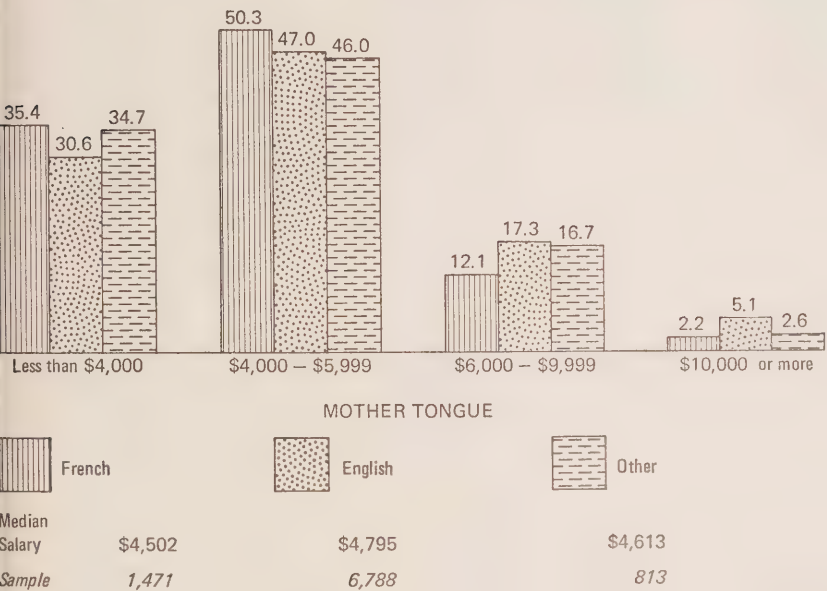
Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ These figures are taken from *The Composition of the Civil Service of Canada, September 1964*, a statistical report prepared by the Civil Service Commission.

614. The median salary of those of French mother tongue was 6 per cent less than that of public servants of English mother tongue and 2 per cent less than that of public servants of other mother tongues (Figure 8). There were disproportionately few public servants of French mother tongue earning the highest salaries (Figure 9). In fact their proportion declined steadily as salary level increased. Although their proportion in the departmental Public Service was 22 per cent, relatively more of them earned less than \$6,000 a year and relatively few earned more. As a result, while it might have been possible for the French language and culture to thrive at lower-income levels, their viability was greatly reduced at the higher levels, where those of French mother tongue were outnumbered almost ten to one.

Salary

Figure 8. Salary Levels of Departmental Public Servants—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)

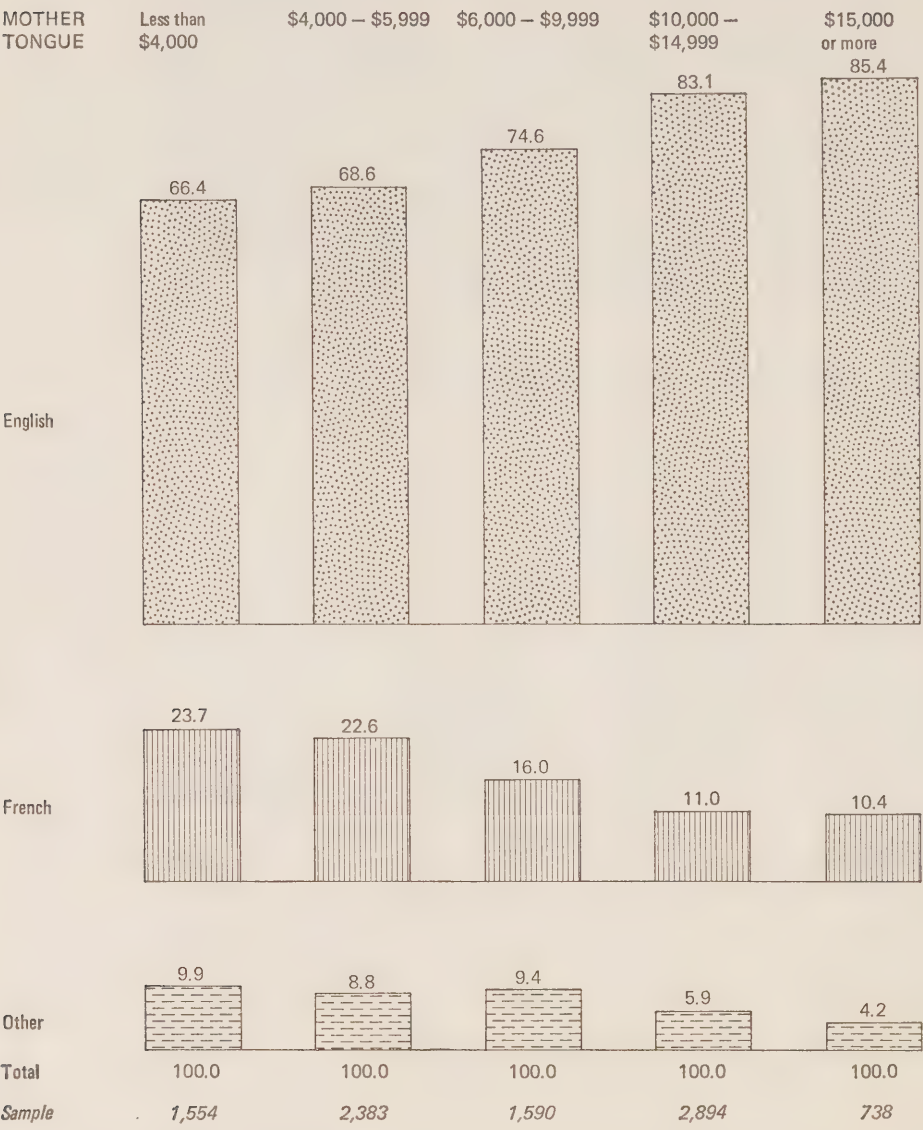


Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

615. As mentioned above, the number of public servants of French mother tongue varied considerably among departments, regardless of salary levels. Only in two of the 22 larger departments and agencies did they make up more than 22 per cent of the staff earning \$10,000 or more—the departments of the Secretary of State and the Post Office

Departmental variations

Figure 9. Mother Tongue of Departmental Public Servants, by salary levels—
Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

(26 and 45 per cent respectively).¹ At the level earning less than \$10,000 a year, 10 out of the 17 departments and agencies for which data were available had staffs that were more than 22 per cent of French mother tongue. They are obviously concentrated in the lower levels of the federal administration.

616. The Francophone presence was relatively strong, however, in senior and high-paying posts filled by appointment through Order-in-Council. Although participation generally dwindled at each successively higher salary level of appointments covered by the Civil Service Commission, in positions such as deputy minister, head of a Crown corporation, or chairman of a board or commission, over which the government of the day has direct influence, there was a reassertion of a Franco-phone presence. Many of these “political” positions were filled by Francophones who “parachuted” in from outside the federal Public Service.²

Appointments by
Order-in-Council

617. Salary at any point in a man’s career is related to his initial salary, rate of advancement up to that point, and length of service. Our data indicated that the first two factors—especially the differences in starting salary—accounted for most of the differences in current salaries. Employees of French mother tongue tended to enter the Public Service in lower-paid positions than the average. Of those recruited between 1961 and 1965, 14 per cent of the personnel of English mother tongue and 12 per cent of those of other mother tongues, but less than 8 per cent of those of French mother tongue started at salaries of \$5,000 or more a year.³

Differences in
starting salary

618. Only the personnel of French mother tongue who were recruited between 1961 and 1965 had an advancement rate higher than the rates for those of English and other mother tongues.⁴ For all other periods of entry—except 1951 to 1954, when the rates of advancement were identical—the rate was lower for the French-language group. Comparing the increments of those who began at the same salary level, those of English mother tongue had an advantage over those of French and other mother tongues at the lower end of the scale, while of those starting at higher levels (excepting only those of French mother tongue who started at the \$6,000 to \$8,000 level), those of other mother tongues moved upwards most quickly.⁵ In short, it was only recently and among those entering at the lower ranks of the middle level

Rate of
advancement

¹ Appendix III, Table A-33.
² See §§ 746-51.
³ Appendix III, Table A-34.
⁴ *Ibid.*, Table A-35.
⁵ *Ibid.*, Table A-36.

(\$6,000 to \$8,000) that the French-language group had outpaced those of English and other mother tongues in annual pay increases.

619. Our findings further showed that public servants of French mother tongue were generally at lower salary levels than their peers of English and other mother tongues who had the same level of education¹ or who were in the same occupational categories.²

Education
and salary

620. Looking at education alone, we can observe that, at all levels, those of English mother tongue receive the highest salaries and those of French mother tongue receive the lowest—except in the category with ten years of schooling or less, where those of French mother tongue received higher salaries than those whose mother tongue was neither English nor French. It is particularly significant that their disadvantage was greater at the higher educational levels. The median salaries of university graduates were \$2,077 below and \$669 below those of English and other mother tongues respectively. Thus, feelings of dissatisfaction at having been left behind by their peers are likely to be most intense among university graduates of French mother tongue.

621. With lower starting salaries and generally lower rates of salary increase, public servants of French mother tongue receive a significantly lower average annual income. Even when the comparison was restricted to those with the same level of education or occupation, they were generally behind those of the two other language groups.

High-status
occupations

622. Occupation partly determines income, but it also indicates status. Table 50 summarizes the occupational distribution of public servants according to language group in the departmental Public Service. Those of English mother tongue made up 69 per cent of the total. At the managerial and professional and technical levels, the proportion is similar, except among lawyers. But those of English mother tongue are underrepresented in other occupations, which do not require as high qualifications and which are less highly paid, with the exception of craftsmen, who are overrepresented.

623. The situation was exactly reversed for those of French mother tongue: except for lawyers and social scientists, there were fewer than 22 per cent—the overall average—in every job category in the top quarter of the Public Service. In the other occupations—the 75 per cent requiring less skill and paying less—more employees of French mother tongue than the overall average occupied each category except that of craftsmen; it was only in this category, which accounted for 10 per cent of the Public Service employees, that those of English mother tongue exceeded their overall average.

¹ *Ibid.*, Table A-37.

² Appendix V, Table A-79.

Table 50. Occupation and Mother Tongue

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants, by occupational category and by mother tongue within each occupational category—Canada, 1965 (Sample = 9,159)

	%	Mother tongue			
		French	English	Other	Total
Managers	10.4	19.9	74.9	5.2	100
Professionals	14.4	14.4	74.2	11.4	100
Engineers and scientists	4.9	11.8	72.0	16.2	100
Physicians, etc.	2.0	12.1	77.8	10.1	100
Lawyers	0.2	33.5	52.2	14.3	100
Social scientists	1.3	22.6	68.8	8.6	100
Others	6.0	15.0	76.6	8.4	100
Clerks and sales	39.8	24.7	67.9	7.4	100
Service	9.5	22.0	62.3	15.7	100
Transport and communications	10.7	25.6	66.8	7.6	100
Craftsmen	9.7	18.9	71.8	9.3	100
Labourers	4.8	23.9	58.7	17.4	100
Others	*	*	*	*	*
All occupations	100.0	21.5	69.4	9.1	100

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

*Statistically insignificant.

624. Among the public servants of English mother tongue, 27 per cent were in managerial and professional and technical occupations, compared with 19 per cent of the public servants of French mother tongue and 23 per cent of those of other mother tongues. These proportions are similar to those of the total labour force for the same occupational categories. In fact, in these occupations, those of French mother tongue are proportionately as numerous or more numerous in the Public Service as in the total labour force.

4. Some related characteristics

625. Public servants of French mother tongue placed last in educational attainment, whether measured by length of formal schooling, the incidence of university degrees,¹ or the incidence of university training (Table 51). Employees of English mother tongue had the highest

Educational attainment

¹ This is so even when *baccalauréats ès arts* are included in the bachelor's category; the Public Service Commission does not recognize them as such.

average number of years of schooling. Among those whose mother tongue was neither English nor French, there were relatively more men with university degrees, but their average salary was still below the average salary of those of English mother tongue, no doubt partly because the public servants of other mother tongues also included a high percentage of people with eight years of schooling or less.¹

Table 51. Education and Mother Tongue

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants within mother-tongue groups, by number of years of schooling and level of education attained—Canada, 1965

	Mother tongue			All public servants
	French	English	Other	
Schooling				
8 years or less	19.7	11.2	21.6	14.0
9-10 years	29.3	24.0	21.6	24.9
11-12 years	33.5	38.3	26.8	36.2
13 years or more	17.5	26.5	30.0	24.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median years of schooling	10.1	10.8	10.6	10.6
Level of education				
No university	82.5	81.0	74.6	80.8
Some university but no degree	7.4	7.0	8.6	7.2
Bachelor's degree ¹	3.3	6.2	9.1	5.8
Master's degree	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.3
Doctorate	0.9	1.4	2.7	1.4
Other university degree	3.6	2.1	2.6	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	1,473	6,829	814	9,116

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ Includes *baccalauréat ès arts*.

626. The position of public servants of French mother tongue was quite straightforward: there were fewer university-trained men, fewer university graduates, and fewer qualified postgraduates than in either of

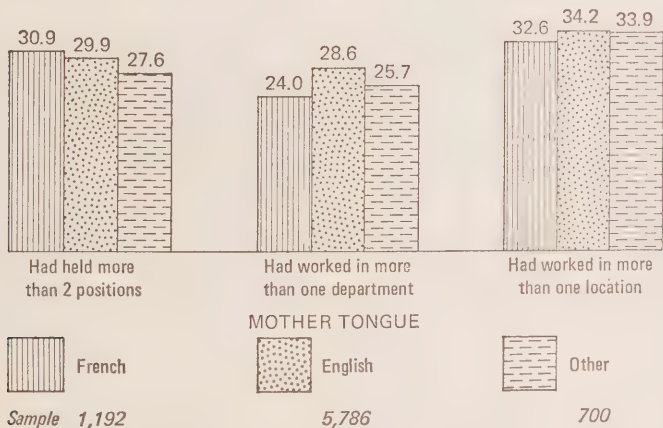
¹ A later volume of this *Report* will discuss in more detail the participation of Canadians of other ethnic origins in the Public Service.

the other groups. At the other end of the scale, 49 per cent of the French-language group had Grade x standing or less, compared with 35 per cent of those whose mother tongue was English and 43 per cent of those of other mother tongues. However, this educational gap appeared to be closing between generations.¹ In median years of schooling, men 45 years of age or more whose mother tongue was English had an advantage of one year over their colleagues of French mother tongue in the same age groups. However, their advantage narrows to 0.6 year for those under 25 years of age. If it continues, this trend should reduce that part of salary differential now related to educational differential.

627. The modern North American in public or private employment is expected to be willing to take on new jobs, switch employers, or move from one region of the country to another to further his career. In interviews, we were told time after time that Francophone public servants, as a group, hampered their own career opportunities by being reluctant to move. This widespread belief is, in part, contradicted by our survey data (Figure 10): all three categories seemed to have a similar willingness to change jobs or to move from one department to another. In fact, among staff earning \$10,000 or more per annum, those most likely to change positions or departments were those of French mother tongue.²

Mobility

Figure 10. Mobility¹ of Male Departmental Public Servants—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ Standardized for years of service.

¹ Appendix III, Table A-38.

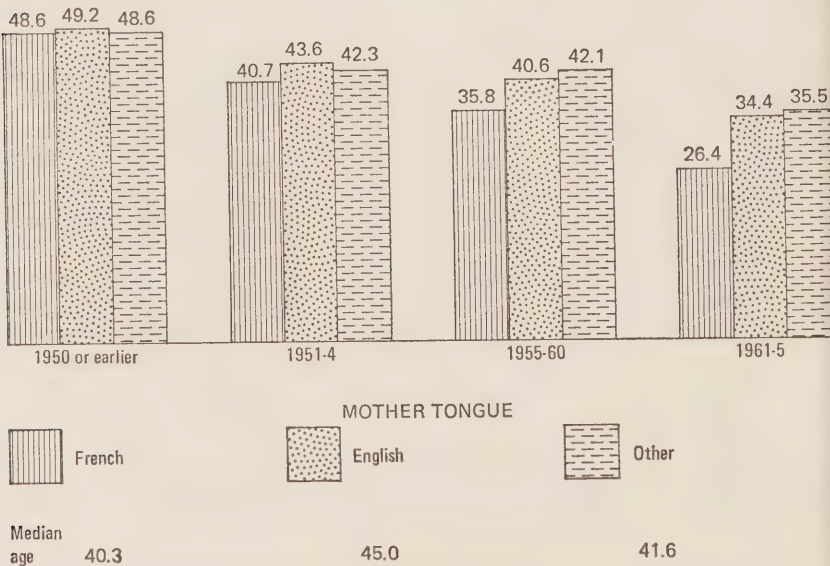
² *Ibid.*, Table A-39.

628. Public servants of French mother tongue had as high a rate of geographic movement as those of English and other mother tongues, but what this means is not entirely clear. Their moves may have been restricted to within Quebec or between Quebec and the federal capital. In any case, within their own linguistic and cultural setting, the Francophones were as willing to move as the Anglophones. However, if a truly mobile public servant is one who can be despatched to any region of the country, then Anglophones clearly have more scope for movement than Francophones.

Age and year of recruitment

629. Both initial salary and advancement rates were lower for those of French mother tongue than for those of English mother tongue, because they were younger and had had less work experience on entering the Public Service. Age differences between the three mother-tongue groups were quite striking. Public servants of French mother tongue were generally younger than their colleagues, the largest difference being among those most recently recruited (Figure 11). Those of French mother tongue who were recruited before 1950 had almost exactly the same median age as their colleagues, but among those hired since 1961 the difference approached 10 years—reflecting the proportionately larger number of recruits of English and other mother tongues who had held other jobs or pursued higher education before starting

Figure 11. Median Age of Male Departmental Public Servants, by period of recruitment—Canada, 1965



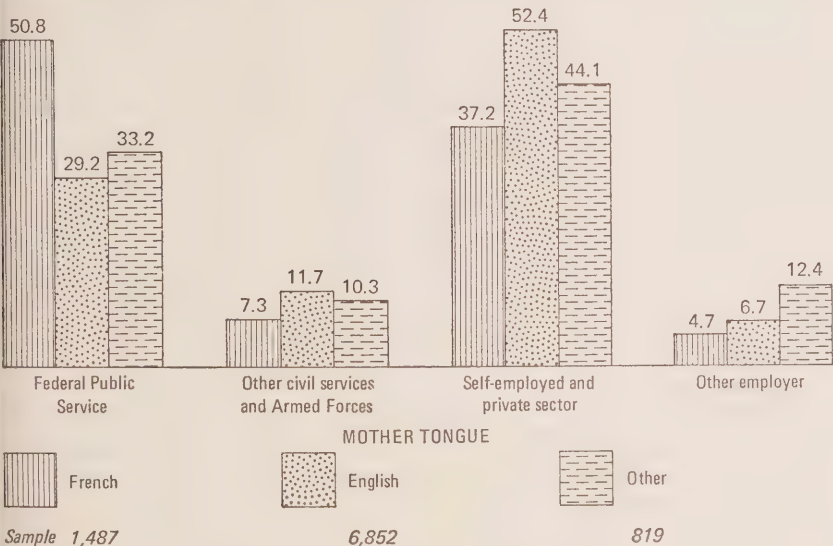
Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

government work. As a result, in 1965, 38 per cent of all public servants aged 20 to 24 had French as their mother tongue, compared with only 16 per cent of those aged 50 to 54.¹

630. These data suggest that the Public Service in recent years has obtained a good number of young recruits of French mother tongue, but that it has encountered difficulties in attracting or retaining personnel of French mother tongue for higher-level occupations requiring experience. This is confirmed by our data on the previous working experience of public servants. Those whose mother tongue was not French were more likely to have started their careers outside the public sector, but about half of their colleagues of French mother tongue held their first permanent job in the federal Public Service (Figure 12). Among those who had worked outside the federal sector, the French mother-tongue group generally had worked for a shorter period than had those of English or other mother tongues.²

Previous
experience

Figure 12. First Permanent Job of Departmental Public Servants—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

631. With their early start in government employment, public servants of French mother tongue might be expected to have had longer periods of service. This is not so: the median number of years spent

Length of
service

¹ *Ibid.*, Table A-40.
² *Ibid.*, Table A-41.

within the federal Public Service was almost identical for them and for those of English mother tongue.¹ The departure of many employees of French mother tongue who enter at an early age allows their colleagues of English mother tongue to catch up.

632. The younger average age of Francophones and their limited working experience before joining the Public Service undoubtedly contribute to their generally lower status in the federal administration. But these factors do not completely explain the large discrepancies among those with similar levels of education, working in the same field, and with similar starting salaries.

5. Summary

633. The general "English" character of the Public Service is largely a result of its linguistic composition. Those of English mother tongue were clearly in the majority everywhere except in Quebec, where they formed a significant minority. By contrast, those of French mother tongue were a majority in Quebec and a significant minority in the federal capital; elsewhere they were too few to exert any influence as a linguistic or cultural group.

Staff
distribution

634. Corresponding with the general staff distribution, few large departments had a proportion of staff of French mother tongue which approached 22 per cent (the departmental Public Service average), let alone 26 per cent (their proportion in the Canadian labour force).

635. The data for the last few years suggest a significant change that may, in time, penetrate the whole Public Service: 38 per cent of public servants in the age group 20 to 24 years old were of French mother tongue; they were receiving pay increases (and promotions) at a rate faster than those in the other language groups. This new trend has not yet dramatically altered the long-standing inequities.

636. We have observed that staff whose mother tongue was French were characteristically younger and less well educated and had had less outside experience than their colleagues of English and other mother tongues. While these phenomena would lead one to expect lower salaries in general for those of French mother tongue, they do not account wholly for the substantially lower salaries paid to university graduates of French mother tongue. Clearly, they are not treated equally with those of English and other mother tongues with the same level of training. Finally, although public servants of French mother tongue entered the Public Service at an earlier age, their length of service was no longer than that of their colleagues in the other two language groups.

¹ *Ibid.*, Table A-42.

637. The Public Service appears to have been an attractive employer for many young Francophones, but it has not been able to hold them. Nor has it been able either to recruit or to retain enough highly qualified Francophones to maintain an equitable balance in the Public Service.

B. Importance of Middle-level Public Servants

638. We have identified three levels or strata of public servants, each with its characteristic career patterns and problems of staff development. The lower level is comprised of the large non-officer class. The middle level takes in the great majority of officers, including all professionals, certain technicians, and middle-level managers. The upper level contains the small number of senior executives and policy-makers at the top of the Public Service.

Three strata

639. The lower level—that is, the non-officer group—is by far the largest, comprising almost three-quarters of all public servants. Its staff-development problems, however, are the least difficult. Since educational qualifications have become much more important for placement and promotion in officer-level positions, movement up from non-officer level has considerably diminished. Although this level provides important support functions, especially in clerical, stenographic, and maintenance areas, its recruitment problems are not particularly acute; the manpower for lower-level positions comes primarily from local markets and usually includes all population elements.

Lower level

640. The upper level has been defined as that group of senior officers—roughly 200 strong—who are deputy ministers, assistant or associate deputies, and directors of important divisions in key departments (especially Finance, Trade and Commerce, and External Affairs). A few important experts and advisers might also be included in this group.

Upper level

641. The middle level includes all remaining public servants of officer status. Generally, university education or equivalent professional or technical training is now required for most middle-level positions, although it is still true that some public servants attain such positions without the credentials of higher education. Nevertheless, the Junior Executive Officer (JEO) training programme—a nation-wide recruitment scheme aimed at university graduates—has been the typical entry route for the past 10 years. About one-quarter of all positions in the federal administration fall in the middle level.

Middle level

642. It is at this level that promising employees are spotted by their superiors and groomed for the future elite positions. The middle level also contains an attractive array of professional and technical careers that do not lead to the top. Finally, in both their specific responsibilities

Importance of the middle level

and general attitudes, middle-level public servants exemplify what it means to work in the federal Public Service. In their ranks are men and women of varied backgrounds and specialties who plan, execute, and publicize the many functions for which the federal administration is responsible.

643. It is well recognized within government circles that the middle level poses special personnel problems. In 1966 the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission of Canada made the following remarks:

No one will disagree, I am sure, with the notion that the execution of public policy in Canada deserves the best minds and the highest executive, administrative, and professional skills available in the land. The Civil Service Act recognizes this requirement and makes provision for its fulfilment. However, it is an unfortunate fact that the Public Service of Canada has up to now been unable to attract and retain its fair share of competent persons reflecting the two cultures of Canada. We have not succeeded in recruiting, particularly for intermediate and senior positions, a sufficient number of well-qualified citizens from French Canada and it is the Commission's view that this vacuum is detrimental to the public interest.¹

The "Career
Study"

644. In 1965, we undertook a special interview survey of the middle-level public servants. Since this study contributed more than any other specific research to shaping the discussion in the rest of this chapter, a few details on its scope and method are in order. The "Career Study" involved lengthy interviews conducted in five departments selected as a representative cross-section of the federal administration: the departments of Agriculture, Finance, National Revenue—Taxation division, Public Works, and the Secretary of State. Altogether, 306 interviews were conducted; 296 of these—involving 168 Anglophones and 128 Francophones—were judged suitable for analysis. All those in the samples worked in Ottawa, were between 25 and 45 years old, and earned \$6,200 or more a year.²

Three categories
in the
middle level

645. The major goal of the "Career Study" was to investigate a wide variety of middle-level career specialties and work settings. Three broad categories of career specialties were distinguished. The first category consisted of professionals, whose training usually extends to the university post-graduate level; examples are lawyers, engineers, accountants, and scientists. The second group were the administrators, including those in positions where the principal activity is the management of operations or the development of policy, or both. Those with profes-

¹ J. J. Carson, "The New Role of the Civil Service Commission," outline of remarks to the Federal Institute of Management, Ottawa, February 1, 1966.

² Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers: Anglophones and Francophones in the Canadian Public Service." In this study those of other mother tongues are included in whichever category corresponds to their main official language. In Appendix V the findings of this study may be compared with those throughout the departmental Public Service in managerial, professional, and technical occupations.

sional qualifications who are in supervisory posts and have ceased to practise their occupational specialty are included in the administrator group; examples are administrative officers, personnel officers, and finance officers. The third category included technicians and semi-professionals—those performing specialized tasks related to one of the professions or sciences; examples are computer programmers, translators, and technical officers.

646. Work settings can refer to anything from the smallest of work units to whole departments; usually, however, the departmental division or branch is implied. The diversity of the many divisions in the federal administration needs emphasis if only because popular images of the “civil service” picture vast offices full of clerks going through the motions of routine paperwork. There are, of course, a great many routine functions conducted by the federal administration—every department has its personnel and payroll to take care of and forms to process. But the uniqueness and diversity of many of the functions of the Public Service are often overlooked. To understand the problems of staff development, both the routine and the unique in Public Service functions and work settings must be examined. This suggests that a salient variable in federal government work settings is the relative presence or absence of opportunities for creative work.

Functions and
work settings

647. Creativity will be at a maximum in a setting where public servants develop ideas or test theories, working at their own pace in an autonomous manner and assuming personal responsibility for bringing the various projects to conclusions. In the past, the government of Canada, at least in its domestic operations, was largely concerned with non-creative “housekeeping” activities (for example, providing postal services, collecting taxes). Recently, however, added planning, research, and regulatory functions have markedly increased the number of units where creative work predominates. To provide and retain staff for these new functions, the government must compete as never before with the private sector and other organizations for first-rate professional, administrative, and technical talent.

Opportunities
for creativity

C. Background Characteristics of Middle-level Personnel

648. We attempted to learn about the life experiences of typical men and women within the selected departments of the federal Public Service. For middle-level public servants in the Ottawa-Hull area, several questions were relevant. What are the mother tongue, national origin and social antecedents of these Francophones and Anglophones? Where have they come from? What are their educational and work histories?

In general, what sorts of geographic and social mobility have they experienced?

1. Mother tongue, ethnic origin, and country of birth

649. The Anglophones were relatively heterogeneous: 26 per cent were born outside Canada, 11 per cent coming from Britain; 14 per cent had a language other than English as their mother tongue; 27 per cent claimed to be of non-British descent (including 10 per cent of German, Austrian, Belgian, Dutch, Swiss or Scandinavian origin, 6 per cent of Slavic origin, and 2 per cent of Jewish origin).¹

650. Francophones were more homogeneous: only 7 per cent of the Francophones were born outside Canada, all coming from France or other French-speaking parts of Europe; only 3 per cent claimed to be of other than French origin.

2. Geographic origin

Mobility

651. It is a commonplace that in industrially advanced societies the highly trained and talented are likely to be mobile and that large-scale economic organizations, both public and private, encourage such movement. It is also true that geographic mobility exacts its costs, affecting relations with family and friends and demanding difficult adjustments to new environments.

652. With the widespread geographic mobility of the Canadian population, individuals may easily be born in one locality, grow up and form early attachments in another, and come to maturity in a third one. The most meaningful way to determine the geographic origin of public servants is to look at place of family residence during the years of secondary education. Data on middle-level personnel in Ottawa and Hull indicate a sharp contrast in this respect between Anglophones and Francophones (Table 52). Only 19 per cent of the Anglophones grew up in Ottawa or Hull; 52 per cent, including 21 per cent from foreign countries, spent their formative years outside Ontario and Quebec. Among Francophones there was a strikingly high proportion (51 per cent) from Hull and Ottawa and other parts of Ontario, although less than 7 per cent of the total Francophone labour force lives in Ontario. Only 37 per cent came from Quebec (excluding Hull), the heartland of French-speaking Canada where over three-quarters of the Francophone labour force dwells. These data suggest that the Public Service has some success in recruiting Anglophones from all over Canada and even from many other countries, but that more than half the Francophones it

¹ Appendix III, Tables A-43, A-44, and A45; see also footnote to § 644.

attracts are natives of the National Capital region or its environs. It is particularly noteworthy that the capital region serves as a greater source of French-speaking talent for those departments, such as National Revenue—Taxation division (58 per cent from Ottawa and Hull) and Public Works (61 per cent), where routine “housekeeping” functions predominate over creative work settings.¹ Furthermore, of all middle-level Francophones working in Ottawa, 65 per cent of the administrative and technical personnel, but only 21 per cent of those in more creative careers (professionals and scientists), came from Ottawa or Hull.² Francophones from Quebec were more likely to be concentrated in work sectors requiring advanced training for the performance of creative work.

Table 52. Place of Origin and Language

Percentage distribution of middle-level Francophone and Anglophone public servants in five federal departments, by place of origin—Canada, 1965

	Francophones	Anglophones	All public servants
Ottawa and Hull	43.0	18.5	22.3
Ontario (except Ottawa)	7.8	23.2	20.6
Montreal	13.3	4.2	5.7
Quebec (except Hull and Montreal)	23.4	1.8	5.4
Atlantic provinces	3.9	8.3	7.8
Western Canada	3.1	23.2	19.9
Foreign countries	5.5	20.8	18.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	128	168	296

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, “Bureaucratic Careers.”

653. These data illuminate the extent of the Public Service’s failure to attract Francophones, particularly those from Quebec apart from Hull, to Ottawa. As a result, the Public Service in Ottawa must draw more than half of its Francophone personnel from Ontario and nearby Hull. This situation does nothing to encourage the development of a truly bilingual and bicultural federal administration.

654. The relatively high participation of Francophones from Ontario in the federal administration, and their concentration in settings where routine operations predominate, reflect their disadvantaged economic

Difficulties
of Francophones
from Ontario

¹ *Ibid.*, Table A-46.

² *Ibid.*, Table A-47.

and educational situation in Ontario. Because of their minority position in a province that until very recently was loathe to recognize anything more than the most minimal claims to their cultural integrity, they have had extremely limited cultural and educational resources at their disposal. As a result, many Francophones from Ontario—receiving part of their schooling in English and almost invariably working most of their lives in that language—have been left suspended between Canada's two main cultures. The men and women who have grown up under such conditions generally have not had the education or received the incentives that would allow them to compete on equal terms in the work world with most of their Anglophone colleagues or their Francophone colleagues from Quebec.

Francophones
from Quebec

655. In contrast to the Francophones from Ontario, middle-level Francophones from Quebec have tended to work in the more creative sectors of the Public Service. This is largely because of their sounder educational preparation and more solid cultural base. During the 1940's and 1950's, Francophones from Quebec, like those from Ontario, were often forced to seek employment in the federal sphere largely because of a lack of good prospects for employment in either the private or public sectors of the Quebec economy. However, this situation has changed in recent years. As one of the instruments of the "quiet revolution," the civil service of Quebec has absorbed much of the new talent coming out of the province's French-language universities. It has also induced a number of Francophone federal public servants to leave Ottawa for Quebec City. At the same time, the larger private corporations, though still almost totally under Anglophone direction, have shown themselves much more eager to recruit Francophones for middle- and even top-level positions. Moreover, it is the talented and creative personnel (Anglophones as well as Francophones) who display most dissatisfaction with life in Ottawa and least commitment to the federal Public Service.¹ As a result, departments needing creative personnel must now compete actively for talented Francophones in labour markets that are a good deal tighter than before. In spite of increased recruiting efforts and the expansion of promotion opportunities for Francophones from Quebec, the departments have scarcely been holding their own in the past few years.

656. The high proportion of Ontarians and the low proportion of Quebecers among the Francophones in the federal Public Service have contributed to the low participation of Francophones and the limited use of French in the middle and upper levels of the administration. If the Service had made due effort to attract a reasonable proportion of Francophones from Quebec, the situation would now be quite different;

¹ See §§ 704-14.

there would not be fewer Francophones from Ontario in the federal Public Service, but there would be more Francophones from Quebec. It is clear that Francophones from Ontario can fulfil their role in the Service only if they are properly equipped for it. The federal government must recognize the fact that it has been partly responsible for the political and economic situation of the Francophone community in the Ottawa area. As we have suggested earlier, it has until very recently done little to provide work settings that would induce members of this group to embark on further education. It has also contributed to the cultural stagnation of French-speaking Ottawa, and Hull as well, by insisting that Francophones use English in their work.

657. Recent plans by the Ontario government to open publicly supported schools in which French is the language of instruction will in time help to produce more Francophones who are better trained for work in their mother tongue and more secure in their culture. In the meantime, however, talented Francophones capable of making themselves, their culture, and their language a real presence in the middle and upper levels of the federal Public Service must also be sought in Quebec, beyond Hull. Moreover, mere searching is not enough: there must be work settings in which the French language and culture can be carried into the daily performance of work as a matter of course.

3. *Social origin*

658. To assess the role of the Service in providing avenues of upward career movement we must look at family antecedents of certain groups of public servants. Data on the background of the top 200 or so senior officers of the Public Service—the upper level—indicate that they came mainly from professional and managerial families where a university education and individual striving were taken for granted. A small but significant proportion of senior public servants did, however, rise from farm and working class origins. Recruitment from families of considerable wealth and power was rare. At the middle level, the Public Service had attracted many upwardly mobile Canadians in the five departments surveyed—49 per cent of the Francophones and 44 per cent of the Anglophones come from farm or blue-collar backgrounds (Figure 13).

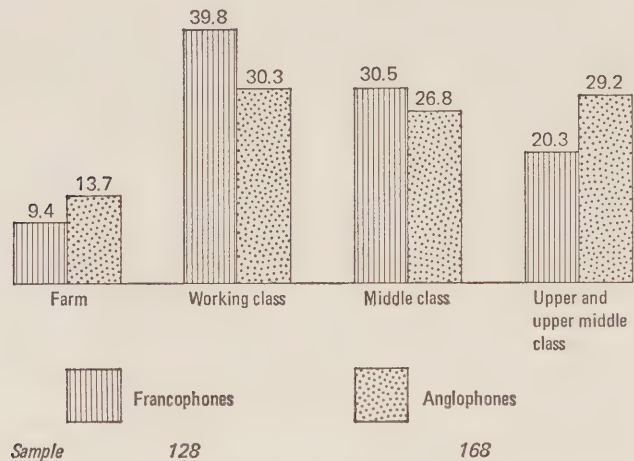
Family
antecedents

659. While language and cultural handicaps hinder the progress of Francophones, it is safe to conclude that, among Anglophones at least, the factors that count in getting to the top are first-rate academic qualifications—which in the view of the Public Service generally means postgraduate training in one of a select group of universities in Great Britain and the United States; demonstrated ability; and an ineffable

Desirable
attributes

quality usually referred to as “sound political judgement”—that is, intellectual and political perspectives judged by senior officers to be sound.

Figure 13. Social Origin of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, “Bureaucratic Careers.”

Openness of
the Public
Service

660. From all the data on cultural, geographic, and social origins of middle-level public servants, one conclusion stands out: the federal administration is an open and talent-hungry organization. It draws extensively from all geographic areas (save Quebec) and social levels of the country. Most important, it attracts large numbers of Canadians of non-French, non-British origin, including immigrants who, because they are subject to the insecurities of adaptation in a new land, are often attracted by the security and career stability provided in the Public Service.¹

661. In general, the Public Service exhibits a healthy openness to the trained and talented of the entire Anglophone community, regardless of ethnic origin. Such attitudes are required by the exigencies of competing in tight job markets where professional, administrative, and technical personnel are extremely scarce. At the time of our study, almost all departmental divisions reported unfilled positions. The Public Service is to be commended for its record in using the skills of Anglophones of widely varying backgrounds. Against this success must be placed its

¹ They are also attracted by what they see as a lack of discrimination against newcomers. Many “new Canadians” and native-born Anglophones of non-British origin suggested that the federal administration generally has a better record than private industry in this respect. See § 691.

failure to attract and make room for Francophones—especially those from Quebec who think and act consistently with their own cultural and educational background.

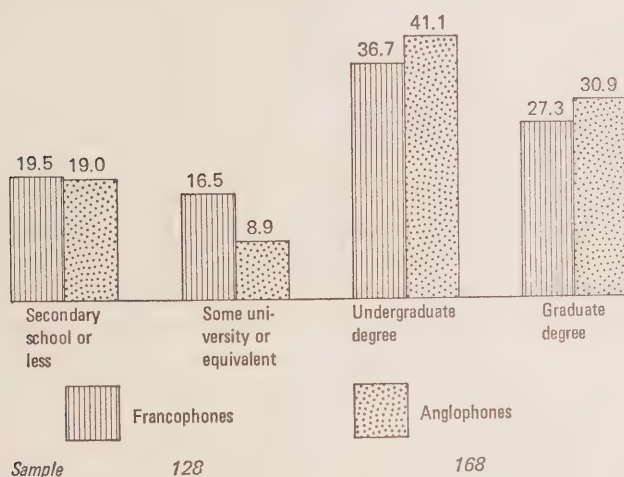
4. Education

662. All large-scale organizations emphasize formal educational qualifications in placing personnel. The federal administration, with its emphasis on objective criteria, probably does so more than most. As the middle ranks expand and organizational rationalization increases, educational qualifications—as against “practical” experience, seniority, or simple patronage—are likely to become even more crucial in determining the outcome of an individual’s career.

663. Of the middle-level personnel interviewed, Anglophones have somewhat better educational qualifications—72 per cent have a university degree, compared with 64 per cent of the Francophones (Figure 14)—but wide differences do exist in educational specialization. As

Science and
engineering

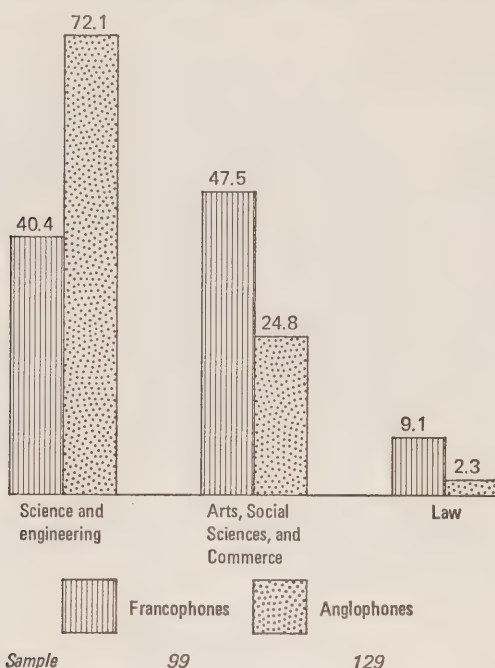
Figure 14. Schooling of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, “Bureaucratic Careers.”

Figure 15 reveals, 72 per cent of Anglophone graduates but only 40 per cent of Francophone graduates in the five departments surveyed have specialized in science and engineering. This suggests one of the major reasons for the greater remuneration received by Anglophones: in the federal administration, as in most large-scale private organizations, graduates in science and engineering command higher average salaries than graduates in arts and commerce.

Figure 15. University Specialization of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

664. Until recently, scientific and technological fields were relatively neglected in French-language and bilingual universities.¹ Many Francophone public servants have reacted to this situation by seeking advanced training in the sciences or engineering at English-language universities in either Canada or the United States.² As a result, they have on the average done considerably better in both salary and promotions than those who completed their higher education in French-language institutions.³

665. The weakness of French-language scientific and technological training is one factor detrimental to Francophones' advancement in the Public Service; so, it would appear, is the weakness of French-language

¹ See §§ 542-4.

² These statements refer to public servants in the 25-45 age range (as of 1965), who for the most part obtained their higher education during the 1940's and 1950's. The recent developments in Quebec's higher education came too late for these men.

³ Of course, those Francophones who obtain graduate training in English- rather than French-language institutions gain advantages other than technical training. First, their fluency in English improves; second, their ability to adapt to an English-speaking work environment also increases; and, finally, they receive degrees from universities of prestige in the eyes of Anglophones. At the same time, their ability to do specialized work in their mother tongue tends to diminish.

primary and secondary schooling in Ottawa and other French-speaking parts of Ontario. This weakness is strikingly revealed in a study undertaken for the Commission on the achievement of Francophone and Anglophone high school students in Ontario.¹ A comparison of the two language groups revealed that even when the occupational level of the students' fathers was held constant, the Anglophone students were twice as likely as the Francophones to complete secondary school (five years in Ontario). In other words, even Francophones from families of socio-economic status roughly equal to those of Anglophones were likely to fall behind in educational achievement. Many factors contribute to this disparity, but the study concluded that it was based above all on the difficulties of adjustment that Francophone students in Ontario had to face in attending English-language schools and also on the paucity of resources available (until recently) to the French-language school systems of Ontario. One important consequence of this pattern of educational inequality has been that Francophones from Ontario, who have joined the federal administration in considerable numbers, have generally entered with limited career chances.

5. *Previous work history*

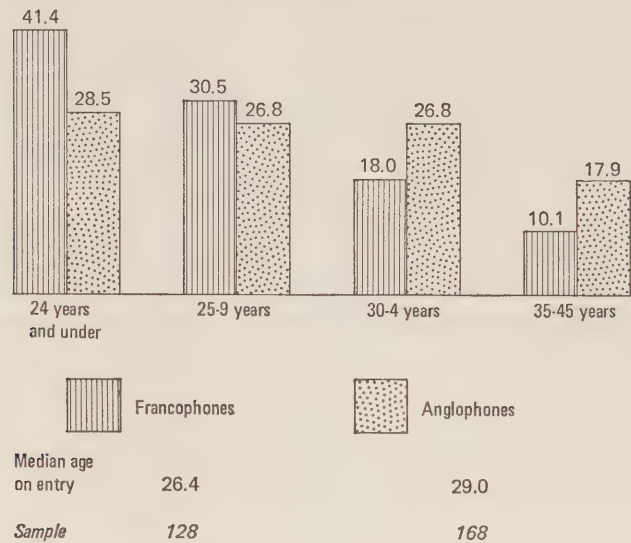
666. The median age of middle-level Anglophones at the time of joining the Public Service was 29 years; Francophones were somewhat younger—26 years. This suggests that a majority of middle-level employees have had considerable working experience before entering the Public Service. However, the difference between Francophones and Anglophones is rather large: Francophones were more likely to join the Public Service directly after finishing their education (41 per cent compared with 24 per cent for the Anglophones) and, as Figure 16 reveals, a much lower proportion of Francophones joined during their 30's and 40's.

667. A close examination of the career histories of those who started their worklife outside the Public Service indicates that the decision to join the Public Service often came after the experience of sharp, sometimes unpredictable, disruption of ties to job or local community—for example, after precipitously quitting a job for personal reasons, after a job lay-off, or after immigration. This type of employee often saw the Public Service as a refuge—a place that held more limited prospects for advancement, but did provide stable employment. Anglophones with their greater opportunities and longer experience in the private sector, and with their greater propensity for pulling up stakes and moving to a

Career
histories

¹ A. J. C. King and C. E. Angi, "Language and Secondary School Success," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B. by arrangement with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Figure 16. Age at Entry into the Public Service of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

new community, were more likely than Francophones to have had this type of disruption in their career histories. However, Francophones who worked in the Translation Bureau had a higher incidence of this kind of job switching than had any other occupational group.¹

668. The foregoing suggests that a significant minority, especially among the Anglophones, came to the federal administration, not so much to build a career, but rather to stabilize an occupational situation after defeat or disappointment in the private sector. Francophones were less likely to have had such experiences. The evidence suggests that, with few exceptions, they had had stable work histories before joining—or no work history at all—but more difficulties after joining. They were less likely to be geographically mobile before commencing their government careers. Francophones, it seems, joined earlier in their careers and were also much more likely to leave soon after their arrival.

¹ Of all middle-rank personnel surveyed, the translators—a group predominantly of French mother tongue—were the most dissatisfied. To a certain extent, this dissatisfaction seems rooted both in the type of man attracted (often men who once intended to pursue careers in journalism, law, or the church) and in the nature of translation tasks: the work requires considerable intellectual skills, yet often is routine and boring. Another important cause of the translators' discontent was the fact that their work was not appreciated. Demands for translation services have risen sharply in the last three or four years, yet most departments still regard this work as a nuisance—merely an added cost in time and money of carrying out the government's business. See §§ 434-51.

D. Work, Community, and Commitment to the Public Service

669. Satisfaction with career and workplace does not necessarily lead to commitment to the Public Service. The factors that hold a man to his job or make him want to leave are complex and varied: personal mood (he may be restless if too long in any job), life-cycle situation (he may be squeezed by mortgage payments and children in college), the meaning of work and workplace, or community ties and cultural attractions. In the "Career Study" we discovered some men who were happy in their work yet completely uncommitted and even planning to leave. Many others were dissatisfied to one degree or another, yet their commitment was unshakable. Generally, these individuals were fearful of risking the stability brought to their lives by jobs in the Public Service—men who truly felt locked into their positions.

670. Our discussion of satisfaction and commitment focusses on the attitudes of Francophone and Anglophone middle-level personnel towards work organization and local community—specifically, why they had joined the Public Service, whether they found the system of promotion and career development fair, what they thought of the Ottawa-Hull region as a place to live, and whether they were inclined to continue their careers in the federal administration.

Satisfaction and
commitment

1. Reasons for joining

671. A number of factors are involved in the decision to seek a career in the federal Public Service rather than in other non-profit work areas or in the private sector. Some of the most prominent reasons given by middle-level personnel were the desire to serve the country, or to be at the centre of important national and international events; the advanced level of work or the special nature of problems handled by the government; the lack of other employment within the country where a man may practise his specialty; simple drift or inability to find employment elsewhere; and the desire to avoid the pressures and insecurities of employment in the private sector.

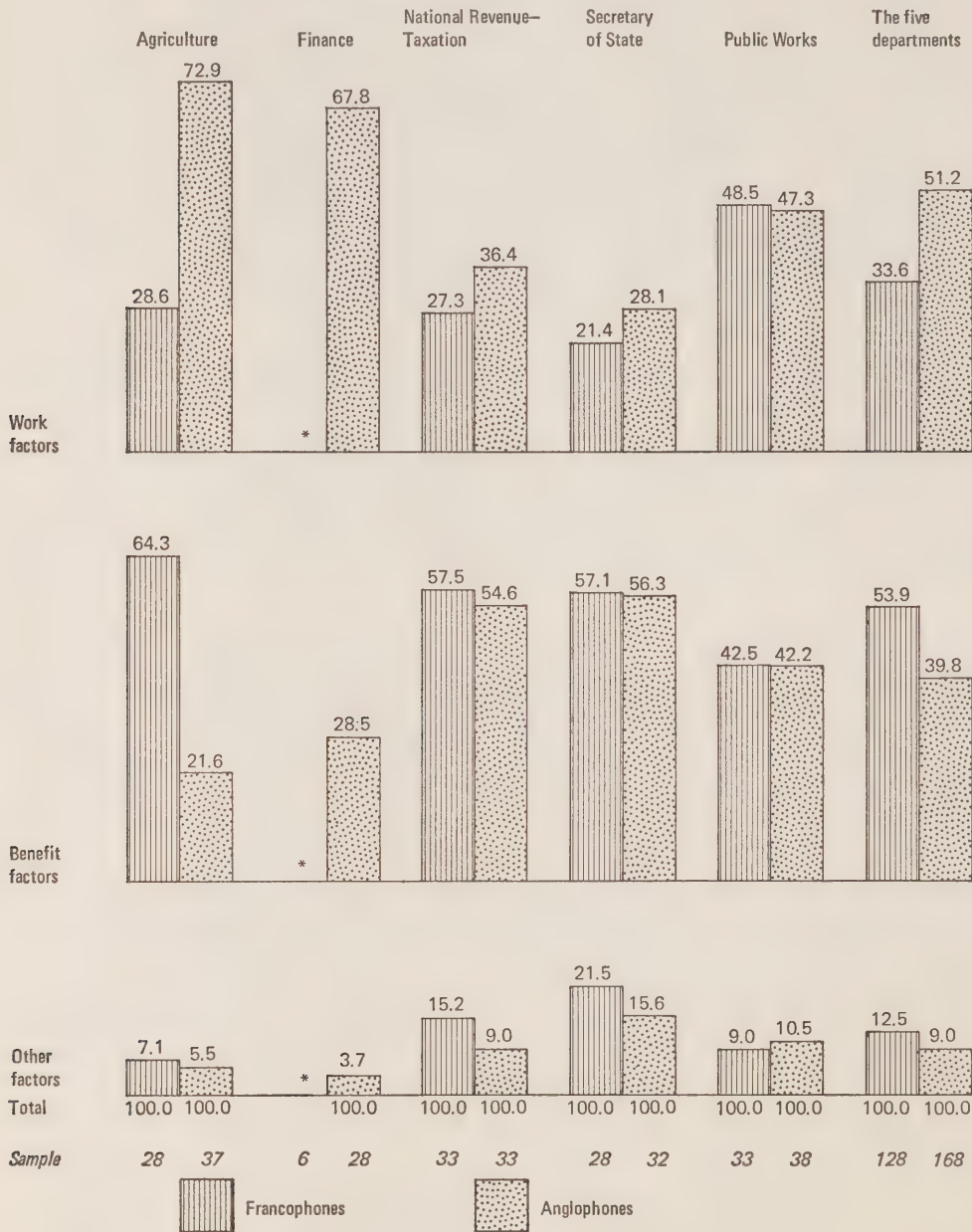
672. The above examples, although not exhaustive, suggest two fundamental motivations: "work" factors such as the opportunities for creativity, self-expression, or simple enjoyment found in one's work; and "benefit" factors such as security, lack of work pressures, or a chance to live in the Ottawa-Hull area.

"Work" factors
and "benefit"
factors

673. The most prominent reasons for entering the Public Service varied from one department to another (Figure 17), and the variation reveals a good deal about the essential character of departmental work settings. In the departments of Finance and Agriculture, where research

"Work"
factors

Figure 17. Main Reason Given by Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments for Joining the Public Service—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."
* Statistically insignificant.

and policy planning predominate, the personnel—mostly Anglophones—were motivated by the opportunities for autonomy and creative work. On the other hand, the departments of Public Works and National Revenue, with their preoccupation with routine service functions, provide fewer opportunities of this nature. Even the professionals in these departments (for instance, the architects, engineers, accountants, and lawyers) had joined primarily for the benefits provided by employment in the Public Service.

674. As for variation between language groups, Figure 17 suggests that the Anglophones were generally more oriented towards the creative aspects of their employment: 51 per cent, compared with 34 per cent of the Francophones, joined for work reasons. This difference is consistent with other findings (for instance, the fact that Anglophones are much more likely to have degrees in science and engineering).

Variation between
language groups

675. A further breakdown of the category of those who joined for benefit factors again reveals interesting differences between Anglophones and Francophones. Anglophones were much more likely to state that a desire for fewer job pressures and more security drew them to the Public Service. Many had had adverse experiences in private industry and spoke of wanting to get out; the federal Public Service afforded such an opportunity. Salaries were not as high, but raises and “promotions” (often involving reclassification without change in responsibilities) were frequent. Anglophone professionals, such as accountants in the department of National Revenue—Taxation division and engineers in the Patent Office or the department of Public Works, were particularly likely to be motivated in this way.

“Benefit” factors

676. A strikingly high number of Francophones who cited benefit factors—more than one in five of the middle-level group interviewed—admitted that they joined the Public Service simply because they could not find employment elsewhere. This fact helps to explain the high number of Francophones who valued the security aspects of their employment. Some Anglophones placed great emphasis on career security in the Public Service, but there were virtually none whose accounts of job hunting matched the desperation of those of many Francophones. Few Anglophones exhibited the resigned feelings of being locked into their positions expressed by many Francophones.

677. It was generally the older Francophones who placed such great emphasis on the security aspects of their positions. They tended to be men with inferior professional or technical training who had first entered the job market during the 1940's and 1950's when the chances for Francophones in private industry were considerably more restricted than they are today. A disproportionate number of these men were from Ontario or Hull and the surrounding area in Quebec.

678. Another reason for joining the Public Service frequently cited by Francophones, but rarely by Anglophones, was the desire to remain in the Ottawa-Hull area. About one Francophone in eight cited the desire to remain in Ottawa and Hull as his main reason for joining the Public Service.

Desire
to serve
the country

679. There were two prominent themes in the motivation of those who joined because of work factors. First, some wished to work in the area of "public service" rather than in private industry, which they mildly disdained. Typically, these men were the sons of upper middle-class Public Service or professional families. As one young finance officer put it: "I came from a civil service family. I suppose to a large extent this oriented my thinking to the civil service or to teaching; more a service than a business orientation. . . ."

680. The idea of public service was not a common theme but was repeated in departments and agencies (for example, the Treasury Board and the departments of External Affairs and Finance) that serve as training grounds for the senior directorate. Indeed, the senior officers in these settings usually seemed to assume this sort of attitude on the part of young officers whose careers were leading to upper-level positions. Paradoxically, even though such attitudes tend to be taken for granted, it was often difficult for younger public servants to be articulate about them. Most felt somewhat embarrassed about voicing what might appear as overly selfless and public-spirited sentiments. Nevertheless, the principle of service is an important part of the ethos of the federal administration, and it underlies the efforts of most of its senior officers.

Desire for
professional
achievement

681. A second major theme voiced by those who joined the Public Service for work factors was commonly expressed by scientists in the department of Agriculture and specialists in policy planning or research areas. It involved a strong concern with professional accomplishment and recognition. In the department of Agriculture, for example, the professional orientation of the research scientists was strong; their loyalties and ties towards their employing organizations were correspondingly weak. "I didn't care much one way or the other about politics or the federal government, but I entered the department [of Agriculture] because of the research facilities," was a typical explanation given for joining the Public Service by men of this type.

682. Francophones, for the most part, did not share with Anglophones these attitudes towards their careers, although the number of exceptions is growing. The reason is that there were few Francophones in the most creative Public Service work settings, such as those in the departments of Finance and Agriculture. Those who do work in these settings must operate within an English cultural ambience. Creative and

dynamic as such settings are, they do not allow for the best expression of Francophones' creative work because of their unilingually Anglophone nature.

2. The Public Service as a place of work

683. The middle-level public servants surveyed shared ideas on countless aspects of their work environment with men working in other large-scale organizations. But, focussing on their most fundamental ways of viewing the federal administration, only a few major themes emerged. Most of these ideas were based on employment experiences outside the federal Service and also on the extent to which the Public Service work milieu was consistent with other aspects of their lives.

684. Once again, the most noteworthy feature is the wide divergence between Anglophones' and Francophones' conceptions of the federal administration's most salient features. Members of the two language groups shared ideas on many aspects of the Public Service environment, but they viewed different aspects of their environment as being fundamental. Apparently, Anglophones and Francophones have different wants and needs in their immediate employment situation, and different past experiences as bases for comparison.

685. A majority of the Anglophones had had experience working in private industry, and images based on comparisons of employment in the private and public sectors had a prominent place in their thinking. As suggested above, many elite-oriented men—especially those in key departments and central agencies—are imbued with the idea of a career of service. Such men usually had wide-ranging intellectual interests, and some had maintained academic ties; often they saw university administration or teaching as possible alternative careers. There was awareness—and sometimes a mild hint of jealousy—of the much higher salaries available in business careers but, for the most part, opportunities in the private sector were shunned. Public servants of this type were not anti-business in any fundamental sense. They recognized the importance of industry in the general scheme of things and often worked well with business leaders, but they felt that the commercialism of the private sector rendered its opportunities and financial blandishments slightly distasteful. Only a small minority of middle-level public servants held this view, but it was a factor in the career orientation of those most likely to move into top-level positions.

Comparisons of
employment in
the public
and private
sectors

686. Few Anglophones in the less creative departments (for example, National Revenue—Taxation division and Public Works) shared this ideal of service. Most had had some experience in the private sector and their thinking about their present employer was permeated with

obvious comparisons. They considered that private industry was much more efficient and dynamic but that it had too many pressures and long hours. Salaries were considerably better in the private sector, but this was balanced by less job security and vacation time and fewer pension benefits. These views undoubtedly suggest clichés about government bureaucracy which nowadays simply do not apply to many areas of the federal administration, but they do reflect the career experience and work situation of a significant minority of middle-level public servants. This is particularly true of Anglophones in two types of career situation—those disenchanted with the federal Public Service and planning to leave, and those who were making little progress but who nevertheless were resigned to stay for reasons of security.

Non-creative
work settings

687. Middle-level personnel in the business-oriented professions (accountants, lawyers, and engineers) were the most likely to think this way. There were great numbers of such men in the non-creative work settings of the Public Service, and for a number of reasons they tended to be defensive about their careers and present employment. In the professional circles of accountancy, law, and engineering, the public sector is not considered a particularly desirable field for pursuing a career—salaries tend to be low, staff turnover is high, and many of those recruited are among the least successful in each profession.

688. This defensiveness is apparent in the remarks of an engineer working in the Patent Office: "There is the feeling that because they [the Patent Office] need so many people, they will hire almost anyone they can get. They just keep hiring and hiring and hope they can keep some of them in. They realize that it is a dead-end job and they expect them to go." A lawyer in the department of National Revenue—Taxation division, said:

I'm not committed [to the Public Service] at all. I have enjoyed the last three years' work here, and might stay if conditions improved somewhat, that is, if further assistance were obtained. . . . We have a terrific turnover of lawyers here, and right now we're pretty low on them. . . . But even if you stay there's really not too much here. The most hope I have is to become Senior Counsel some day, doing the same job as now at a maximum of \$15,000. I'm working in a field where lawyers [in the private sector] are earning much more than that, so I feel that progress is limited here.

This sort of negative reaction was encountered often in the departments of National Revenue—Taxation division, Public Works, and the Secretary of State.

689. The strongest impression that emerges from these interviews is that as a place to work the Public Service was considered second-rate. The work was often seen as routine and repetitious, the employees and senior officers cautious and uninspired. Even the office buildings tend to

be dull, and many of them are cheaply built as well. Several shoddy wooden structures, relics of wartime austerity, are still being used (for example, the headquarters of the department of National Revenue—Taxation division on Sussex Street). This sort of blunt symbolism was not lost on middle-level employees. One National Revenue public servant, who liked his work but not his work environment, had this to say: “The whole process of the government is grinding [its employees] down to the lowest common denominator. When you walk through these halls all you see is what I call ‘the grey men.’ ” This type of commentary was rare, but the low salaries and dismal work surroundings suggest to many employees that their positions and work in the federal administration are not particularly valued either among professional colleagues in the private sector or in the highest reaches of the government.

690. The Public Service has a long history of struggle to ensure that decisions on hiring and promotions are free of political influence. Most appointments to all departments are now made within the guidelines laid down by the Public Service Commission and are consistent with the principles of merit and administrative rationality. Unlike private industry—where staffing is generally handled in a more flexible and informal manner—the Public Service Commission has for many years applied numerous formal procedures to minimize political patronage. Middle-level public servants are constantly reminded of these procedures. Most have taken written examinations and faced examining boards prior to their appointments; their promotions or reclassifications usually have involved more applications and examinations. Publicity from the Public Service Commission inviting applications for new job openings continually crosses their desks.

Staffing and
promotion
procedures

691. Anglophones’ reactions to this system were mixed. Most felt that the “competition system” had achieved its major goal: eliminating discrimination and political favouritism in staffing decisions. The 27 per cent of the Anglophones who were of non-British descent were the most impressed in this respect. A few even suggested that they had experienced discrimination in private industry and had joined the federal administration because they expected fairer treatment. But there were numerous criticisms of the slowness and inflexibility in many staffing decisions because of Civil Service Commission regulations. This type of complaint was often heard: “It took them six months to clear the promotion he demanded, and by that time he had decided to join a firm outside.” Another aspect of the Civil Service Commission’s inflexibility was its remoteness from the actual requirements of the positions for which it was hiring. An administrator with more than ten years’ experience said: “Management should be able to hire and fire according to their needs, or else the Civil Service Commission should be made

Anglophones’
views

Francophones' views

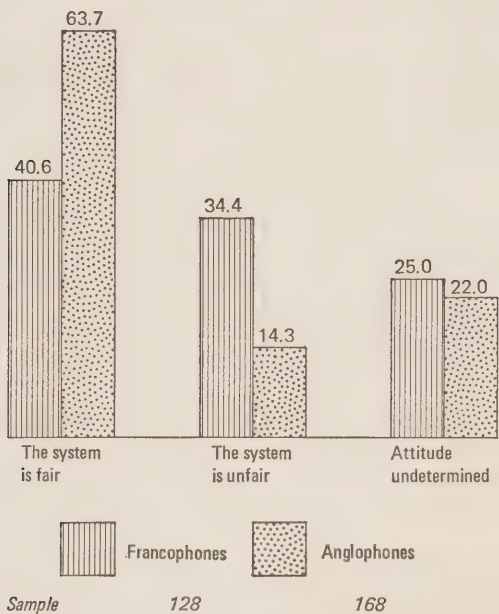
entirely responsible for the direction of people. If a person meets your requirements, it should be up to you to hire him, and you should not be overruled by a person from the Commission who will not in the future be responsible for the work of the person being hired."

692. Comparisons of employment in the public and private sectors were seldom voiced by Francophones, and they were not as concerned as Anglophones with the rigidities of the Civil Service Commission. There were fewer opportunities for Francophones in the private sector; if they had had prior working experience, it was more likely to have been in smaller, lower-paying, and less efficient firms. They had their own grievances against the promotion system, but these had to do with discrimination against their language and culture rather than with the slowness of bureaucratic processes.

Promotion system

693. Only 14 per cent of the Anglophones interviewed considered the promotion system unfair (Figure 18), but 34 per cent of the Francophones did. These levels of discontent are not unusually high for such a large-scale organization; but the gap between the two language groups is significant. Anglophones stressed the slowness of the administration in recognizing men of talent: they spoke of "red tape" and the

Figure 18. Attitudes of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments towards the Promotion System—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

influence of seniority. Only rarely was discrimination mentioned. When it was, it revealed men who were embittered by the promotion or elevation of Francophones because of what they saw as "political pressures." Anglophones of non-British origin were as likely as those of British origin (64 per cent in each case) to find the promotion system "fair"—which suggests that the federal administration is making good use of the talents of such men.

694. Francophones were more likely to see the promotion system as unfair and to cite some form of cultural or language discrimination as the basis of this unfairness. One group—26 per cent of the total Francophone sample—felt that discrimination or English unilingualism had or would hurt their chances for advancement. Many gave concrete examples of cases where ethnic origin allegedly had influenced decisions on promotions or assignments. Some were bitter and resentful about such treatment; others were resigned to it. In the view of the latter, the system was "English" and it was natural that the "French" would be disadvantaged.

695. One theme dominated the Francophones' impressions: they saw the Public Service as essentially *une organisation anglaise* and felt that there were special difficulties for the Francophone minority. The most important implication of this "English fact" was that many Francophones had to split work life from family and social life in a much more profound sense than the Anglophones, who might keep the two somewhat separate but did not need to change language and basic patterns of behaviour in the process. In the federal administration, Francophones have had little chance to express their identities as French-speaking Canadians—not simply because they must work in English, but for the more basic reason that the rhetoric, routines, and administrative styles of their workplace are considered to be an expression of Anglophone cultural values. The following comment by a Francophone engaged in recruitment work aptly expresses this alienation: "A Francophone is well aware that the minute he arrives in Ottawa and hangs up his hat, he also 'hangs up' his language and must speak and work in English throughout the day. The Anglo-Saxon method or manner of working is different from the Francophone. They do not have the same way of seeing, settling, or discussing problems."

*Une organisation
anglaise*

696. Particularly strong criticism of the promotion system was voiced by three different categories of Francophone employees: older public servants (41 per cent of the 36 to 45 age group felt the system was "unfair," compared with only 23 per cent of the 25 to 35 group); those who admitted they still had trouble with English (44 per cent felt the system was "unfair"); and those in certain very Anglophone-dominated work settings.

Hopeful attitudes
expressed

697. Of course, not all Francophones felt this way. Some were more favourable in their attitudes towards the promotion system. They felt that, in recent years at least, it had become relatively fair and that people like themselves would meet no discrimination as long as they had an adequate knowledge of English. Some of this group even suggested that the new emphasis on bilingualism in the federal administration had increased their chances for advancement. Typical of Francophones who spoke this way were long-time public servants who, because of considerations of security or residence, were committed to remain in the federal administration. They would refer knowingly to the "old days"—presumably the 1950's or earlier—when there was little concern about bilingualism and "the English" had all the advantages. These conditions had now passed, and Francophones were afforded more respect. Their futures as bilingual employees seemed considerably brighter. A considerable minority of Francophones—as high as 25 per cent—interpreted the present political climate this way. Such views were based as much on hopes for the future as on present experiences, but they do neutralize long-standing resentments and are an important element underlying the commitment to the Public Service that can be found among middle-level Francophones.

698. Finally, a small proportion of the middle-level Francophones based in Ottawa-Hull were in a work situation that was French in both language and culture (for example, Hull-based veterinary inspectors in the department of Agriculture, and the translators in the Translation Bureau), while others were becoming assimilated—taking over English styles in both speech and thought, in work, social, and even family life.

699. Of those who were alienated, many were hostile. But resignation—particularly among the older, less well-educated, and Ottawa-rooted officials—was common too. These individuals had few complaints; they saw working in English as an inevitable part of making a living, and they took the Anglophone dominance of the federal administration for granted.

3. Living in the federal capital

Community
considerations

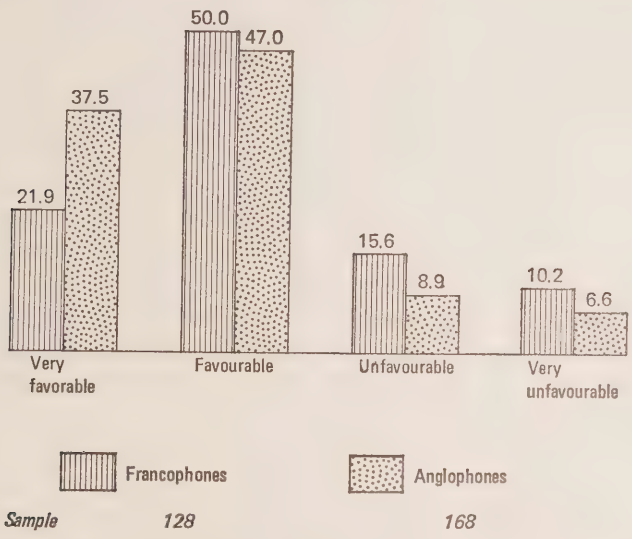
700. Francophone and Anglophone public servants have different views about the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live. Their feelings about what they consider the advantages and the drawbacks of the metropolitan region influence their career decisions. These questions are becoming increasingly relevant to a discussion of recruitment and staff development in the federal administration. Career decisions are often based as much on community as on work factors. What was relevant

varied widely: housing and neighbourhoods, educational facilities, cultural resources, the accessibility to wilderness or cottage areas, and especially the community's predominant styles of thinking and living—its culture. All these factors have an influence on whether talented men will come to work for the federal administration, and whether they will remain after joining.

701. In investigating the influence of the Ottawa-Hull community on staff development, we considered both attitudinal data and the expert opinions of those involved in personnel work. The attitudinal data showed that middle-level public servants generally favoured the living arrangements of the capital region, but “favoured” must be loosely interpreted. As Figure 19 reveals, the most common reaction—

Favourable reactions

Figure 19. Opinions of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments on Living in the Ottawa-Hull Area—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, “Bureaucratic Careers.”

expressed by about half the members of both language groups—was one of unenthusiastic acceptance of what the metropolitan community offered. Public servants in this category had complaints, but were not overly negative or hostile. Figure 19 also shows that a large minority of Anglophones (38 per cent) were genuinely enthusiastic about the capital region. A significantly smaller proportion of Francophones (22 per cent) felt this way. More illuminating are the reasons underlying Anglophones’ and Francophones’ attitudes of enthusiasm and tolerant acceptance. Enthusiastic Anglophones tended to emphasize two themes: the

easy availability of the "great outdoors" (for example, proximity to skiing, hunting and fishing, or cottages); and the excellence of schools and local neighbourhoods. "We have a nice house now, and it's a good place to raise a family," was a typical response.

702. Francophones, on the other hand, had little to say in favour of the school facilities (some were quite critical on this point) and fewer stressed the "great outdoors" theme. Instead, the 22 per cent of the Francophones who were enthusiastic about living in Hull or Ottawa were almost all among those who had grown up there. The reason they gave for liking their living situation stressed personal ties to relatives and friends rather than attributes of the community.

703. These attitudes are strikingly commonplace: Francophones and Anglophones alike could have been referring to any provincial city of a few hundred thousand inhabitants. Among neither group was there any enthusiasm for Ottawa in its role as a capital—that is, as a centre where stirring political, cultural, or social events take place or where beautiful buildings, avenues, or shops are found. Anglophones saw no possibility that the city might become a bicultural capital; a few did lament the lack of a vigorous French-speaking community that might give Ottawa a cosmopolitan flair, but the great majority scarcely recognized the Francophones in their midst.¹ In their view, Ottawa—like the Public Service itself—was essentially an English-language cultural environment, and they were comfortable with it just that way.

Critical
reactions

704. Predominantly unfavourable opinions of their living situation were voiced by 28 per cent of the Francophones and 16 per cent of the Anglophones; but, here again, there is a significant difference between the criticisms of the two groups. The most prevalent complaints had to do with culture (referring both to artistic activities and style of life) and educational facilities.

705. Only 20 per cent of the Anglophones criticized the lack of cultural or artistic activities, compared with 31 per cent of the Francophones.² Many Anglophones with favourable reactions to Ottawa-Hull foresaw an artistic awakening in the capital, often pointing to the coming National Arts Centre. However, while most Anglophones professed to be satisfied with the cultural opportunities in the capital, or said they didn't care about them, those with the strongest orientation towards the arts and intellectual activity were highly critical.

The Ottawa
milieu

706. The specific things that bothered this minority of 20 per cent were the lack of professional theatre, art galleries, and a good municipal library. A few referred to the lack of architectural imagination. They

¹ About 38 per cent of the population of the Ottawa metropolitan census area is of French mother tongue.

² Appendix III, Table A-48.

did not find the cultural landscape totally bleak; most could point to some small corner of artistic activity that engaged their attention or even participation. It was not so much the lack of actual cultural facilities as the styles of thinking and living that they criticized. Those concerned about the state of the arts were joined by others less artistically and intellectually oriented who wanted a more lively Ottawa. This group often showed scorn for Ottawa's lack of night life and good restaurants.

707. Others sketched their negative image of Ottawa culture in more general terms. Criticisms of "red tape" and conformity in the Public Service were easily projected into a general disdain for the "civil-service culture" of Ottawa. The remarks of a scientist in the department of Agriculture reflected the feelings of many critical Anglophones: "One thing that bothers me [about Ottawa] . . . is the apparent degree of conformity in thought and action . . . the lack of a feeling of excitement and intellectual challenge. The problem in Ottawa is the lack of excitement which comes from the mixture of people from all skills and all walks of life. . . ."

708. Francophones—especially those who came from Quebec (excluding Hull)—had both a greater variety of complaints and more deep-seated disaffection. About 35 per cent of this group were at best unenthusiastic about the area and at worst disdainful of it.¹

709. Education was a major issue: 22 per cent of the Francophones interviewed had specific complaints about the inadequacy of French-language educational facilities²—a rather high proportion, considering that some were childless and many more lived in Quebec where the right to French schools is not questioned. The education problem is even more critical than this datum suggests. Discussions with senior officers involved with personnel and recruitment problems indicated that education was a major stumbling block in the recruitment of Francophones.³ Some of the highest ranking Francophone public servants solved the education problem by sending their children to French-language private schools but, of course, this solution could satisfy only a handful. Considerable numbers—no one knows how many—simply would not consider coming to Ottawa because of the city's lack of French-language educational resources. The bitterness engendered over the education question was partly a feeling that the Francophone community in Ottawa was not getting a fair share of the existing resources and that Francophones from Ontario were therefore disadvantaged in competing for jobs.

French-language
educational
facilities

¹ *Ibid.*, Table A-49.
² *Ibid.*, Table A-48.
³ These discussions were held before the government of Ontario announced, in August 1967, that it planned to develop French-language public secondary schools in the province.

“Anglicization”

710. Whether they complain about education, cultural facilities, local politics, restaurants and night life, or the unfriendly atmosphere of the capital, many Francophones attribute the problem to “Anglicization.” Such sentiments were mainly applied to the English-language milieu of Ottawa, but it was not uncommon for the Francophone communities in both Ottawa and Hull to be so disparaged. In this respect natives of Quebec (outside of Hull) were particularly critical; in their view, even Hull and its population had been deadened by the English atmosphere of the capital. Ironically, sensitive Anglophones attributed the general style of life in Ottawa and Hull to the stultifying influence of the “civil-service mentality,” while Francophones attributed it to the “English-Ontario mentality.”

Summary

711. The majority of both language groups were relatively satisfied with the living arrangements of the capital region. In spite of this, we have concentrated this discussion on the grievances, because community factors are becoming increasingly important in the career choices of mobile, middle-level personnel and because we are convinced that the Ottawa-Hull metropolitan community has serious problems in satisfying the varied social needs of many of the most dynamic and creative of its citizens. While the problem is particularly acute for potential Francophone personnel, this should not obscure the fact that the cultural atmosphere is most unattractive to those public servants—both Francophone and Anglophone—who potentially might fill the most important positions in the federal administration.

4. Commitment to the Public Service

712. The attitudes expressed towards the promotion system as well as the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live indicated that Francophones were likely to be less committed to the Public Service than Anglophones. Table 53 shows that 27 per cent of the Francophone respondents, but only 14 per cent of the Anglophones, professed to have no commitment to the federal Public Service. The Francophones from Quebec (excluding Hull) showed a higher level of dissatisfaction with the capital as a place to live and they were also more likely to feel uncommitted to their careers in the federal Public Service.¹

Variations
between the
two groups

713. Within the two language groups it is evident that a better knowledge of the other official language is related to a desire to remain in the Public Service.² Those Francophones who had considerable ability in English were more committed; the necessity of working in English did not markedly hamper their efficiency and consequently their chances for

¹ *Ibid.*, Table A-50.

² *Ibid.*, Table A-51.

Table 53. Career Plans in the Federal Public Service

Percentage distribution of middle-level Francophone and Anglophone public servants in five departments, by their desire to continue their career in the federal Public Service—Canada, 1965

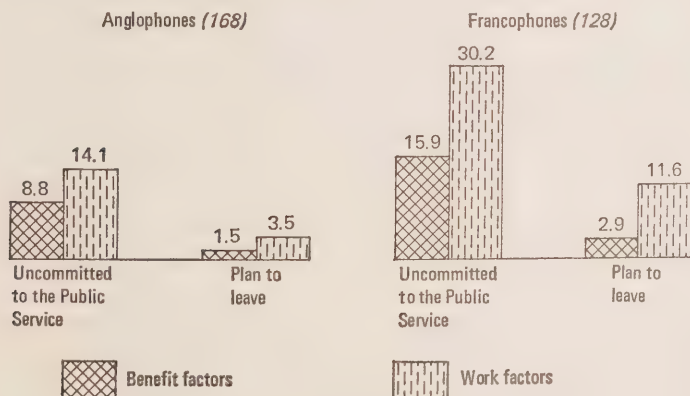
	Francophones	Anglophones
Strongly desire it	40.6	44.1
Desire it with reservations or are undecided	32.8	41.6
Do not desire it or plan to leave	26.6	14.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Sample	128	168

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

promotion. Those Anglophones who had relatively good ability in French were also more likely than their unilingual colleagues to look forward to a secure future in a Public Service that is going to become more bilingual.

714. Elsewhere it has been suggested that the most creative Francophones—those most concerned with the intrinsic challenges and enjoyment of their work—were likely to be frustrated by the Anglophone domination of both the federal Public Service work setting and the Ottawa-Hull social and cultural milieu. Figure 20 lends further support to this contention: 42 per cent of the Francophones who were attracted

Figure 20. Percentage of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments Who Are "Uncommitted" to the Federal Public Service or Who Plan to Leave it, by main reason for joining—Canada, 1965



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

to the Public Service by creative work opportunities were either uncommitted to continuing their Public Service careers or had definite plans to leave. Anglophones who were attracted to the Public Service by an interest in the work were much less likely to be disenchanted. Among those attracted to Public Service careers because of the benefits afforded rather than the work itself, the Francophones were again the more disenchanted. However, the proportions for each language group are low and the differences are not great.

E. Careers in the Public Service

1. Career development

715. Career development is the process by which employees obtain increasingly greater responsibilities while, at the same time, receiving on-the-job training and new assignments that permit the acquisition of useful skills. Until very recently, each department has operated quite autonomously, promoting its own men to fill senior positions or, as sometimes happens, recruiting its senior staff from other departments or even outside the Public Service. With the exception of External Affairs, however, no department has long-term programmes whereby its promising employees are exposed to various situations in order to prepare them for senior responsibilities. As one department of Finance official said when asked about career development programmes, "If there are any career channels it's fortuitous. I don't think there is any deliberate policy. . . . Responsibilities are so heavy in the department that those who respond are promoted very rapidly and moved about within and between divisions." This response suggests a major reason for a lack of long-term programmes: the importance of keeping the organizational structures of key departments fluid at a time when they are being rapidly transformed and are also considerably understaffed.

Career Assignment Program

716. As a response to this lack of career development programmes, the Public Service Commission in 1968 announced its first interdepartmental and service-wide scheme, the Career Assignment Program (CAP).¹ In full operation, the CAP will involve more than 100 officials in three 12-week courses, each course involving about 35 individuals. After the course, the officers will embark on a series of assignments, each of about two years' duration, with at least one of the assignments in a department other than their own. Assignments will be co-ordinated by the Career Assignment Office within the Public Service Commission.

¹ Public Service Commission and the Treasury Board, *The Career Assignment Program and You* (Ottawa, 1968).

717. Men up to 50 years of age and earning more than \$16,000 have first call on places in CAP, but once the programme is in full operation, it will be primarily addressed to officials in their early 30's earning \$11,000 or more, and of proven executive potential. Bilingualism is no initial advantage to the individual candidate for CAP, although the 12-week course is to "be conducted in a fully bilingual manner as soon as possible." Candidates will have to "be or be willing to become proficient in French and English," and intensive language training will be provided for those needing it. By January 1970, the start of the fifth course, all previous and current participants will have achieved at least the third level in the Public Service scale of language ability.

718. Language and culture have no other mention in CAP, since it was apparently conceived exclusively in terms of individual bilingualism, with no reference to cultural differences or equal partnership between Francophones and Anglophones. However, any system of personnel rotation should play an important role in the practical training of bilingual senior officials by allowing them to spend a couple of years at work in a milieu where the other official language is dominant.

719. As the Public Service operates at present, nearly all Francophones have experience in offices where English is the main language of work. Obviously needed are work settings where Francophones are a preponderant majority, so that all business can be conducted in French and Anglophones can gain practical experience in its use.

720. Until CAP moves into full operation and probably for quite a while thereafter, both horizontal and vertical movement for most officers in the Public Service will remain somewhat haphazard. Not only are some men of proven talent overlooked, but it is hard to single out those with potential early in their careers and to motivate them to aspire to top positions. The lack of clear career channels is frustrating to many middle-level officials. Asked how they would advise a young man considering a Public Service career and wishing to get to the top as soon as possible, a surprising number suggested he might be wise to seek work outside the federal administration, where it would take less time to prove himself; they felt that he would do better in the Public Service by entering in middle life.

721. How do those who have reached the upper level explain their career success? The majority of those who have spent most of their work life in the Public Service (the "non-parachutists") suggested what might be called the "big break" theory. Almost none indicated that their rise to the top involved movement through any well-defined succession of jobs or assignments. Rather, at some stage of his career—usually quite early—a successful public servant is given a key job or assignment that furnishes either crucial experience or exposure to senior officers or

Successful
careers

both. From then on movement is rapid. Once a man with potential is spotted, considerable job-switching follows: movement between departmental divisions, new assignments in different cities or an overseas posting, sometimes a switch of departments or a period of time with the Treasury Board. One "big break" may lead to an even bigger one, but such opportunities are still largely fortuitous, and for Francophones they are dependent on a mastery of the English language. If the right man happens to land in the right job, it is likely to be on the basis of a word-of-mouth recommendation from one of his superiors, not on the basis of a full-scale review of his career history with an eye to his responsibilities ten years hence.

2. Comparisons of middle-level Francophones' and Anglophones' careers

722. Data on the middle-level personnel surveyed indicated that Francophones were more likely to follow technical and semi-professional careers and Anglophones professional careers. The two groups were equally represented in administrative careers, but Francophones more often left their original professional specialization for administrative tasks. Technical and semi-professional personnel generally have lower prestige and pay than the professionals. In most departments they are either serving professionals directly or in some way facilitating their work. This means that in most work settings the duties of Francophones were more peripheral to the main goals of the department than those of Anglophones.

Variations in careers

723. As the data on education suggest, Francophones were poorly represented in the scientific, engineering, and technical areas; Francophone professionals were more likely to be lawyers or accountants. The semi-professional Francophones were more likely to be translators. Anglophones, of course, were prominent in almost all occupational areas (except translation), but research scientists in the department of Agriculture and patent examiners in the Patent Office (where almost all hold engineering degrees) were overwhelmingly Anglophone. The Patent Office was a particularly uncongenial work setting for those of French mother tongue.

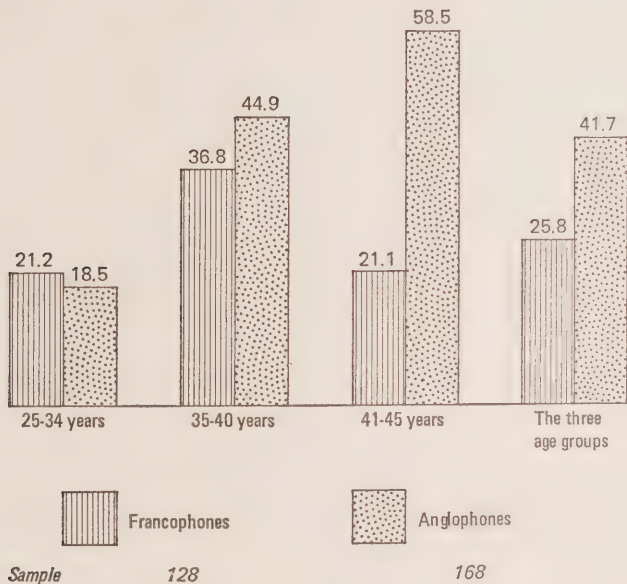
724. The variation of the two language groups at the middle-level is based on both cultural affinities and past educational opportunities. The paucity of scientific and technological professionals reflects the lack of French-language educational resources in these areas during the 1940's and 1950's. It also reflects the fact that this type of Francophone professional has always had more career opportunities available to him in the private sector. He is not as likely to have been forced by

economic circumstances to choose the Public Service as many Franco-phone technicians, semi-professionals, and administrators feel they have been. Nor has he been forced to remain in the Public Service when he found its atmosphere stifling and its personnel uncongenial.

725. An earlier comparison showed only a slight difference between Anglophone and Francophone levels of education (Figure 14). However, an important age difference does exist. Francophones tended to join the Service earlier but, despite their head start in government employment, they did not have a longer average period of service.¹

726. There was also wide variation among age cohorts. For example, 39 per cent of Anglophones but only 30 per cent of Francophones were in the relatively high-earning 41 to 45 age group. Figure 21 shows the

Figure 21. Percentage of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments Earning \$9,000 or More Per Annum, by age group—Canada, 1965



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

influence of increased age on earning power. The younger Franco-phones and Anglophones fare equally well, but the Francophones fall drastically behind in the 41 to 45 age group. Clearly, most of the

¹ However, a greater proportion had made interdepartmental moves. Appendix III, Table A-52.

Anglophones' salary advantage results from the performance of public servants in the 41 to 45 age group. Why do Francophones of this age slip so badly when the younger Francophones do almost equally as well as Anglophones? In the first place they are not as well prepared educationally, particularly lacking scientific and engineering degrees. Second, Francophone attrition rates are higher.¹ Many leave before they are 40. It is mostly the more talented ones who leave, since those with limited training and a concern for security are more likely to stay in the Service.

3. Francophones' career advancement

727. Various aspects of the Public Service facilitate or block the advancement of Francophones. As we saw earlier, there is an acute shortage of Francophones in higher-salaried positions throughout the Public Service. This situation has existed for decades, but senior officials in many departments indicated that the political pressures and publicity generated by the issue of bilingualism have had a definite impact. Almost all the officials expressed a keen interest in obtaining Francophone personnel, and many even pointed out that nowadays Francophones with ability were likely to advance more rapidly than Anglophones.

Future of
Francophones
in the Public
Service

728. This changed attitude augurs well for the future of Francophones in the Public Service. The growth of administrative rationality and the new emphasis on bilingualism have eliminated outright discriminatory practices; unconscious biases still frustrate the progress of Francophones, but we found no evidence that conscious discrimination—the denial of positions or promotions to individuals purely because they happen to be Francophones—is still practised. Moreover, bilingualism—a skill still largely monopolized by Francophones—is now taken into account in the selection of candidates for middle-level and senior positions. Some Francophones recognize these new ground rules and are optimistic for the future.

729. In short, there has been an improvement in the conditions of Francophone career development. There is also evidence that the new attitudes and practices have had a significant effect: since 1965 the number of Francophone administrative trainees has risen and, as a result of internal promotions, more Francophones appear to be moving into senior positions.

¹ The expansion of the civil service of Quebec in the 1960's has added to the normal attrition rate of Francophone officers.

730. On balance, however, extensive optimism is not warranted. In an organizational structure where the English language and culture predominate, there are still many factors blocking the progress of Francophones. The three most important involve their adjustment to settings where English is dominant, their aversion to making geographic moves outside French-speaking areas, and problems of social relations and sponsorship.

Factors
blocking
progress of
Francophones

731. At the senior levels in most large corporations and the federal Public Service in Canada, facility in English is far from being the only criterion for reaching the top, but it is a major one. In positions where much time is spent in committees and consultations and where the writing of lucid letters and memoranda is an essential skill, ease in the use of English is an indispensable qualification.

Language
difficulties

732. The majority of middle-level Francophones come from Ottawa, Hull, or nearby areas of Ontario where schooling, "outside" work, and communal life are largely conducted in English. About 42 per cent received their secondary school education, 56 received their undergraduate education, and 61 per cent received their postgraduate education either mainly in English or about equally in both French and English.¹ Among those who worked before entering the federal administration, 55 per cent were employed in a mainly Anglophone environment. The proportion jumps to 65 per cent when translators are excluded.² As well, at least 96 per cent of middle-level Francophones reported that they had fair or considerable skill in reading and understanding English,³ and fully 61 per cent of them said that they had no difficulties during their career in the federal Public Service in functioning completely in English. Therefore, on the surface, Francophones who work in the federal capital do not seem to be at a language disadvantage.

733. Such findings mask three things: the substantial proportion who do experience trouble in English; the difficulty, even for those with considerable facility, of working in a language that is not their mother tongue; and the fact that it is among the most talented Francophones from Quebec that we have found the most difficulty and frustration.

734. For many Francophones, especially those from Quebec, entry into the Public Service is often a traumatic step into a strange environment. For instance, while 49 per cent of those from Quebec (excluding Hull) said they had less than a considerable knowledge of English, only

¹ Appendix III, Table A-53.

² *Ibid.* Translators formed 18 per cent of the Francophone sample at the middle level. The education, prior work history, and present working language of this group were almost exclusively French. They were also largely isolated in one special work unit—the Translation Bureau—where Francophones predominate. We have therefore left them out of some of the calculations in order to give a more accurate image of the Francophone middle-level public servant in Ottawa.

³ See Chapter VII, Figure 5.

21 per cent of those from outside Quebec were similarly handicapped.¹ We also found that when middle-level Francophones were asked whether the use of English had caused or was still causing them difficulties in the performance of their duties, 39 per cent replied in the affirmative. Of this number, 22 per cent were still trying to overcome their difficulties, and 17 per cent claimed they had just about resolved them. Again geographic origin made a difference: 54 per cent of those from Quebec (excluding Hull), compared with 30 per cent among the non-Quebeckers, had experienced or were still experiencing difficulties. As a result, their talents were not being fully developed; they were unable to participate completely in the work process and to gain the experience and training that lead to competent performance and speedy promotions.

Effect of
English-
language
dominance on
Francophones

735. Where one language is dominant, those of another mother tongue are systematically excluded from posts of command unless they become perfectly fluent in the dominant language. Their potential is underdeveloped and they are denied an equitable share of material resources to pursue leisure-time activities and to educate and otherwise prepare their offspring for senior positions.²

736. Working in a language that is not one's mother tongue has other consequences, as sociologist Nathan Keyfitz suggests:

There can be question that this puts the French Canadian at a genuine disadvantage. Even the most attentive speaker of a language not his own will make a mistake now and again, and if he is sensitive this can, at least for the moment, destroy for him that indispensable image of himself as an effective person.³

A Francophone in an Anglophone organization develops a sense of frustration and inferiority at not being able to "put across" his ideas. Moreover, in Canada many Anglophones consider a French-speaking Canadian's language a dialect, a style of expression far removed from "Parisian" French and infused with many English elements. It is not surprising that many Francophones become alienated from their work, and are "genuinely unable to do the work as well as the English candidate wherever that work consists in large part of the manipulation of symbols in English."⁴

737. Furthermore, according to Jacques Brazeau, ... as long as they remain less than fluent in the major language, less-than-perfect bilinguals may not benefit fully from the experience which they gain through their second language. Even when they do benefit fully, they may find it difficult to bring these benefits into the areas of their life where

¹ Appendix III, Table A-54.

² E. Jacques Brazeau, "Language Differences and Occupational Experience," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXIV, No. 4 (Toronto, 1958), 532-40.

³ Nathan Keyfitz, "Canadians and Canadiens," *Queen's Quarterly*, LXX, No. 2 (Kingston, 1963), 171.

⁴ *Ibid.*

they use their own tongue. For instance, it may be hard for them to discuss in their own language—for the elucidation of their thoughts and the profit of those who are dependent on them for their education—many activities in which they participate. Among minority language groups, then, the fact that much of societal life goes on in another language may set limitations on their experience, the conceptual contents of their languages, and their manipulation of language symbols.¹

738. All persons of French background, no matter what their level of fluency in English, are penalized by one or more of these factors in settings where the majority are Anglophones. Throughout the federal administration in the capital region, all Francophones are subject to pressures to use English. The fact that it is the Francophones from Quebec who are most likely to experience difficulty should not distract attention from the general conclusion that all Francophones are at a disadvantage in the processes of evaluation and sponsorship that affect promotions in Anglophone-oriented organizations.

739. Both inside and outside the Public Service, a large range of important social activities—public events, entertainment, education, shopping, clubs, and voluntary associations—are conducted in English. This is further inducement for a Francophone to undervalue his mother tongue and also to withdraw support from French-language social and cultural organizations. On the personal level, Francophones confront a disjunction between their working lives and their private lives. Every day they are called upon to switch back and forth between two cultural-linguistic worlds. They are faced with a dilemma: assimilation or an unending struggle for cultural preservation.

4. *Entering the upper level*

740. It is especially those who have set their sights on a top position who must face Anglicization—integrating their social and even family life into the mainstream of English-language culture. For some this is an unconscious means of adaptation; for others it is a necessary but painful experience. A senior Francophone public servant, a lawyer by profession, who has been at the top in one department and has served in several others told us:

With the growth in Quebec and the great attraction of working in that province it will remain extremely difficult to attract people here. Because of educational and family problems Francophones are reluctant to come to Ottawa. When I came to Ottawa 16 years ago, the situation was considerably different than it is now. Then there was a definite movement to keep French Canadians out of top positions. To make it I had to work harder than anyone else, but it paid off. *When we moved to Ottawa I told my wife and the children that they could not call Montreal all the time and that they had to learn English.*²

¹ Brazeau, "Language Differences and Occupational Experience," 536.

² Italics ours.

Geographic
movement

741. This testimony illustrates the difficulties experienced by a Franco-phone family relocating in an English-language environment. Although their pattern of movement within the federal administration is quite similar to the Anglophones', geographic moves are a source of genuine distress. The following comments came from a fast-rising young personnel administrator who had made several moves and knew how disruptive they can be.

In the Service in general it's like this: in certain fields it is very useful for employees to obtain experience in different geographic areas—especially for the professionals in engineering and administration. So they encourage these people to move in order to acquire experience; French Canadians are not interested in moving, which may be why they have not as many chances as the English Canadians to acquire the same diversity of experience. When they move, English Canadians are assured of an environment that is not foreign to them. This is not the case for French Canadians.

742. This aversion of Francophones to moving to "a foreign milieu" often applies even to Ottawa. Upward mobility in the Public Service sooner or later necessitates coming to the capital; yet, because of the nature of the city, some Quebec-based Francophones—especially those serving in Montreal—will not consider such a move. The loss of their talents to the higher ranks of the federal administration constitutes a serious problem especially in departments, such as Public Works and National Revenue—Taxation division, where large regional bureaux exist.

Sponsorship

743. There are also difficulties in personal and social relations with Anglophone superiors and colleagues. Within the Public Service it is not always possible for Francophones to move easily between the spheres of work and social life. They may not have similar orientations in such spheres as sports, charitable work, and the arts, and as a result they may feel ill at ease, bored, disdainful, or all of these. With such feelings, many Francophones may limit or discard completely the opportunities for social intercourse that develop in their work settings. Where such withdrawal by Francophones is extensive, it restricts their opportunities for informal learning and weakens their commitment to the federal administration.

744. Because of their relative lack of interest and facility in carrying on social activities with Anglophone colleagues and superiors, Francophones are particularly disadvantaged by the system of informal sponsorship prevailing in the Public Service—especially in the key departments which are the training grounds for the élite. Sponsorship is the practice whereby senior men discover bright newcomers, "show them the ropes," give them assignments that provide crucial experience, and recommend them for positions to other senior colleagues. Naturally this process involves a good deal of personal contact outside the work setting and

sociability is important. Chiefs tend to look for prospects among those who think and feel like themselves, and the proper superior-subordinate relationship will flourish only when there is a good deal of social compatibility. This, of course, does not automatically exclude Francophone aspirants—many are “good mixers”—but, among other things, their educational backgrounds may be totally divergent, and they do not always desire to adopt their superiors’ work style.

745. Sponsorship cannot be eliminated, nor should it be. This is largely because the essential qualities for a senior public servant—sound judgement of men and events, intuition, sensitivity to political realities, and an ability to motivate others—are things that cannot always be learned in formal courses, but rather are “picked up” in informal situations. Hence, sponsorship is a natural process of career development in all large-scale organizations and is necessary for the growth of a cohesive and responsible senior directorate. Given the existing situation in the Public Service, where Anglophones occupy most senior positions, younger Francophones are disadvantaged; there are now many senior officers anxious to give them every break and encouragement, but this will only partly neutralize the disadvantage. Good will or political pressures or both will catapult some capable men to the top but, if they lack the informal training and contacts that sponsorship provides, their effectiveness will be minimal. This requisite informal training can be obtained only when compatibility and trust exist between superiors and subordinates. It seems clear, therefore, that substantial numbers of Francophones must be placed in the upper levels of the federal administration—and especially in the key ministries dealing with economic and foreign affairs—before a good supply of younger Francophones will be attracted from Quebec and elsewhere and prepared through the usual means for the assumption of senior positions.

746. There are two means of access to positions at the top of the federal administration—“political” appointments made by the government of the day through the mechanism of the Order-in-Council, and senior appointments controlled by the Public Service Commission. Sponsorship is the usual process whereby men of ability are elevated to senior positions in the federal Public Service, although it is not quite so important for entering the Order-in-Council group as for the positions below this level. A number of people are parachuted into high-level positions in the Public Service in middle or late career.

747. Straight patronage appointments through the Public Service Commission have now been largely eliminated but they occasionally occur through Order-in-Council. Originally, most “parachutists” were appointed for patronage reasons—they were given positions as rewards for loyal service to the party in power. But now other reasons are

Parachuting

uppermost, including representational considerations. With the continued pressures from various regional, ethnic, and other groups, these considerations have hardly diminished in importance. The chance to attract people with expert knowledge or outstanding administrative abilities from the business or academic communities is also a significant factor.

Advantages and disadvantages of parachuting

748. The practice of parachuting, when not abused, can provide an infusion of fresh ability and ideas into the government. It may have the further advantage of keeping the administration responsive to the general public and its elected representatives. On the other hand, when public servants in the career system are bypassed for top positions in favour of outsiders, morale and commitment throughout the hierarchy are likely to be weakened. Even when the newcomers are men of considerable ability, they hinder the development of cohesive policies and administrative procedures. When men of inferior ability are brought in for representational or patronage reasons, there is a further danger. Such appointments depreciate the prestige of those who have made a lifetime career of government service and deface the hallmark of effective government—an orientation towards service to country rather than towards private gain or narrow political advantage.

Francophone representation at the top

749. In spite of these disadvantages, the federal administration has relied heavily on parachuting to obtain senior officers, especially Francophones. The career system has failed to produce adequate numbers of Francophones for senior responsibilities: recruitment from politics, the legal profession, and the business world has always been necessary to provide visible representation at the top. For the most part, however, that representation has been little more than visible. With one or two outstanding exceptions, Francophones have not until recently been included in the ranks of the "inner circle"—that group of 15 to 20 top officials in the departments of Finance, Trade and Commerce, External Affairs, the Treasury Board, and the Privy Council who work closely with the cabinet in developing major policies.

Character of Francophone "parachutists"

750. Francophones promoted or parachuted into the upper level have generally had little impact on the dominant Anglophone ethos of the federal administration. The men available or willing to come to Ottawa have been unwilling or unable to disturb the prevailing patterns of language use or recruitment practices. Also, the Francophone parachutists, like their Anglophone counterparts, are unused to manoeuvring within the upper reaches of the federal administration. The result is that few have become dominant figures on the federal scene.

751. In the view of many senior officers the main purpose of parachuting Francophones was to legitimize the federal administration in the eyes of French-speaking Canadians. Appointees were selected who

would be relatively at ease in the "English" atmosphere of Ottawa, but who could provide at least the semblance of biculturalism to what was essentially an Anglophone organization. This is now changing. Some appointees of the last few years are aggressive and able men who clearly do not fit this pattern. But their eventual impact is still undetermined.

5. The culture of the Public Service

752. The cultural ambience of the federal administration is that of a British model adapted to the politics and technology of English-speaking Canada. It is, on the whole, an effective adaptation, but its great limitation is its lack of Francophones and, indirectly, French ways of thinking and operating. Everywhere in the Public Service there is great concern for recruiting Francophones, but the desire seems to be for men who will fit easily into the existing structure. The desire for Francophones was rarely complemented by a willingness to provide the intellectual atmosphere and working conditions for the development of their talents. Furthermore, there was apprehension that the Francophones would behave in the federal Public Service as "French Canadians." There was little recognition of the beneficial impact such Francophones might have in broadening departmental orientations. The department of External Affairs, for example, showed a limited interest in France and French-speaking Africa before 1965. The department of Finance has neglected the later developments in econometrics that have come from Francophone economists, both in France and in Quebec, and its libraries lack the leading French-language economic journals. The greatest drawback Francophone public servants must face is the cultural milieu of the federal administration: it is so overwhelmingly "English" that it is difficult for Francophones to identify with its problems or with the style of life, honour, and prestige of its officers. The result is that some Francophones either give up, drained of ambition, or simply become narrowly ambitious. Neither orientation is conducive to a successful or useful career. The Public Service must recognize the necessity of creating work milieux in which the normal language will be French, where Francophones will constitute a majority, and where their experiences will incline them to stay in the Public Service.

A British model

A. The Challenge

753. Throughout Part 2 we have presented striking evidence that the partnership between Anglophones and Francophones in the federal Public Service is by no means equal. We now wish to consider the main elements of the challenge of creating an equal partnership. Viewed objectively, the present situation reflects a long history of insensitivity, lack of insight, and neglect at both the political and the administrative levels.

754. While the federal government has a relatively well developed policy of language of service to the public, it has never had a general and coherent policy on the language of work within the federal Public Service. There are few Francophones in certain major sectors of the Public Service, notably in the key industrial, financial, and scientific sectors. Where they are present at the management level, most Francophones do not participate on an equal footing with Anglophones; therefore, the Francophone presence is weak at the key decision-making levels. Where they are physically present, their effective participation is hampered to a greater or lesser degree because they cannot work in their own language and cultural milieu. French has never enjoyed the full status of an official or practised language in the Public Service. As a result, the language and culture of French-speaking Canada have had little opportunity to take root in the vast majority of work situations in the federal administration. The Public Service has not been sufficiently aware of the intellectual traditions of Francophones and of the methods developed in the universities and research centres of Quebec and France. Another problem is that, except in Quebec, the

Shortcomings of
the present
situation

community settings of federal establishments are at present almost universally inappropriate for the maintenance and development of the French language and culture. This problem is particularly relevant in Ottawa; we touched on the situation in Ottawa in Book I of our Report,¹ and will consider it more fully in a later Book.

Language of
service to
the public

755. On the strength of these considerations we can, to some extent, answer some vital questions. Is the Francophone public served in its own language? In general the answer is "yes," but with some qualification. For example, there are often long delays in issuing French versions of publications originating in English; Francophone citizens outside Quebec experience difficulties in transacting business orally in French with the federal administration; Francophone-owned enterprises, even those in Quebec, have rarely been able to deal with the federal government in French. On the whole, however, translation services, publications policy, and, to a more limited extent, staffing of posts directly serving the public have provided for a façade of bilingualism.

Language
of work

756. Can Francophones use their language in day-to-day functions within the Public Service without penalty to their effectiveness and their careers? Here the answer is generally "no," but again with some qualification. This situation can be explained by the relative scarcity—particularly in the middle and upper levels of the federal Public Service outside Quebec—of people with a good knowledge of French. This in turn results from the absence of sufficient numbers and concentrations of Francophones at these levels and from the striking lack of French-language competence among the Anglophones. Where these conditions are reversed, as in the National Film Board and the CBC, the situation is very different.

Opportunities for
Francophones

757. Does the federal Public Service provide full opportunities for Francophones to express themselves in their work and to realize their full potential as individuals? Again the answer is generally "no." Linguistic disadvantages limit the progress of many Francophones, since the majority of those who do advance rapidly and achieve outstanding success must have a knowledge of English and must be able to work in that language. Thus, even when the Public Service bestows its highest rewards on Francophone public servants, it tends to do so by requiring that they abandon their language and cultural expression in their work situation.

Pressures
towards
assimilation

758. There are exceptions, of course, and their number has increased in recent years; but we found that most Francophones holding positions at the officer level—and many below, as well—were under heavy pressure to operate in English not only in their work, but also

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 380.

in their social life and community activities. Indeed, the influence of the Public Service is so pervasive, and the political and cultural resources of the French-speaking community in the federal capital are still so meagre, that most ambitious young Francophone public servants and their families must face the reality of acculturation, often to the point of assimilation.

759. Finally, is there adequate participation of Francophones at the key decision-making levels of the federal administration? Here again, though there has been improvement in recent years, the answer generally is "no." It is not simply that most Francophones are less effective when they have to work in English—although this does place severe limits on their opportunities. The main reasons for the weak participation of Francophones have to do with the overall administrative system—the processes of selection and promotion, concepts and evaluation of work. In all these ways, the Public Service is overwhelmingly an expression of English-speaking Canada, and it takes several years for a Francophone to integrate himself fully into this milieu.

Participation

760. All these questions go to the root of Francophone dissatisfaction with the Public Service, the ultimate costs of which are both individual and collective. On the one hand, individual Francophones have relatively limited opportunities to realize their full potential; on the other hand, all Canadians are the poorer because the federal Public Service does not draw fully on the intellectual and organizational resources of French-speaking Canada.

The costs

761. These conclusions, however, suggest neither total failure nor an absence of positive effort on the part of the federal administration to adapt to the bicultural realities of Canadian life. In fact, there have already been substantial efforts consistent with an objective of a bilingual and bicultural federal Public Service. Most are of recent origin, but some date back as far as 1918.

762. What has been missing in these developments and what we are attempting to provide is a recognition of the prerequisite of equal partnership, which so far has not been enunciated or even perceived clearly at either the political or the administrative level. This prerequisite—a bicultural Public Service—requires the coexistence and collaboration of the two cultures so that both can flourish and contribute to the overall objectives of government. We submit that this and only this condition can begin to provide for the development of an equal partnership.

Prerequisite
for equal
partnership

763. Other countries with two languages and cultures have seen clearly that there can be no equal partnership without the active

participation of both cultures in their administrations. Such participation rarely, if ever, develops on its own in the natural course of events; it is usually the result of positive government measures affecting the structure of the civil service. We do not suggest borrowing the specific structural arrangements adopted in Belgium, for example; but the principle of government intervention can be applied to Canada.¹

Shortcomings of
present federal
policy

764. If we have not achieved a bicultural Public Service in Canada, it is precisely because bilingualism in the Service has been individual and not institutional in character. Indeed, the present development of bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service is typified by the present policy of the federal administration on matters of bilingualism and biculturalism. That policy envisages the general use of language training to encourage bilingualism and the diffusion of bilingualism throughout the organization (with the encouragement of bilingual senior staff) so that the English and French languages may mix freely in most work situations—where, in effect, each individual would be completely free to use his own language without risking either ineffectiveness or affront. Clearly, this system depends heavily on the bilingualism of individuals, even though no other country with more than one language and culture has ever been able to place sole confidence in such a procedure. The nearest approach is made in South Africa, but there the two linguistic groups are more nearly comparable in size and the great majority of civil servants are bilingual. In the Canadian Public Service, because of the predominance of unilingual Anglophones coupled with the almost exclusive confinement of bilingualism to Francophones, the French language cannot develop in direct competition with English, no matter how effective recruitment and language-training programmes may be.

Development of
bilingualism and
biculturalism in
government
organization

765. Full Francophone participation in the federal Public Service requires that it receive as much attention and priority in both policy and administration as other programmes, and administrative functions of federal agencies. In such a context, bilingualism and biculturalism must be developed as organic elements of the federal government's key structures and processes. Career development that emphasizes individual bilingualism has little meaning unless there is a general programme of staff development. Furthermore, the treatment of the problem of bilingualism requires a process of enormous scope, ranging from regulation—for example, with regard to the language used in publications—to sensitive interpersonal adjustments in work situations. It requires simultaneous treatment of language training and language use. We shall present our proposals in this wide perspective. In other

¹ See Appendix VI.

words, we shall treat institutional and individual bilingualism as integral elements of an administrative system that is in a constant state of evolution.

B. The Basic Proposal: French-language Units

766. The federal Public Service should be transformed so that French will become a functioning language of work. Indeed, the transformation we foresee is similar in scope to the one involved in the introduction some 50 years ago of the merit principle in recruitment and promotion. It took decades for this principle to become a vital part of the operation of the federal Public Service. Today, the imperatives of the political situation demand that the transformation be implemented in a matter of years and months. Thus, in order to give expression to the principle of equal partnership in the federal Public Service, **we recommend that the federal government adopt the French-language unit as a basic organizational and management principle, and that it therefore provide for the creation and development, in all federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies, of organizational units in which French would be the language of work; these units would be established in a variety of locations and would be of different sizes and functions.**

Recommendation 1

767. Implementation of this sweeping proposal will present a unique and difficult challenge to the Public Service. We are fully aware of the careful planning and timing required; but we are convinced that a system of French-language units is in accordance with our terms of reference and, indeed, is the only way of ensuring "the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration." The greatest obstacle to equal partnership in the federal Public Service is not the gap in educational attainment that still exists between the two linguistic groups. The factor that most impedes a strong Francophone presence is the environment of the Public Service—its underlying assumptions and conventions, its prejudices, and, most important, its language, all of which are overwhelmingly of English-speaking Canada. To some extent, of course, this uniculturalism is based on the realities of American technological dominance. But the imperatives of technology can be contained. It is chiefly the conditions affecting the French language that cause the estrangement of Francophones in the federal administration, for language gives meaning and shape to all other aspects of the work environment.

768. The purpose of the French-language units is to change the work environment of the Public Service by ensuring that French is

fully recognized as a language of work and—even more important—is fully used in both internal and external communication. By the creation in each department of a significant proportion of work areas where the use of French is mandatory, the plan envisions the increasing presence of the language and culture of French-speaking Canada in the Public Service, the development of fully bilingual senior managers and supervisors at the top of the hierarchy, and the encouragement of acceptance and understanding of the French language and culture throughout the system.

The basic concept

769. The essential idea of the French-language unit is that its personnel—both Francophone and Anglophone—will use French as the language of work. This requirement will not entirely exclude the use of English, but it will sharply circumscribe it. Generally, only French will be used within designated French-language units and between these units and the senior officers of their departments. In communication between the French-language units and other units, a policy of receptive bilingualism will apply.

Senior
management and
supervision

770. Senior public servants in all departments and in the central agencies must be fully capable of planning and supervising the operations of French-language units. Therefore, the heads of all French-language units and all those above them—Anglophones as well as Francophones—will necessarily have to be skilled in both languages, receptively so in the immediate future and fully bilingual in the longer run.¹

Distribution
and support

771. The proportion of French-language units will vary widely throughout the federal organization, and the units will vary as to size, location, and function. However, each department should contain some French-language units, and in each department the major internal services—personnel management, administrative management, libraries, information bureaux, and legal services—will have to develop capacity in both languages.

Criteria of
implementation

772. The application of the concept of the French-language unit must also be subject to a detailed knowledge of the special conditions in each department and agency. However, certain considerations should be taken into account in the implementation of the proposed policy. First, the French-language units must perform important and integral functions within departments and agencies—they must be essential to the overall work of the department. We are not proposing a separation of the federal administration into two parallel sectors defined by language: the functional responsibilities of the units themselves we take as given,

¹ This objective of the federal government has already been enunciated by Prime Minister Pearson on April 6, 1966 (*see* Appendix II). The French-language units will provide the institutional setting in which this policy can be realized.

and change in the language régime should not alter their role. The functions remain but the language régime changes; we expect that this change will affect the way the functions are carried out.

773. Ideally, the unit structure should fully provide for upward career paths in the French language. Such prospects need not all be located in one department but should be available within the ranks of a given occupation. Although our priority is to change the working conditions in the middle and upper levels of the Public Service, we also stress the importance of extending the proposals to the entire structure of the Service. The units must also be open to Anglophones who have adequate French-language skills. Finally, the French-language units should be located in Ottawa, in Quebec, and in other communities where the French language and Francophone culture are viable or potentially viable.

774. The creation of French-language units should not have the effect of constraining the choice of Francophones to work in any unit of the federal government. Practices regarding language of service to the public should follow the proposals made in Book I regarding official-language practices. Given these considerations, we visualize three categories or kinds of French-language units: the regional unit, the headquarters unit, and the French-language cluster.

1. The regional unit

775. Regional French-language units should be possible wherever there are sufficient concentrations of Francophone employees. In Quebec, large administrative units could be designated as French-language units, while in Ontario and New Brunswick the units so designated would be smaller.

776. Given such appropriate local environments, these possibilities depend on the extent of federal decentralization or, more accurately, deconcentration. We have not made an exhaustive study of this question, but there are obvious examples of large-scale deconcentration, a recent one being the department of Public Works. Others are the departments of the Post Office, National Revenue, Manpower and Immigration, National Health and Welfare, and Agriculture. The outstanding example is the CBC, with its French-network headquarters located in Montreal. Many other departments have regional units of varying size; hence, a basis for a system of regional French-language units already exists. Moreover, to the extent that the federal government continues the current emphasis on regional problems, we can predict further administrative deconcentration.

777. What we propose is that French-language units be built into the existing regionalized system and expanded where the local environment warrants it. The location, size, and scale of such units will depend primarily on existing administrative structures; specific application will be tailored to the individual conditions of each department. However, deconcentration is not simply desirable administratively, but should also be encouraged because it will lead to Francophones' greater participation and interest in the federal administration.

English-
language units

778. At the same time, we must not lose sight of the legitimate rights of language minorities. Certainly, the language of service to the public must follow our proposals in Book I. In addition, within the large regional units in predominantly French-speaking communities, provision should be made for English-language units where members of the minority-language group can participate without relinquishing their language or cultural preferences. These English-language units, like the French-language units in areas with Francophone minorities, will have to be carefully and flexibly planned and constituted with respect to minority rights and administrative realities.

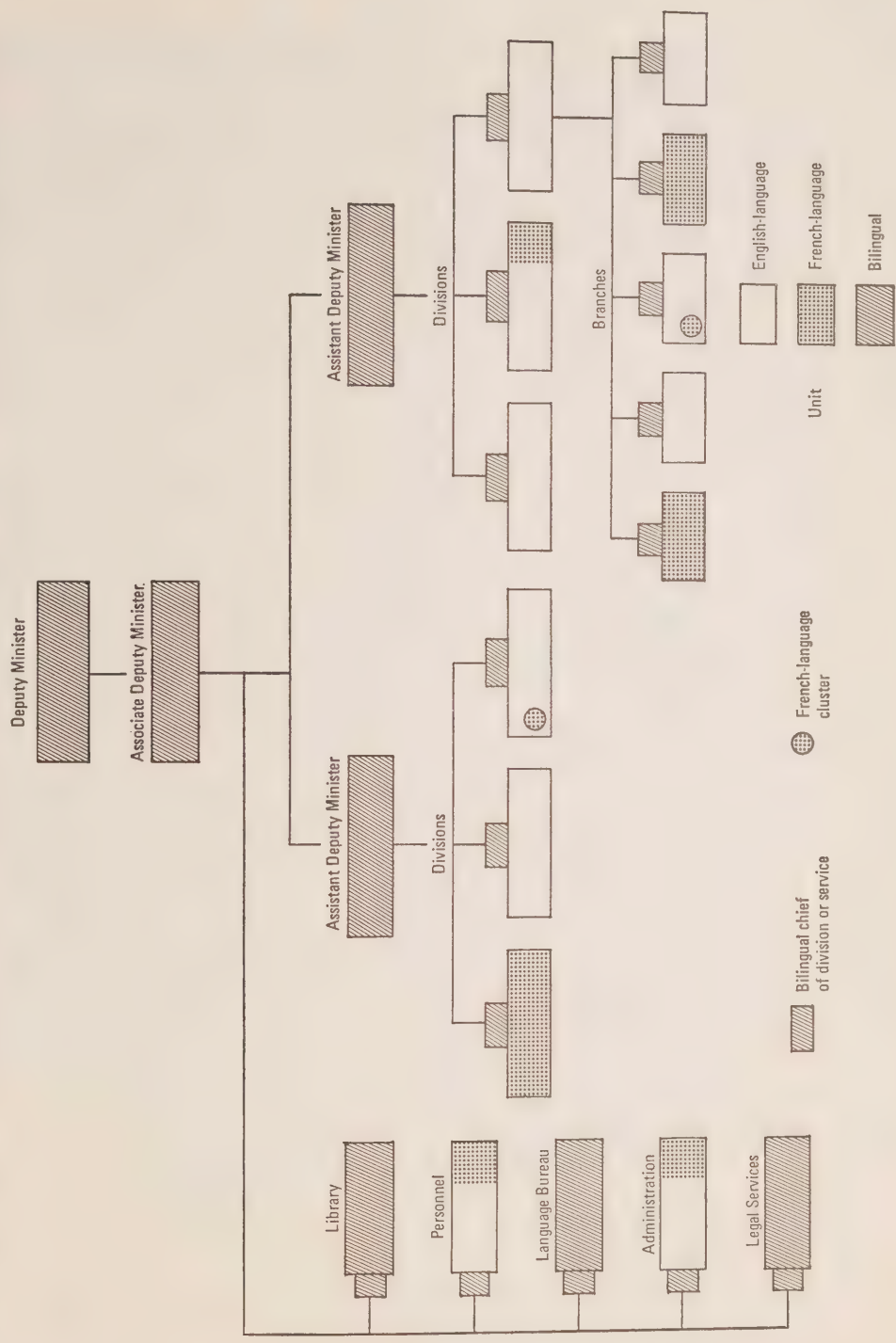
779. One fact will make the proposed change easier. Although regional French-language units have not yet been specifically designated, in some regional offices French is now gaining ground as a language of work. This has come about more as a local response to community environment than as a result of systematic departmental policy. An example which more clearly approaches our proposal has been Canadian National's experimental establishment of French-language units in Montreal and Quebec City.

780. Finally, we observe that the use of French in the regional offices has not led to a bilingual institution at the centre. The regional unit with all of its opportunities will not, by itself, be sufficient. But, if it is a large and important segment of a particular department or agency, it will do much to attract and hold Francophones.

2. The headquarters unit

781. A regional unit cannot provide as high a level of opportunity, especially in the key decision-making areas of departments, as can the headquarters unit. The headquarters French-language unit is therefore designed partly as a means of achieving effective Francophone participation at the highest levels of the Public Service. Most such units, because of existing circumstances, will be located as minority elements in a predominantly English-speaking institution and in a federal capital where the community's predominant cultural environment is at present

Figure 22. Institution of the System of French-language Units in the Headquarters of a Department (theoretical model)



alien to Francophones. The role of the headquarters French-language unit within a department is illustrated in Figure 22.

782. The basic principle is that entire existing units of administration at the branch or division level will be designated as French-language units. These units should exist in each department and should play an important role in the formulation and implementation of policy. However, it is not essential that each department provide complete career possibilities in French, so long as there are sufficient units in the central system as a whole to permit full careers for French-speaking public servants. Therefore, it will be necessary to design career systems in professional and other occupational streams.

3. The cluster

783. The cluster is smaller than either of the units already described. It is designed for situations where complete French-language units would not be practical but where the function does break down organizationally into small work groups. We have in mind, in particular, specialized activities in the social, physical, and biological sciences. Although the cluster is structurally informal and small, it is important because of the essential role of science and research in modern government. These disciplines now constitute a critical area of unequal partnership, partly because of the limited opportunities they offer for working in the French language.

784. One example of a deliberate federal policy consistent with our basic recommendation is the government's decision in June 1967 to encourage the development of what we are describing as French-language clusters. This decision related to professional, scientific, and technical personnel and provided that the Special Secretariat on Bilingualism and the Public Service Commission should work with scientific departments and agencies to identify assignments and projects where Francophones might work in their own language. To facilitate the implementation of the policy, the government proposed that a high priority be given to second-language training of supervisory employees in each unit where such clusters were formed.

Service units

785. The proposed plan requires that the service units of each department develop capacity in both languages. Specifically, we envisage two types of arrangements, based primarily on the size of the unit. In the larger service bureaux responsible for such tasks as personnel administration and administrative services, parallel French- and English-language sections would be formed. This is the first type of arrangement. The second type applies to the smaller service units—those unlikely to have more than six or seven employees at the officer

level and frequently only one or two. The small size of these units would preclude their division into two sections, but we could expect most, if not all, of the personnel to be fully bilingual and to work regularly in both languages. Examples of the smaller units include libraries and legal branches.

786. Whichever type of arrangement is applied, the service unit must remain an entity functioning under one director and using one set of procedures. Directives, for example, would be produced simultaneously in each language but from the same terms of reference and subject to review by a bilingual supervisor.

787. The French-language units will thus be of three types: regional units, headquarters units, and clusters. In each department and agency, the auxiliary services used by both groups should have two parallel sections or should be fully staffed by bilingual personnel. These structures are as essential to the reforms which the government has already initiated as to those we shall propose. Finally, we foresee the possibility that English-language units may be needed in areas where French becomes the predominant language of work. Therefore, **we recommend a) that in each federal department, Crown corporation, and other agency, there be established French-language units (regional, headquarters, and/or cluster types) which correspond to existing units in their functions and organizational arrangements; b) that service units be reorganized into English- and French-language sections or in other appropriate ways to provide the normal range of services in both English and French; and c) that, within the larger regional French-language units, provision be made where necessary for the establishment of English-language units organized on the same pattern as the French-language units.**

Recommendation 2

788. Our first two recommendations provide the basic instrument of institutional bilingualism in the federal Public Service. One further major element still needs to be added: a Francophone presence is required at the highest policy level. Installation and development of the French-language units are unrealistic without a strong Francophone voice at the centre.

Francophone presence at the policy level

789. Because the need for active and effective Francophone participation at the highest levels is urgent, we propose an interim measure pending the formation of French-language units. The number of career Francophones in the Public Service can be expected to increase with improvements in staff evaluation, development, and promotion. Our objective, in the meantime, is to ensure balanced Francophone and Anglophone participation at the highest levels of departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies. Therefore, **we recommend that the**

Recommendation 3

appointments to the posts of deputy minister, associate deputy minister, assistant deputy minister, and equivalent positions in Crown corporations and other federal agencies be administered so as to ensure effectively balanced participation of Anglophones and Francophones at these levels.

790. This is a modification of the traditional view of the merit system. However, we have documented the fact that, in practice, the system is continually being modified, particularly at these levels. The positions included are not numerous and some of them are already excluded from standard appointment processes—that is, they are not formally part of the merit system. Moreover, there is no question that fully competent Anglophones and Francophones capable of filling these positions can now be found either within or outside the Public Service. Our proposal does not signal a new departure but rather provides that demonstrably useful and acceptable departures be used to effect balanced participation of Anglophones and Francophones at the highest levels of the Public Service.

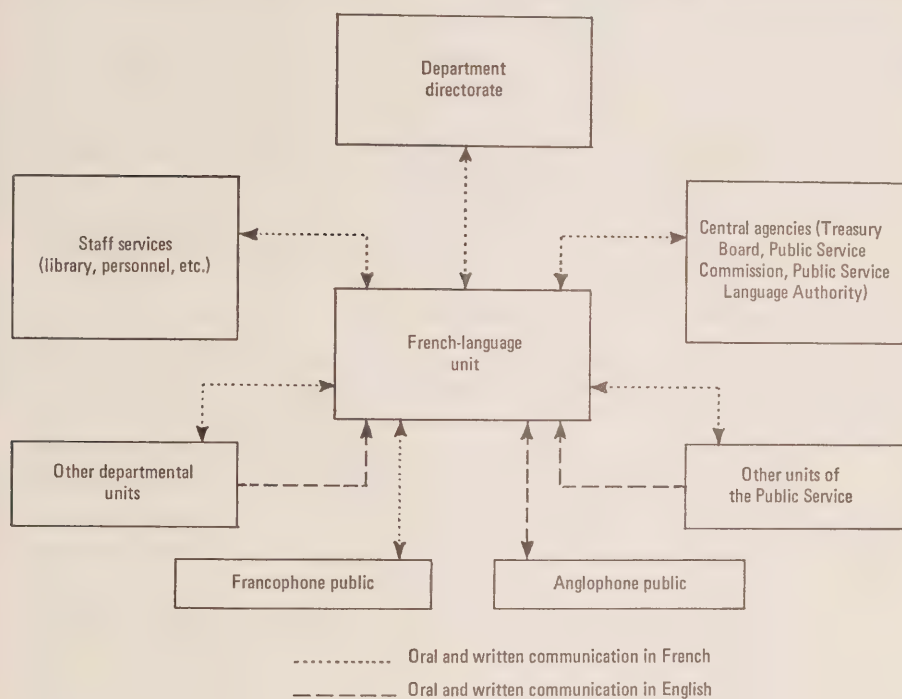
791. The balancing process is not a question of numbers or percentages. The appropriate ratio in one department is not necessarily the appropriate ratio in another. Our proposal does not impose a formal system of quotas or ratios, but this approach might conceivably be used if the proposed adaptation fails.

Recommendation 4

792. The principle of balanced participation should be extended to all federal planning and advisory bodies. For example, a device of growing importance is the task force, introduced to stimulate and advise on major policy or organizational changes. This is an essential area for high-level Francophone participation and a means for recruiting highly competent Francophones for vital functions in the Public Service. **Therefore, we recommend that on all federal planning and advisory bodies, including task forces, there be effectively balanced participation by Anglophones and Francophones.**

793. The objective of the language-unit system is not to hinder the acquisition and use of both languages; it is rather to develop a situation where French will be used as an effective language of work. From this minimal base there will be opportunities for the use of the French language to be extended, since the French-language units will have to be integrated into the overall system. Clearly, individual bilingual competence will be necessary in the communication links between French-language units and other units, and in the development of policy. Bilingualism must be required of all individuals who supervise such units and all internal service agencies must be capable of functioning in both languages.

Figure 23. Languages Used in Communication to and from the French-language Unit



Elements of a
bilingual
institution

794. To sum up, the elements of a bilingual institution are balanced participation of Francophones and Anglophones up to the highest levels; units whose main language of work is French and units whose main language of work is English, both under the direction of bilingual officers; and service units capable of performing their functions in both languages.

C. The Language Régime

Recommendation 5

795. The system we propose envisages that French will be the language of internal and external communication for French-language units; that is, it will be the main language of work. To ensure this, we recommend **a) the use of French in written and oral communications from the French-language units to other units in the Public Service; and b) the use of either language in written and oral communications originating from within the Public Service and addressed to the French-language units.** The main patterns of communication are illustrated in Figure 23.¹

Use of French
outside the
French-
language units

796. These adaptations regarding language practices have been devised to facilitate the operation of the system of French-language units. French will also be used in many less formally defined work situations. In a more formal context, horizontal communications between French-language units and other areas of the Public Service will necessarily involve some use of French. The language-unit plan is not intended to confine the use of French but rather to provide the minimum support for its survival in the Public Service.

797. As we recommended in Book I, the language used in external relations with the public will depend on the wishes of the individual or organization communicating with the unit. This, of course, applies to the Public Service as a whole. For the French-language unit it means individual bilingual capacity to the extent necessary for service to the public.

798. In oral communications with other units, the French-language unit will use French; the other units may choose either English or French. However, we recognize that until other units find the bilingual personnel to fill the positions that involve communication with French-

¹ There may well be exceptions to the rule that French be the internal language of work in the French-language units. For example, one such exception might arise from the fact that the federal administration is from time to time involved in complex technical transactions with the Anglophone business community. These negotiations frequently require lengthy submissions, some of which may come within the purview of a French-language unit. In such cases the unit may prefer—and should be permitted—to do its work of evaluation and advice in English. However, this procedure should be considered an exceptional practice.

language units, the latter will undoubtedly be obliged to speak English with their associates in other units. This situation should disappear within a period of two or three years.

799. In the short run we can assume no more than receptive bilingualism in many supervisory personnel. Thus, while a French-language unit will be able to use French in its written and oral communication with, for example, its assistant deputy minister, it should be prepared to receive messages from him in English. Receptive bilingualism may in some cases require translation service, but this would be an acceptable measure until a fully bilingual order can be attained.

800. Nevertheless, the interim arrangements and exceptions noted above should not hinder the implementation of the fundamental principle: that the language of work in French-language units should be French. These units must have immediately available to them French versions of documents and manuals in general or department-wide use. All new notices, directives, and forms must be issued simultaneously in both official languages, and the highest priority must be given to the translation of similar documents in current use. Therefore, **we recommend a) that within two years all notices, directives, forms, and other formal written information and instructions (except manuals) used within federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies be made available in both languages and that, effective immediately, new documents of this kind be issued simultaneously in French and English; b) that within five years all manuals now in use be translated into French and that, beginning immediately, all new manuals be issued simultaneously in both languages; and c) that the order of priority for the translation of such documents be determined in accordance with the needs of the French-language units.**

Recommendation 6

801. When the same documents are prepared separately in the two languages, they should be available in each region or branch simultaneously, in quantities according to the linguistic composition of the staff. Existing Public Service Employment Regulations require this principle for notices of employment opportunities; our recommendation extends this rule to cover all written communications to department- or Service-wide groups.

802. One element in the work situation which should also receive early attention is employee-employer relations in matters relating to the employees' status, employment, discipline, and general directives for work. French-language personnel services should be available to every Francophone in every department and agency, even those not in French-language units. **We recommend the immediate amendment of the Public Service Employment Act and its Regulations, of collective**

Recommendation 7

bargaining agreements between the federal administration and its employees, and of similar laws, regulations, and agreements affecting the Crown corporations and other federal agencies, to require that communication in the general area of employee-employer relations take place in either English or French, according to the choice of the employee.

Language
requirements of
positions

803. In order to ensure full implementation of the proposed language régime, the language content of positions in the Public Service must be defined, taking into account the existence of the French-language units which we have recommended. All positions should be reviewed and evaluated in terms of their specific language requirements which, once defined, would become an element of both job description and qualification.

804. Three features of the system of French-language units make the adoption of this measure necessary: first, the requirement that the service units of each department use French in their relations with the French-language units; second, the probability that these French-language units will have to follow the rules of receptive bilingualism in their dealings with some other units of the Public Service; and finally, the stipulation that the Public Service as a whole, including the new French-language units, continue serving the public in both official languages. Positions with special language requirements would generally command higher salaries than positions with similar responsibilities but in which only one language is used.

Existing
inequities

805. For decades the federal Public Service has been guided by a restricted concept of merit that was doubly inequitable. On the one hand, it ignored the linguistic and cultural disadvantages under which French-speaking public servants laboured; on the other hand, it refused to acknowledge that language skills might be generally relevant to work effectiveness in a bilingual country. Merit, efficiency, and the promotion system were identified with administration in one language and one language only—English.

806. This concept has lost considerable ground in recent years, but it still holds sway in many areas of the Public Service. In any case, we fully expect that the introduction of the language criterion for each post should permanently put to rest the idea that language skills are not linked with efficiency.

Recommendation 8

807. In 1966 the federal administration introduced bonuses for bilingualism in certain restricted categories of clerical personnel. The application of this policy has been subject to certain abuses because of the lack of clearly defined standards. Salary should not be determined by the bilingualism of the individual, but rather by the effec-

tive use of the two languages at work. **We recommend that all positions throughout the federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies be classified as to language requirements, and that these requirements be specifically taken into account in the determination of remuneration.** There will be a period of transition during which it will be difficult to fill all positions requiring the use of the two languages. Obviously, a unilingual incumbent will not receive the remuneration provided for a bilingual occupant of the position.

808. Only those positions where use of the two official languages is part of the daily routine should qualify as positions with special language requirements. Before they assume such positions, potential incumbents must demonstrate, generally by means of formal examination, that they possess the requisite oral and written skills in both official languages. The Public Service Commission has made substantial progress in developing tests of language skill. This work should be extended and accelerated. The evaluation of the language content of each position should be sensitive enough to distinguish between those positions where receptive bilingualism is required and those where full bilingualism is required, with a higher salary allowed for the latter type. Beyond this, evaluation of language requirements should also distinguish between levels of language usage. For example, the elevator operator uses a very limited and highly repetitive oral vocabulary in his work, but an immigration officer needs a far more extensive and varied vocabulary. Similarly, those in planning and policy-making positions require a broader general vocabulary than public servants in purely operational posts. Adjustment in remuneration should not extend to the senior ranks of the organization where knowledge of the two languages will be a requirement for entry; nor should it extend to areas of the Public Service, such as the Translation Bureau, where bilingualism defines the function. Finally, the language requirements for a given position or group of positions should be defined and reviewed by the two new administrative agencies proposed later. Since the language requirements for positions will undoubtedly change with the passage of time, a continuous audit will be needed.

Determining
bilingual positions

D. Second-language Facilities: Training and Translation

809. The language régime we have projected involves an operational need for the acquisition of second-language skills and a new role for translation as an effective communication facility. French-language training would be made available to those Anglophones who expect to assume positions in French-language units, positions in service units

Recommendation 9

that require bilingual skills, positions in other units that involve dealing directly with the French-language units or the French-speaking public, and senior supervisory positions. English-language training would be made available to Francophones on a similar basis. All training should be tied to the language requirements for the various positions. Therefore, **we recommend that the Language Training Directorate adapt the teaching of French and English to the needs of the French-language and English-language units.**

Recommendation
10

810. In addition, **we recommend that language training for federal public servants increasingly emphasize receptive knowledge.** This recommendation does not preclude the development of full bilingualism, and particularly for those being groomed for upper-level positions (for example, presidents and vice-presidents of the Crown corporations, deputy ministers and assistant deputy ministers, and branch or division heads). The implementation of these proposals should bring about a considerable reduction in the number of students enrolled in second-language training, particularly in French-language courses, and will lead as well to a redefinition of the teaching programme.

811. The Public Service Commission is continually re-examining and improving its language-training programme. We are particularly impressed by the fact that, since September 1968, the Language Training Directorate has been phasing out the one-hour-a-day French courses and replacing them with the more intensive total- or partial-immersion courses.

Recommendation
11

812. The Directorate has also been concerned that the vocabulary used in its French courses reflect the usage of French Canada rather than France. But this concern should be carried a step further: the public servant should acquire a vocabulary that is useful in his work. Therefore, **we recommend that the Language Training Directorate accelerate, at all levels of instruction, the development of courses using vocabulary appropriate to the work of Canadian public servants.** Visual material and vocabulary presently being used in the VIF courses¹ should be replaced with materials drawn from work situations in the Public Service.

Recommendation
12

813. It would not be fair to expect that Francophones who have received their professional training in English and who have worked in this language ever since they entered the federal Public Service should overnight become able to carry out their work in French. Such a change from one language to the other, without a period of transition, might well damage the quality of French used in the Public Service. It is one thing to encourage the use of French, and therefore its ex-

¹ See § 499 ff.

tension; it is another to ensure that the French used in the federal Public Service is of a quality equal to "international French." At the same time, young Francophones entering the federal Public Service may need appropriate courses to introduce them to administrative French. Therefore, **we recommend a) that the Public Service Commission's Language Training Directorate establish, as a matter of priority, courses to improve the French used by the federal administration, and b) that these courses be made available primarily to those Francophones and fully bilingual Anglophones who have assumed or intend to assume positions within a French-language unit, or positions which require regular communications with Francophones.**

814. To provide effective training or retraining in technical French, a knowledge of French terminology is essential. It has been, after all, a relatively unused language in the federal Public Service. Therefore, **we recommend that immediate and urgent attention be given to the preparation of a bilingual glossary of terminology appropriate to work in the Public Service.** Some valuable work has been done in this area in the Translation Bureau and by individual departments, but it needs to be extended significantly and systematized for the Service as a whole.

Recommendation
13

815. In the developmental phase of institutional bilingualism, two requirements—the translation of departmental documents and manuals, and the maintenance of language integrity within the French-language units—indicate that the translation work load will increase. This increased demand may subside, however, as knowledge of French improves and basic documents are translated. In the meantime it will undoubtedly be necessary to strengthen the resources of the translation services and to ensure that the translators' time is not being wasted with unnecessary work such as the translation of letters for filing purposes only. **We recommend a) that the practice, current in many federal government departments, of translating as a matter of routine all letters and documents written in French cease immediately; b) that the federal government increase its support of translation courses at universities; and c) that the programme of financial aid for students of translation be accelerated and expanded.**

Recommendation
14

816. Problems in translation are by no means confined to the translation load. The quality of translation is often unsatisfactory. Better translators and more reasonable work loads will help the situation. So, too, will the preparation of good glossaries. Consideration must also be given to the organization of specialized skills in translation which relate to the many specialties found in the Public Service. While this difficulty has been partly overcome by the second-

Specialized
translation skills

ing of translators from the Bureau to individual departments, it is a problem not only of organization but also of personnel. Therefore, specific attention should be given to the development of translators who have at least some technical knowledge of the field to which the documents they are translating refer. Such translators, who would be highly qualified and well paid, could be responsible for quality control over a number of translators working within the same general subject area.

Recommendation
15

817. One of the most useful measures to improve the quality of the French language in the Public Service would be to encourage the drafting of documents in French. **We recommend that the practice of original drafting in French be encouraged and that there be an end to the federal administration's current practice of originating almost all texts in English and subsequently translating them into French.**

E. Staffing the System

Attracting and
retaining
Francophone
personnel

818. A basic aim of the system of French-language units is to improve the ability of the federal Public Service to attract and retain promising Francophones. But the implementation of this system—and especially the staffing of the first French-language units—is likely to strain the available resources of Francophone personnel. In the regional units, staffing problems should be minimal, since most of the necessary personnel are now available. But in most of the headquarters units and clusters that will be designated French-language areas, only a small proportion of the present staff is French-speaking, so personnel will have to be transferred. For the most part these transfers will be handled through the normal procedures of the Public Service but, if the units are to be viable, their personnel must be able to work in French.

819. Given the present lack of bilingual and French-speaking public servants—especially in middle- and upper-level headquarters posts—substantial numbers of such people will have to be recruited. It might be easiest to do this by encouraging those federal public servants now working in Quebec to transfer to Ottawa and, at the same time, to increase the recruitment of Francophones into the regional offices. But this may prove difficult, since individuals with careers in the regional service are generally older and less mobile than younger university graduates. Furthermore, the regional service may be weakened by the process. Finally, we have observed that a key factor is the limited pool of qualified and available Francophones—a scarcity which, in certain important fields, is acute.

820. Opportunities for academic training in public administration in Canada are particularly meagre. Some well-developed programmes do exist—for example, at Carleton University, Laval University, and the University of Saskatchewan—and courses in this field are offered at many other universities. However, Canadian public servants are still usually trained in what can only be described as on-the-job apprenticeships. The advanced training they do receive at the graduate and specialist levels is often gained at foreign universities. In France and many other countries, by contrast, training in public administration is highly developed and productive.

Training
in public
administration

821. Viewed in the light of the increasingly technical and complex role of government in modern society, an impressive argument can be made for far greater emphasis in Canadian universities on studies of government and public administration. Greater support of research and scholarship is required in these areas, and individual courses and major programmes are needed to sensitize students to the myriad problems of modern government, whether they intend to become public servants or not. The increased role of all levels of government in our social and economic life makes study programmes of this type particularly urgent, and it is essential that the representatives of both provincial and federal governments co-operate with academic officials in their initiation. Therefore, **we recommend that specific discussions among university, federal, and provincial representatives be initiated for the purpose of expanding programmes for teaching and research in public administration.** Such programmes should be designed to provide financial assistance and employment to both undergraduate and graduate students while they are studying. Those enrolled in these programmes should be required to pursue studies in both official languages. The programmes would include the exchange of students between French- and English-language universities, as well as between universities and federal and provincial governments for summer and pre-career employment.

Recommendation
16

822. The major staffing problem involves the enlargement of the potential number of French-speaking recruits. There are many difficulties in recruiting this group and some of these factors are quite unrelated to particular staffing and recruitment policies. However, there are a number of inadequacies in present recruiting practices, and this situation must be improved.

Recruiting
Francophones

823. One potential source of Francophone recruits that has not been exploited is other French-speaking countries. Our data on public servants born outside Canada show that up to now these countries

Recommendation
17

have been at most a minor source. **We recommend that the federal government's recent efforts to recruit qualified people from France and other French-speaking countries be both intensified and expanded.** This will mean applying rigorously the full range of recruiting techniques, including contact with French-language universities outside Canada, advertising in French-language media, and sending specialists in recruiting and immigration to French-speaking countries.

Value of
generalists as
administrators

824. The current stress in the federal administration—and in all large-scale industrial organizations—is on the recruitment and promotion of personnel with highly specialized qualifications. Those who have received a general education in the field of the humanities are given somewhat lower priority. To be sure, both specialists and generalists are needed; but the relative lack of concern within the federal administration for the education, recruitment, and career development of generalists is, in our view, unfortunate. We suggest that this be reappraised in light of the growing need for administrators intellectually equipped to weigh and assign priorities and to plan and co-ordinate related specialized units—administrators are in effect equipped to meet the increasingly complex and difficult challenges of modern management.

Recommendation
18

825. The relatively greater stress on the humanities in Canada's French-language universities should be viewed more positively. By the same token, there are strong reasons for increased efforts both to recruit Francophones trained in these institutions and to promote them to middle- and upper-level positions. **We recommend that the actual process of recruiting for federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies involve more direct contact between senior public servants and placement officers, faculty, and students in French-language universities.**

Recommendation
19

826. The process of evaluation is a key element at every stage of a public servant's career. In its application to the recruit its importance is obvious, but it is no less important at later stages when promotion or transfer is involved. It is for this reason that we think greater efforts should be made by the Public Service Commission and departmental teams to evaluate Francophones in their own language and in accordance with their own cultural characteristics. **We recommend a) that the process of testing and selecting candidates for federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies take into account the differing linguistic and cultural attributes of Francophone and Anglophone applicants; and b) that interviews and examinations related to recruiting, evaluation, and promotion of Francophones be conducted in French by public servants fluent in French, unless the candidate or employee opts for English.** This must not imply any restriction on the

examination of the candidate in terms of his competence to work in both languages if the position he is seeking requires it.

827. This recommendation becomes operable with the implementation of our proposals for the establishment of French-language sections in departmental personnel units and in the Public Service Commission. The appointment of bilingual senior supervisors will complete the adaptation of the promotion system to the needs of Francophones. There must also be sensitivity and action consistent with these two recommendations in relation to the recruiting of experienced professional and technical personnel. For example, the tendency to call on Anglophone private management firms as recruiting agents for the Public Service does not and cannot yield effective recruitment from the Francophone population.

828. While recruiting and source of supply are fundamental to a staffing policy, an equally important element is staff training and development. In this area the French-language unit is vital to the presence and participation of Francophones at a level commensurate with their capacity. Working in French will substantially reduce, if not eliminate, the barriers to effective work and career improvement created by working in a second language and a second cultural milieu. By encouraging recruitment of Francophones, the programme of French-language units will lead to substantial progress towards equal partnership in staffing—with immense benefit for the Public Service. But it is obvious that Francophones should not be required to work in French-language units, nor should Anglophones work as completely in English as they generally do under the present régime. If the federal Public Service is to be bilingual and bicultural, there must be an increase in the sensitivity of the entire organization to the duality of Canadian life.

Staff development

829. Major problems under the new plan will include developing a thoroughly bilingual management and finding sufficient numbers of bilingual Anglophones. This will mean that a language component will have to be built into staff training programmes. Such training should provide for the systematic intermingling of Francophones and Anglophones in order to expose each group to the language and culture of the other. The present practices of rotating talented personnel, especially those who are considered to have the potential for senior responsibilities, must be extended to Francophones as well as Anglophones; both must be encouraged to spend some of the formative years of their careers working in the other official language. **We recommend a) that the practices of staff rotation in the Public Service be extended to include the movement of personnel with the requisite language skills from one language environment to the other; and**

Recommendation
20

b) that all Public Service training and development programmes provide for the same opportunities in French as in English.

Recommendation
21

830. To facilitate this type of movement and, even more important, to help remove a major source of frustration experienced by Francophone public servants, we propose that the principle of educational allowances for employees' children be introduced. This practice is not new to the federal administration: Canadian Forces personnel and diplomats posted in other countries or in parts of Canada where adequate educational facilities in their own language are not available are given an allowance to defray the cost of educating their children elsewhere. Given the paucity of French-language elementary and secondary schools throughout much of English-speaking Canada, Francophone public servants and their families have faced similar hardships. This state of affairs is obviously an impediment to the mobility of personnel: not only is it harmful to the Public Service, it is also patently unfair to Francophones who do move away from French-speaking communities in order to make progress in their careers. Therefore, **we recommend that a system of educational allowances be introduced to help defray the costs of elementary and secondary education for the children of Francophone or Anglophone public servants who accept posts in places within Canada where adequate educational facilities in their own language are not available.**

F. Administrative Structures for Adaptation to Equal Partnership

831. In our Book on the official languages we declared that all citizens have the right to deal with all parts of the federal government in either of the two official languages. We recommended the establishment of bilingual districts in areas "where the official-language minority attains or surpasses 10 per cent," and the creation of the post of Commissioner of Official Languages.

Official
Languages Act

832. We have been gratified that the federal government has accepted our recommendations in its Official Languages Act,¹ which confers equal status on English and French. It states "The English and French languages are the official languages of Canada for all purposes of the Parliament and Government of Canada, and possess and enjoy equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all the institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada."² The Act provides for each department, Crown corporation, and other agency to take measures to ensure that "the public can obtain available

¹ S.C. 1969, 17-18 Eliz. II, c.54.

² *Ibid.*, s.2.

services from and can communicate with it in both official languages.”¹ It also defines the criteria for establishing the bilingual districts² and provides for the appointment of a Commissioner of Languages who will be, as we have recommended, the protector of the Canadian public in matters of language.³

833. The application of the measures relating to the linguistic aspects of the government’s relations with the public has been entrusted to the department of the Secretary of State. The Commissioner of Official Languages will be responsible for overseeing the application of the Official Languages Act and for protecting the rights of the citizen. It remains for us to suggest means for establishing French as a language of work in the Public Service, according to the linguistic régime which we have outlined in this chapter.

Application
of the law

834. First, we must decide whether the administration of this linguistic régime should be entrusted to an existing body such as the Treasury Board, the Public Service Commission, or the department of the Secretary of State. We reject this solution, at least for the present. Because the implementation of institutional bilingualism will be such an arduous responsibility, the body chosen would be in danger of allowing itself to be diverted from its present objectives. On the other hand, the burdens of its present functions might prevent such a body from addressing itself to its new task with sufficient speed and vigour. In our opinion, a new body must be created. However, we do not rule out the possibility that, once the régime has been implemented throughout the Public Service and the administrative machinery is operating effectively, the administration of the régime may be entrusted to a presently existing body such as the Treasury Board. By that time the language factor will have been accepted as a basic element of administrative and personnel policies.

835. Because the new linguistic régime applies to all federal departments and bodies, we believe that the institution responsible for implementing it ought to have a measure of independence rather than be answerable to any particular department. There are two possible solutions: first, it could be attached to the Privy Council, as the Special Secretariat on Bilingualism was in the past; alternatively, the new body might be given a status similar to that of the Public Service Commission, which reports directly to Parliament but retains a large measure of independence from individual departments and the government as a whole. The danger in this solution is that, because of its relative independence, the body might not be closely enough associated

Recommendation
22

¹ *Ibid.*, s.9(1).
² *Ibid.*, ss.12-8.
³ *Ibid.*, ss.19-34.

with the Public Service to carry out the required reforms. If this suggestion were adopted, it would be advisable to attach to this organization a consultative liaison committee consisting of five or six deputy ministers of major departments. Whichever solution is adopted, we **recommend the creation of a Public Service Language Authority. This new body will be responsible for: a) planning, implementing, and maintaining institutional bilingualism; b) acting as a guide for the government as a whole and giving encouragement to the individual components of the Public Service, including departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies; c) co-ordinating, aiding, and overseeing the activities of departmental language bureaux; d) defining general translation policy; and e) undertaking continuing research into the programme of institutional bilingualism and evaluating the results of the programme.**

836. This authority will replace the Special Secretariat on Bilingualism. It will supersede the Public Service Commission in dealing with linguistic matters other than formal language training. We considered the advisability of proposing the transfer of the language-training programme to the Language Authority, since there were strong and obvious arguments for integrating the whole process relating to language and culture. The difficulty is that language training is a very important part of career development in the broad sense. Therefore, we concluded that the responsibility for language training should be left with the Public Service Commission for the time being. However, it is possible that experience with this arrangement may lead the authorities to decide that language training should become the responsibility of the Public Service Language Authority.

837. The Language Authority will function like agencies such as the Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission, each of which has, in its own field, general jurisdiction over the Public Service as a whole. The responsibility and jurisdiction of the Public Service Language Authority will also extend to the Treasury Board, the Public Service Commission, and the Crown corporations in matters of bilingualism.

838. Although the general jurisdiction proposed for the Public Service Language Authority is very broad, the agencies and departments of the federal administration are so diverse in their organization, work methods, and responsibilities that no central agency could alone implement and supervise a uniform linguistic régime.

839. The Public Service has already recognized in principle the need for specialized attention in each department. Most departments now have advisers on bilingualism who are concerned with the language question, but they are usually individuals in departmental personnel

Departmental
language bureaux

Recommendation
23

branches; many of them have been able to devote only part of their time to language problems. They have no resources with which to work, limited terms of reference, and little or no access to the key levels of decision-making. Therefore, **we recommend that within each federal department, Crown corporation, or other agency, a language bureau, reporting directly to the deputy minister or his equivalent, be created and given the responsibility for planning, implementing, and maintaining a system of institutional bilingualism and for performing within the department the functions assigned to the Public Service Language Authority.**

840. The head of each language bureau will have the rank of branch director. The main functions of the bureaux would be planning and supervising the language régime according to geographic, occupational, and functional requirements; working out procedural systems; facilitating the process of adaptation to the new régime in every way possible; ensuring the maintenance of an up-to-date French-language terminology appropriate to the work of their departments; and representing their departments in liaison with other governmental agencies concerned with language. These last include the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, the Public Service Commission, and the Translation Bureau.

841. Each departmental language bureau would be in charge of relations with the Translation Bureau, since only the departmental language bureau would be in a position to know the extent and type of translation services needed after adaptation to the new system. Similarly, each language bureau would supervise the participation of its department's staff members in Public Service language classes, considering applications for such training in the light of the practical value of bilingual skills to each applicant.

842. The Language Authority and the departmental language bureaux will be responsible for managing bilingualism within the Public Service. However, it is of paramount importance to protect the language rights provided throughout our recommendations. In Book I we recommended the establishment of the office of the Commissioner of Official Languages as a means of safeguarding the rights of the public. We are convinced that similar steps are justified with respect to the Public Service. Therefore, **we recommend that the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Official Languages be interpreted as including the language rights of public servants.**

843. In the administrative structure for managing the system of institutional bilingualism, the crucial bodies are those we have just proposed—the Public Service Language Authority and the language

Recommendation
24

Managing the
bilingual
institution

bureaux in departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies. To these should be added those bodies that already exist—the Public Service Commission with its important recruiting, staff development, and language-training functions, and the Treasury Board. It goes almost without saying that these two bodies must be among the first areas of the Public Service to adapt to the system of French-language units.

The Public
Service
Commission

844. For the Public Service Commission it would appear appropriate to consider French-language sections similar to those proposed for departmental service units.¹ This would provide a system of parallel services for Francophones and Anglophones—through recruiting, training, promotion, and complex career management systems such as the Career Assignment Program. “Parallel” here should not be interpreted as separate or independent; the parallel sections would always function under the same regulations and general policies and, of course, would be unified at the top.

The Treasury
Board

845. Because of its role and its authority over the whole Public Service, it is particularly important for the Treasury Board to take the lead in establishing institutional bilingualism. In particular it should apply, within its own organization, the full range of measures which we have proposed: establishment of effectively balanced Francophone and Anglophone participation at each management level; creation of a language bureau with responsibilities similar to those of the language bureaux in other departments; liberal use of French-language clusters and parallel sections; and a minimum requirement of receptive bilingual capacity for all senior staff. These provisions, we believe, will equip the Treasury Board to function more effectively as a central management agency for an institutionally bilingual Public Service. Furthermore, in its role as co-ordinator of programmes and policy, it will be in a position to encourage participation by both Francophones and Anglophones and to benefit from a bicultural perspective. Finally, the example set by this powerful body will undoubtedly affect the course of adaptation throughout the Public Service.

846. With these changes in the Public Service, institutional bilingualism will become part of its management functions in two ways. First, the bodies that already have general responsibilities for management—for example, the Treasury Board and departmental administrative services—will be reoriented towards a bilingual régime by internal structural changes and by government policy. Second, the largely new bodies—for example, the Language Authority and the departmental language bureaux—should be established as soon as possible to supervise the régime of institutional bilingualism.

¹ See § 785.

G. The Process of Implementation

847. Our terms of reference did not require that we conduct a study of the Public Service as such; an exhaustive study had already been entrusted to another Royal Commission.¹ However, in the course of our inquiry, we have learned much about the structure and modes of adaptation of the Service and we are very much aware of the difficulties involved in instituting a change of the magnitude we propose, a change that introduces a new dimension into all the standard processes of government.

848. It is only with full government support that the Language Authority and the departmental language bureaux, acting together, can achieve the proposed reforms. The Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission should play a consistent and strongly supportive role. The Public Service Language Authority may need to make use of task forces to help establish the French-language units and to apply the language policy in departments.

849. The first step in the adaptation process will require preliminary planning by the Language Authority in order to set up implementation targets and timing. The question of whether regional or central units will be given priority would be dealt with in this stage of planning.

Preliminary
planning

850. The second step will involve the tentative selection of departments where the key adaptation—the establishment of French-language units—might begin. Responsibility for the screening process would be vested in the Language Authority, but close consultation with departments and other agencies would be vital.

Criteria for
establishing
French-language
units

851. The first criterion would be the place of the department or agency in the Public Service as a whole. The Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission are of highest importance. Next in priority would be the Privy Council Office and those departments that are dominant within the Public Service (for example, the department of Finance) or that have strong influence on Canadian life as a whole (for example, the department of the Secretary of State).

852. Another important consideration is the degree of regionalization, both actual and potential, in a given department. This criterion follows our emphasis on regional French-language units; a number of departments and agencies would qualify for careful examination, including the departments of National Revenue, the Post Office, Public Works, and Regional and Economic Expansion, as well as Canadian National. Another factor is the existence of a supportive community milieu, the obvious examples being Montreal, Quebec generally, north-

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization*.

ern and eastern New Brunswick, and northern Ontario. The degree of direct service to the public must also be considered; units whose functions mainly involve direct public contacts would present excellent opportunities for establishing French-language units. These three factors are obviously linked.

Other
considerations

853. Still other factors will affect the early establishment of French-language units. Obviously, there must be a sufficient number of Francophones both throughout the department under consideration and within certain key divisions and occupational groups; this is important because it may facilitate rapid organization of French-language units with a minimum of departmental and geographic relocation. The department of External Affairs is one such department. Since bilingual competence must be present at the highest levels, departments and agencies which already have this characteristic will present better possibilities for early adaptation. An additional factor is the prior existence, in rudimentary form or otherwise, of French-language units; clearly, in such cases—which may be found on a large scale and formally in the CBC, experimentally in the CN, and on a smaller informal scale in various regional offices—the basic adaptation has taken place and the overall task can proceed in terms of the supportive measures required.

Detailed planning

854. The third step in the adaptation process can be defined as detailed planning by the language bureaux of the various departments and other agencies in consultation with the Language Authority, the Public Service Commission, and the Treasury Board. This consultation will be particularly important as implementation is approached. Planning at this stage will begin with the provisional designation of French-language units in each department. It will also include the mapping out of the entire apparatus and process of institutional bilingualism throughout the federal Public Service, as defined in our proposals.

Implementation

855. The fourth step is implementation. This will include the formal designation of French-language units; at this stage, formal designation will be a product of the relations between the departments and the Language Authority and will also touch the functions of the Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission as central management and staffing agencies. We suggest that responsibility for designating the units be shared by the department concerned and the Language Authority. The system will have to be staffed through transfers and recruiting, based on a completed inventory of staff which will itself be a factor in the formation of units. Planned communication and translation services will have to be established in order to ensure the language integrity of the units and the system as a whole. Bilingualism, where it is absent, will

have to be developed at the senior supervisory levels within adapting departments by means of intensive but selective language training. In some cases it will be desirable to establish a unit and then to pursue an active transfer and recruiting policy over a planned time period.

856. The third and fourth steps are complex and must be applied with the utmost sensitivity. Our research¹ underlines the necessity of involving departmental staff in decision-making and implementation. The adaptation process will have to be carried out with tact and diplomacy so that the public servants involved will not feel threatened and will react favourably.

857. Finally, the adaptation should be dynamic in the fullest sense of the word. Adaptation is not simply a matter of designing and implanting systems; it will be a continuing process involving evaluation by the Language Authority and language bureaux and consideration of the reactions of public servants at all levels. Resources and procedures for evaluation will have to be developed in an atmosphere of open communication and involvement. We feel that it will be essential for the organizations representing employees to be involved in the process.

Adaptation—a
continuing process

H. Towards Equal Partnership

858. A viable partnership between two groups presupposes the organizational existence of each, rooted in its own language and cultural milieu. To make this possible we have devised the plan of French-language units. In our opinion, there can be no equal partnership in the federal Public Service without it, despite the ability of the federal administration to provide service to the public in both official languages as a matter of right.

859. With the equality of the two groups in mind we have proposed certain necessary, almost wholly administrative, steps to establish institutional bilingualism and to ensure its maintenance and development. We have also proposed administrative arrangements and practices that will affect not only these units but also the many individual Franco-phones throughout the Public Service.

860. Their Anglophone counterparts will also benefit from our proposals. We are thinking, for example, of the thousands of Anglophone public servants whose determination to learn French has been so largely frustrated for lack of opportunity to use the language on the job. The existence of the French-language units will provide these opportunities, even in the many other units where English will remain

¹Reported in Michel Chevalier, "The Dynamics of Adaptation in the Federal Public Service," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

the dominant language of work. The Anglophone student of French will thus attend his courses with the clear prospect that his daily work will no longer thwart his progress but rather will accelerate it.

861. On another plane, our proposals will do much to alleviate the scarcity of qualified personnel in many occupations in the Public Service. The existence of the French-language units will finally permit the Service to recruit from among the many competent Francophones who know little English, just as it will continue to draw on unilingual Anglophones for the many units whose main language of work will remain English. Under the system we propose, there are no grounds for the fear that in a bilingual Public Service recruitment must necessarily be limited to the relatively few bilingual individuals in the country; on the contrary, the sources of qualified manpower are immeasurably broadened. The service must remain open to Anglophones from all parts of the country; it must also be opened just as widely to Francophones.

862. Until their partnership takes these tangible forms, many people in one or the other of the two language groups will increasingly regard the federal government as "a foreign government," and look elsewhere for their source of political leadership. If the Public Service is to counteract this tendency, it must be, in the fullest sense, equally accessible to the two societies which it is called upon to serve.

863. Doubtless our specific recommendations and other suggestions do not foresee all the difficulties that will arise in the course of the plan's implementation. Nevertheless, it is imperative that the federal government immediately proclaim the system of French-language units as federal policy and set in motion the planning and implementing machinery proposed in this chapter. As in any rapid organizational transformation, the actual implementation of the system will not be easy, and it must be carried out with sensitivity to the feelings and interests of those concerned. The goals of any new administrative order can be subverted by those who are concerned only with meeting the letter of new regulations rather than with realizing the spirit of the plan itself. Those involved in the plan's implementation must be committed to the ultimate goals of institutional bilingualism so that in carrying out their difficult responsibilities they do not compromise its fundamentals. In the federal Public Service, an institution common to all Canadians, equal partnership must not fail.

A. Introduction

864. Like all military organizations, the Canadian Forces have always considered themselves quite different from other governmental institutions and subject to different rules. In the matters that concern us, however, the justification for distinctive treatment perhaps carries less weight: we believe that many of our recommendations for the federal Public Service apply equally to the military organization. Yet there are both quantitative and qualitative grounds for examining the Canadian Forces separately. Accordingly, the recommendations appearing at the end of this chapter are directed specifically to the Canadian Forces.

The Canadian Forces and the Public Service

865. There are several major differences between the Canadian Forces and the federal Public Service. The Forces have had a distinctive development; they have a special purpose and mode of operation, and the way of life in a military organization is unique. The very goal of the Forces—the maintenance of peace through a state of constant readiness to go to war—clearly sets them apart: the vast organizational system required to maintain this state of readiness has no counterpart in the federal Public Service.

866. The Forces themselves account for roughly a quarter of all federal government personnel, and a quarter of all civilian federal employees are also involved in the military institution. Defence plays a vital role in the employment of Canadians, and it also consumes a sizable portion of the federal budget. The social and economic impact of the Forces on the Canadian community is felt from coast to coast.

The defence establishment and the Canadian community

867. A member of the Forces may be located at a base like Cold Lake, Alberta, where he is more or less cut off from the wider community or—at the other extreme—at Canadian Forces Headquarters in Ottawa, where he is completely integrated with the local community. He

chooses his wife, sends his children to the schools, shops in the stores, and finds his entertainment in the area where he is posted. The people and institutions surrounding the base where he is stationed are of considerable importance to him.

868. Military establishments also have an economic impact on the civilian communities in which they are located. Not only is the serviceman's pay going into the tills of the local merchants, but the military base itself will be buying food and other local commodities. Certain of the country's industrial centres feel the impact of the millions of dollars spent annually by the federal government on defence contracts. The Forces contribute to the Canadian economy in another substantial, if less obvious, way. In peace-time, much effort is expended in the training of personnel. With the ever increasing technological sophistication of military weaponry and systems, this means that many of the 10,000 or so individuals released annually from the Forces are highly skilled, and their entry into the labour force represents a considerable contribution to the Canadian economy generally.

**The military way
of life**

869. The Canadian Forces differ from the federal Public Service in terms of their overall work environment and way of life. Military personnel are faced with a stricter discipline than public servants: they are more often separated from their families, sometimes for months at a stretch; they may be required to suffer more difficult and uncomfortable situations; they are subject to frequent moves and consequent readjustments. They may be called at any hour of the day and night. Even when officially off duty, neither they nor their families, for the most part, escape the military orbit. The quarters they live in and the shops their wives use may well be built and maintained by the military organization. More than 50,000 dependent children attend schools organized by the department of National Defence or have their schooling looked after in other ways by the department. Mess associations decide which newspapers are to be made available. Sports, cultural, and other recreational activities are organized on the base. In short, the military life is a total one, covering both on-duty and off-duty hours, and applying to the individual's family as well as to himself.

870. It is this almost totally self-contained quality that above all other reasons prompted the separate treatment of the Canadian Forces in our research.¹ Most Francophones, on joining the Forces, are in effect moving from immersion in one culture to immersion in another. Our interest was consequently focussed on the linguistic and cultural effects of this situation.

¹ Data for this chapter are drawn primarily from "Carrière militaire et dynamique culturelle," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B. by Pierre Coulombe with the collaboration of Lise Courcelles.

B. Language Policies and Practices

1. Historical background¹

871. Prior to Confederation, service in the militia was in principle obligatory, and thus the military registers of the period more or less reflected the ethnic and linguistic composition of the population. From this period on, however, Francophone participation declined in both the militia and the regular forces. As well, there was an acute shortage of professionally qualified Francophone personnel: of the 225 graduates of the Royal Military College between its foundation in 1876 and 1900, only 10 were Francophones.

872. During World War I some units were established with a predominance of Francophone personnel; after the war, the Royal 22nd Regiment—which had been the first French-language unit to serve overseas—became part of the permanent force. It was the only unit in which a soldier could receive his basic training in French and work in his own language. The navy and air force, established in 1910 and 1924 respectively, were closely modelled on the British pattern, and neither attracted many Francophones.

873. During the 1940's and 1950's some recognition was given to the problems of recruiting and retaining Francophones. The rather ineffective approach of the air force and navy was simply to attempt to integrate Francophone recruits by teaching them English. But the army, in support of its vast war-time training programme, translated some 500 manuals and abstracts into French and also published a bilingual dictionary of military terms in 1945. Nevertheless, while Francophones could serve in French-language units and receive practical training in certain limited fields, the army continued to operate as a basically English-language organization with a few scattered Francophone elements.

874. With demobilization, the three services were reduced to their minimum peace-time complement, but not for long. The creation of the United Nations Emergency Forces, the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, the onset of the Korean conflict, and the establishment of the North American Air Defence Command all contributed to a fresh expansion of military personnel. From a 1950 level of 47,200, a summit of 126,500 men was reached in 1962.

875. In its post-war reorganization, the army sought better ways of integrating Francophone recruits. Basic training was given in French to Francophones and was followed by English classes for those not enter-

¹ The historical material is taken from Harold Forbell and Barry Gallant, "Armed Forces Histories," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

ing the Royal 22nd Regiment. French could also be used as a language of work in units and sub-units attached to the Royal 22nd Regiment and in certain militia regiments. Despite these advances, unilingual Francophones—particularly officers—still have great difficulty, compared with unilingual Anglophones, in achieving more than the most limited of careers.

876. The efforts of the army were not matched in the other two services. In both the navy and the air force, English remains the operational and functional language, and Francophones have to adapt themselves as best they can to this situation. In both services compulsory English classes are given to Francophone recruits whose English is not good enough for them to take their basic training and to acquire a specialization in this language. However, the teaching of English has not substantially reduced the high level of Francophone attrition or raised the number of Francophone recruits in these two services.

2. *Relations with the public*

877. The Canadian Forces, while not serving the community as directly as the Public Service, nonetheless have frequent contacts with the public. For instance, in the early 1960's the department of National Defence was receiving a yearly average of 64,200 letters.¹ The military organization also has a visible presence in the community: bases, buildings, and vehicles are all noticeable with their distinctive markings. Relations between the Forces and the civilian population include a variety of activities.

Correspondence

878. There are two directives² governing the use of the two official languages in correspondence between the department of National Defence, the Canadian Forces, and the public. The government of Quebec and municipalities where the French language predominates are to be addressed in French. A letter from within Canada written in a language other than French or English is to be answered in either of the official languages; however, such a letter coming from abroad is to be answered in the language of the original correspondent. In practice, replies to correspondence are almost always prepared in English and then translated if necessary.

Forms, signs, and oral communications

879. A directive of the chief of Defence Staff³ prescribes the conditions under which the two official languages are to be used in Quebec, Ottawa, and other places where the population is predominantly Fran-

¹ Jacques LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique." See Appendix III, Table A-13.

² Canada, Department of National Defence, *Administrative and Staff Procedures Manual*, I, art. 251; III, art. 234.

³ Canada, Chief of Defence Staff, "Instruction P3/65," dated March 28, 1965.

cophone. The directive covers the language of forms, spoken communications with the general public, and signs. All forms to be filled in by individuals are to be available in both languages. Where possible, the French and English texts are to be on the same form. Canadian Forces Headquarters is to be responsible for the provision of forms in use across the country, and local commanders for those used locally. This part of the directive applies both to documents addressed to future personnel (such as those having to do with recruitment, selection, and enrolment) and those to be filled in by individual members of the Forces. All signs, including traffic, parking, information, door, and appointment (or title) signs, and security, standing, and fire orders are to be prepared in both languages.

880. The directive further specifies that, within the geographic areas designated, civilian and military personnel and guards and commissionaires having dealings with the general public should be capable of completing any forms required in either of the two official languages and of expressing themselves in both languages. Personnel whose duties include answering telephones should also be able to converse in the two languages. Existing unilingual staff are not to be dismissed, but their replacements are to be bilingual.

881. This directive is still far from being fully implemented. The initiative is too often left to local commanders, who—particularly in places outside Quebec—often differ in their interpretation and application of it.

3. *Written language within the Forces*

882. There is only one directive¹ covering the written use of languages within the Canadian Forces. English is to be the language of internal correspondence with the exception of "French-speaking units of the Regular Forces and the Reserves," which may be permitted to use French in correspondence with the next senior headquarters. The application of this regulation raises two practical problems. First, there is no way of telling which units, with the exception of those recently so designated,² are in fact French-speaking; second—and more important—the authorization of the next senior headquarters must be received before these "French-speaking units" can write to their headquarters in French. There is no obligation on the part of headquarters to write to their units in French.

Correspondence

883. In practice, some French-language correspondence emanates from certain units, but less comes down the hierarchy to these units.

¹ Canada, Department of National Defence, *Administrative and Staff Procedures Manual*, III, art. 234.

² See § 891.

Indeed, apart from the Royal 22nd Regiment and a few militia units in Quebec, French is rarely used in any internal correspondence.

Translation

884. Apart from this small amount of French-language correspondence, few other texts are originated in French. However, a small number are being translated from English to French. In 1964, one-fifth of 1 per cent of the 24,497 military manuals had a French version, and none of the 21,206 operational and maintenance manuals were included in this percentage. The volume of translation for the department of National Defence amounted to less than 5 per cent of the total production of the Translation Bureau in 1964; one-fifth of this amount was correspondence.¹

885. The Queen's Regulations for the Canadian Forces and Canadian Forces Administrative Orders (CFAO) are published in French and English, but the publication of the French version of CFAO is so delayed² that the translation is virtually a record of past history; it has no practical usefulness since these administrative orders are in daily use and constantly changing.

4. Effects of recent organizational changes

886. Since the 1964 White Paper on Defence, two important steps in the reorganization of the Forces have taken place. In July 1964, an Act³ was passed calling for the integration of Canadian Forces Headquarters and the appointment of a single chief of Defence Staff. The structure of Canadian Forces Headquarters was simplified and organized into four functional branches (*see* Figure 24). In June 1965, a new integrated command structure was announced; of the six functional commands established thereafter, Mobile Command has become the most important. The second step in the reorganization came with an Act passed in May 1967⁴ under which the three services were officially unified and the roles they had traditionally filled were divided among the six functional commands.

887. It is too early to judge the effects of these changes on the objective of equality between Canada's two linguistic communities. The streamlining of the organization would seem to make few allowances for linguistic and cultural differences while, on the other hand, the decentralization to the six largely autonomous functional commands opens up the possibility of creating a French-language sector within the Forces.

Military terminology

888. At the end of 1967, the Canadian Forces took some steps towards correcting the unequal situation of Francophones in the Forces.

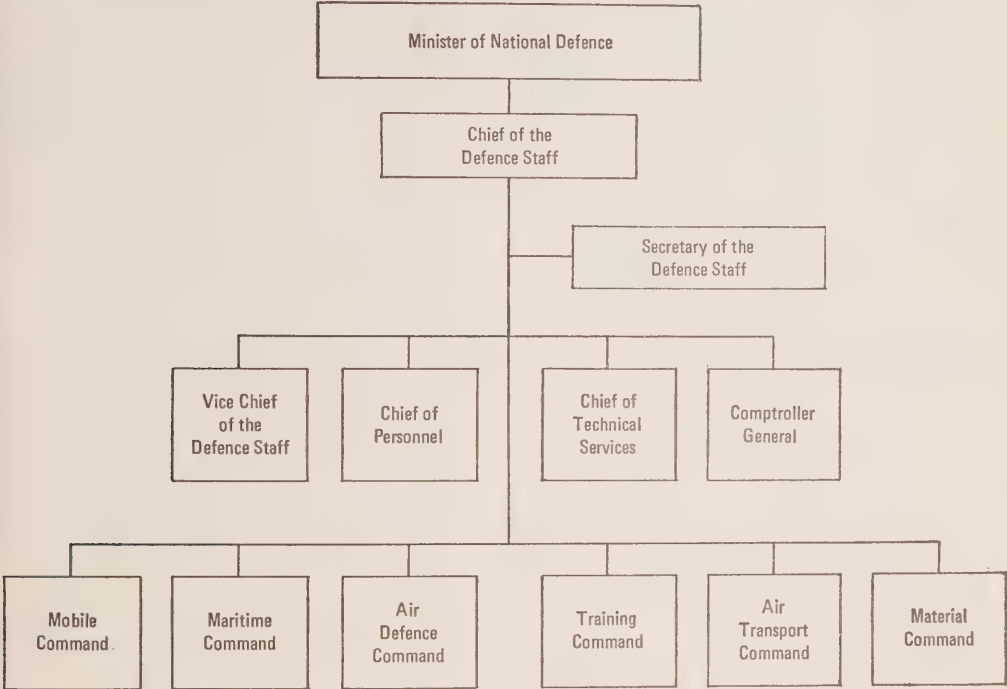
¹ LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique."

² In February 1969 the most recent French text of CFAO was dated August 30, 1968.

³ An Act to amend the National Defence Act, S.C. 1964, 13 Eliz. II, c.21.

⁴ Canadian Forces Reorganization Act, S.C. 1966-7, 14-15-16 Eliz. II, c.96.

Figure 24. Canadian Forces Headquarters and Command Organization—1967



Source: Canada, Department of National Defence.

Recommendations based on an extensive research programme were presented to the chief of the Defence Staff and, at the same time, a bilingual secretariat was created within Canadian Forces Headquarters. This body plays an advisory role, and has also established a terminology section incorporating the group charged with translating and editing military manuals in French. A glossary of French military terms compiled by the terminology section has been used as a basis for a much needed new bilingual dictionary which was published in March 1969 under the authority of General Jean V. Allard, the Chief of Defence Staff. These are the first official efforts, since the war-time bilingual dictionary appeared in 1945, to establish a French counterpart to the existing English terminology.

889. New terms arising from the reorganization of the Forces and rapid technological advances are incorporated into English terminology, but in many cases there are not even unofficial French equivalents. This situation places the burden of French translation of military terms and expressions on individuals rather than on the military organization. As a result, French-language terms can emerge in isolation from each other, creating linguistic confusion and leading to the erroneous impression that the French language is less capable than English of expressing the realities of the military situation.

Bilingual
positions

890. Recently, without giving them official recognition, the Forces have been establishing a number of positions requiring a knowledge of both French and English. These positions have served in particular to enable contacts with the public to take place in the two official languages. The bilingual recruiting officer fills such a position. However, a number of the positions have been reserved for bilingual military instructors in order to help Francophone recruits who have difficulty in following training given in English.

The policy
statement of
April 1968

891. In a press communiqué of April 2, 1968, the minister of National Defence announced the government's intention of establishing a long-term programme "leading to a substantial improvement in the bilingual character of the forces... as... a means of improving the retention rate of French speaking Canadians in the armed forces." This programme provides for certain bases and units of the three environments (land, sea, and air) to have a majority of Francophone personnel and to use French as the language of work. The communiqué went on to state: "To foster the use of a second language the ultimate aim is to have at least 20% of the strength of predominantly French and predominantly English speaking bases and units made up of members whose parent tongue is the other official language." Substantial progress in the implementation of this programme has already been made. Some units have been designated predominantly French-speaking. They include, in the sea element, the helicopter-destroyer HMCS Ottawa based

at Halifax; in the air element, the 433rd squadron of CF5 tactical aircraft based at Bagotville. But the most important development is in the land element; the 5th Combat group, established at Valcartier, includes the three infantry battalions of the Royal 22nd Regiment,¹ one artillery regiment, one armoured regiment, one signal squadron and one engineers squadron, and some support units. Another important step has been the creation in the spring of 1969 of the FRANCOTRAIN programme, under which the basic training of Francophones will be regulated. English-language instruction and trades training will come under the same programme.

892. The first technical course ever to be taught in French was given in the spring of 1969. But, unlike the Public Service, whose Franco-phone professionals are beginning to have access to French-language professional development programmes, the Forces continue to give advanced courses to their officers and non-commissioned officers in English only.

Training
programmes

5. *Language training*²

893. Language training in the Canadian Forces—particularly the teaching of English—has greatly expanded in the last few years. Sociological studies carried out in the 1950's³ showed the extent to which unilingual Francophones were handicapped in their efforts to integrate into the English-speaking military organization. The Forces have partly corrected this state of affairs by providing better English-language courses for recruits and by giving recruits a longer respite before integration into the Anglophone work environment. An effort is now being made to provide them with bilingual instructors. In September 1968, the eight-week recruits' basic training was consolidated at two centres. Francophone recruits are now receiving their basic training in French at Saint-Jean, Quebec. Prior to this, Francophone air force and navy recruits had to receive their basic training in the English language after taking a language course when judged necessary. This situation is now reversed: the English course follows basic training in French. Army recruits destined for the Royal 22nd Regiment are not given English instruction.

894. In September 1967, the four establishments previously giving language instruction were centralized at Saint-Jean under the newly formed Canadian Forces' Language School (CFLS). Although CFLS mainly teaches English to new recruits, it also teaches French to a maximum of 96 persons each year. Besides its teaching functions, CFLS

Canadian Forces
Language School

¹ One of those three battalions is usually stationed in Germany.

² This subsection is concerned with the teaching of the two official languages. However, the Forces also give instruction in languages other than French and English.

³ In particular, the work of Jacques Brazeau for the Defence Research Board.

collaborates with the Public Service Commission in conducting research on language training and on the formulation of tests designed to measure the bilingual proficiency of personnel.

6. *Military colleges*

895. There are several means by which officers may be commissioned into the Canadian Forces. We concentrated our attention on the military colleges, although they contribute only about 20 to 25 per cent of all officers, because it is within these institutions that the language question seems the most pressing.¹

896. Although all three military colleges place a certain emphasis on bilingualism, only the Collège Militaire Royal de Saint-Jean (CMR) has actually been bilingual since its founding in 1952. At CMR the desired ratio of Francophone to Anglophone officer cadets is 60 to 40 but, in fact, Francophones usually account for less than 60 per cent. This college is not a degree-granting institution; cadets who successfully complete its courses go on to do their last two university years in English at the Royal Military College in Kingston (RMC). The same applies to the graduates of Royal Roads Military College in Victoria.

Language courses
at RMC

897. At RMC, all third-year cadets are required to take a course in the official language that is not their mother tongue. In these courses examinations must be written in the language in which the course is taken. French or English may be used in all other examinations, although most Francophones—having been taught in English—use English. A course in either French- or English-language improvement may be required of a cadet, in which case it may be counted as an Arts elective.

898. A Francophone officer cadet in the present military college system must become fluent in English, not only because he is being trained to take his place in an organization whose operational language is English, but also because a thorough knowledge of that language is required to complete his studies at RMC. The same bilingual requirements do not exist for an Anglophone cadet who, even if he does learn French, may well lose his proficiency through lack of opportunity to use it.

7. *Education of children of Canadian Forces personnel*²

899. The education of dependent children of Canadian Forces personnel who do not reside on federal government property is the

¹ Officer cadets as a whole are discussed in §§ 962-69.

² This subject is also reviewed in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, §§ 329-35.

responsibility of local authorities. Children of personnel residing on Crown lands (which are not taxable by local authorities) go whenever possible to local schools, and the federal government makes an appropriate payment to the local authority. When local schools are not available, the department of National Defence builds and operates its own.

900. In 1966-7, 90,000 dependent children of Canadian Forces personnel were attending elementary and secondary schools; some 40,000 of these were attending the 70 DND schools in Canada and the 18 overseas. With certain exceptions, the schools in Canada operate as public schools under the legislation and curricula of the province in which they are located.

DND schools

901. Many problems are encountered by Francophone servicemen and their dependents stationed in provinces where English is the only language of instruction. Since the curricula and the language of instruction of DND schools are determined in accordance with the policies of the various provinces, the department cannot organize French-language classes or schools in most Canadian provinces. To alleviate this problem, the department of National Defence in February 1968 established a formula providing that "where education facilities providing instruction in one or other of the official languages of Canada, consistent with the language normally used in the home and with that received during previous periods of instruction, are not available . . . an education allowance may be granted to defray the cost of the required education."¹ The department pays up to \$1,300 a year per child under this formula. This means that, when schooling in their own language is not offered near the base, parents have to send their children away from home—which most parents do not regard as desirable. Furthermore, the present formula does not permit parents to shift the language of their children's instruction; for those parents who want their children to become bilingual, the present arrangements are thus unsatisfactory.

Government
assistance
for education
in the
mother tongue

902. In the overseas schools, a composite curriculum is used from kindergarten to Grade VI, in an attempt to minimize the difficulties faced by children on transfer to and from Canada. In Grades VII to XIII, the Ontario curriculum is followed. Either French or bilingual classes are established wherever the number of Francophone students justifies French as the language of instruction.² For example, the children of members of the Royal 22nd Regiment posted in West Germany

Curricula in
DND schools
overseas

¹ Canadian Forces Administrative Orders, 54-5, Section 5 (February 21, 1969), 11.

² The number of Francophone students required to justify instruction in French overseas has been the subject of criticism in recent years. At one time, English instruction would be provided if the parents of a minimum of 10 Anglophone dependents requested it, while instruction in French would be given only when there were 25 Francophone dependents. The formula is now equalized at approximately 10 for each language group.

can follow the curriculum of the French Roman Catholic schools of Quebec to Grade IX. Although provision exists for it in CFAO's, no French class above Grade IX has yet been organized in Europe. French as a second language is taught as a conversational course from kindergarten to Grade VIII and as an option in the regular course from Grades IX to XIII, in accordance with the Ontario curriculum.

903. Under a foreign service allowance clause, an education and travelling allowance is available if a member posted outside Canada cannot obtain schooling for his dependent children at a standard comparable to that available in Ontario schools. However, this clause does not specify any language of instruction, so Francophone children in Grades X through XIII must study in the English-language secondary schools required in Germany by the DND.

904. Two-thirds of married military personnel had school-age children. Slightly less than three-quarters of the Anglophones sent their children to English-language elementary and secondary schools. The remainder were being taught in both French and English. Roughly half the Francophones sent their children to English-language schools.

905. Given the choice, both Anglophones and Francophones would mainly prefer their children to be taught in the two languages, particularly at the elementary level. At the secondary level the proportion who would prefer their children to be taught only in French, or in French as well as in English, was slightly lower. It is significant that all personnel, whatever their linguistic group, would like to see more French being used in their children's elementary and secondary schooling.

C. Participation and Career Patterns

906. Apart from the periods of mobilization and conscription during the two World Wars, the Canadian Forces have always been maintained on a voluntary basis. Yet military careers have not been as accessible to Francophones as to Anglophones since the former are participants in a system that has evolved within the language and culture of the latter. This inevitably has affected both the number of Francophones joining the Forces and their subsequent careers.

1. Francophones and Anglophones

Definition

907. In the several Books of this *Report*, the terms "Anglophone" and "Francophone" have designated those whose main official language is English and those whose main language is French. These terms were used as a point of departure in the research on which this chapter was

based, but we have attempted to reflect more clearly the complex linguistic and cultural situation of many Canadians. The Canadian population does not divide neatly into two linguistic and cultural categories; there is a continuum between two poles and many Canadians share characteristics of both groups. For instance, a Canadian of British origin may come from a family that has lived for generations within the culture and using the language of French-speaking Canada, while another of French mother tongue may have been brought up and now live and work almost entirely in an English-language milieu.

908. In discussing participation in the Public Service we noted that there are key differences in the positions of Francophones from Ontario and from Quebec.¹ But place of origin is a relatively crude measure of what in effect is the Francophones' degree of exposure to the English-speaking way of life. Here we are attempting to deal mainly with this latter factor. To do this, three ethno-linguistic criteria were employed: language of childhood—the main factor—ethnic origin, which must also be taken into account, and, lastly, the parents' mother tongue. Thus, by first ascertaining the language of childhood and early cultural environment, we should be able to judge what, if any, changes have been brought about in the cultural identity of Francophone military personnel.

909. For the purposes of this chapter, we defined a Francophone as one who spoke mainly French or French and English about equally in childhood *and* who was of French ethnic origin or had at least one parent of French mother tongue. We thereby distinguished two groups of Francophones: those who spoke mainly French in childhood (and whom we call F1s) and those who spoke both French and English about equally (F2s). Everyone else was classified as Anglophone. The division of the Francophones on this basis is far from artificial, as became evident when we looked at some of their other socio-cultural characteristics.

F1s and F2s

910. Most F1s (90 per cent) not only spoke French in their childhood but also were of French origin and both their parents were of French mother tongue. Before entry into the Forces, 82 per cent of the F1s lived in Quebec. The remainder came mainly from the Atlantic provinces in the army and from Ontario in the air force and navy. Even though so many came from Quebec, only 58 per cent had received all their formal schooling in French; 40 per cent had attended both French- and English-language schools or bilingual institutions. Among the officers, 50 per cent had studied only in French. For the men, the proportion was 59 per cent. Finally, almost all these Francophones had the same religion: 98 per cent were Roman Catholics. Roman Catholi-

Socio-cultural characteristics

¹ See §§ 651-7.

cism is, of course, closely associated with the traditional values of French-speaking Canada and the maintenance of its language and culture.¹

911. The F2s had been in contact with a more diversified linguistic and cultural milieu before their enrolment in the Forces. Only 68 per cent of them were of French ethnic origin and had two parents of French mother tongue. The F2s came from Ontario (36 per cent), the Atlantic provinces (24 per cent), and Quebec (24 per cent). Thus most of them—and particularly those in the air force—came from regions where Francophones are experiencing great difficulty in maintaining the vigorous and dynamic development of their language and culture. This was reflected in the language of schooling of this group of Francophones: 69 per cent had attended both French- and English-language schools or bilingual institutions. Among the F2s, 89 per cent were Roman Catholics—a rather smaller proportion than that for F1s.

912. In short, the F1s and F2s were two quite distinct groups within the Canadian Forces: the F1s were more strongly rooted in the language and culture of French-speaking Canada, and the F2s had more mixed backgrounds. The significance of this distinction will become clear when language use and capacity are discussed.²

2. Participation

913. In the Canadian Forces as a whole, 16 per cent were Francophones and 84 per cent Anglophones (Table 54). The proportion of Francophones in the Forces was thus considerably lower than the pro-

Table 54. Ethno-linguistic Groups in the Canadian Forces

Percentage distribution of military personnel of each service, by ethno-linguistic group—Canada, 1966

	Army	Air force	Navy	All military personnel
Francophones	18.7	16.2	9.1	16.0
F1	13.9	12.6	5.9	12.0
F2	4.8	3.6	3.2	4.0
Anglophones	81.3	83.8	90.9	84.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	3,154	2,974	2,196	8,324

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

¹ Even though personnel were asked to state only their present religious affiliation, there are grounds for believing that participation in the military life has not affected this affiliation in the majority of cases.

² See §§ 944-61.

portion in the country as a whole. Of the 16 per cent who were Francophones, 12 per cent were F1s and 4 per cent were F2s. Finally, the levels of Francophone and Anglophone participation varied in the three services: Francophone participation was strongest in the army (19 per cent), next highest in the air force (16 per cent), and least in the navy (9 per cent). Nearly half the Francophone military personnel were serving in the army.

a) Geographic distribution

914. Members of the Forces were stationed in every province. As Table 55 shows, the provincial distribution of military personnel was much like that of the Canadian population, with two exceptions: Quebec had a much smaller proportion of personnel (11 per cent) than its share of the total Canadian population (29 per cent), while the proportion of personnel in Nova Scotia (16 per cent) was much larger than the province's proportion of the Canadian population (4 per cent).

915. Historical, strategic, operational, administrative, and political considerations have determined the location and size of military bases.

Factors determining location of personnel

Table 55. Place of Posting and Ethno-linguistic Group of Military Personnel

Percentage distribution of Canadian military personnel of each ethno-linguistic group, by place of posting, in 1966, and of the Canadian population, by province, in 1961

	Canada and abroad			In Canada only	Distribution of Canadian population in 1961
	Franco-phones	Anglo-phones	All military personnel		
Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island	1.0	2.4	2.2	2.5	3.1
Nova Scotia	8.3	14.5	13.5	15.8	4.0
New Brunswick	4.1	6.5	6.1	7.2	3.3
Quebec	32.2	5.2	9.5	11.1	28.8
Ontario	22.9	30.7	29.4	34.4	34.2
Manitoba	5.8	7.9	7.6	8.8	5.1
Saskatchewan	0.8	1.5	1.4	1.6	5.1
Alberta	3.7	8.0	7.3	8.6	7.3
British Columbia, Yukon, and N.W.T.	3.7	9.4	8.5	10.0	9.1
Germany	12.6	8.1	8.8		
Other countries	4.9	5.8	5.7		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	3,099	5,225	8,324	7,252	18,238,247

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire," and Census of Canada, 1961.

Obviously, the navy is limited in its deployment by environmental factors: most naval personnel in Canada were stationed on either the Atlantic (63 per cent) or the Pacific seaboard (24 per cent). The air force, on the other hand, extends its operations right across Canada. The army too, although somewhat more limited by its regimental structure and system of regional specializations, may require its personnel to move to the various provinces. Canadian army and air force personnel may also be sent abroad to serve in NATO and United Nations forces.

916. The relatively smaller proportion of Francophones stationed in Nova Scotia is explained by their relatively small proportion in the navy. Larger proportions of Francophones than of Anglophones were stationed in Quebec and in West Germany. Indeed, nearly a third of all Francophones were in Quebec; among them, there was a higher proportion of F1s than of F2s—whose geographic distribution is much more like that of the Anglophones than of the F1s.

Personnel
stationed in
Quebec

917. With the relatively small proportion of military personnel based in Quebec, the chances of being posted to a French-speaking milieu are also small. The army and air force seemed to differ in the degree to which they attempt to concentrate their Francophone personnel on the available bases in Quebec, even though both had around 11 per cent of all their personnel in that province. About 67 per cent of the army personnel stationed in Quebec, but only 40 per cent of the air force personnel, were Francophones. Almost half the F1s in the army were stationed in Quebec at any given time, compared with one-third of those in the air force. The former spent on average half their careers in Quebec, but the latter only about a quarter. Similarly, one in four army F2s were in Quebec at any given time, but only one in six in the air force; there were always more army and air force F2s in Ontario than in Quebec. This means that relatively few F2s were living in a social milieu that would help them maintain and further their childhood acquaintance with the language and culture of French-speaking Canada.

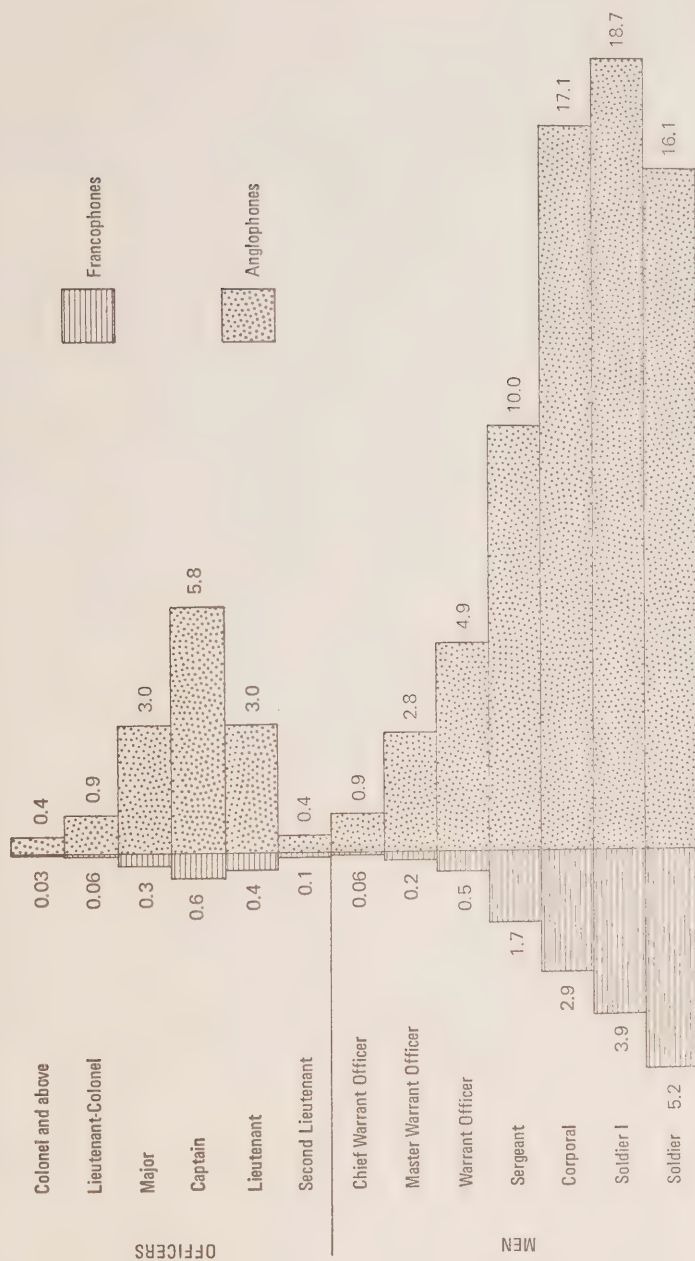
918. On the other hand, more Anglophones in the air force than in the army were posted to Quebec at some stage in their careers. Indeed, air force Anglophones spent almost twice as much time in Quebec as army Anglophones. The air force evidently does not concentrate its Francophone personnel (and particularly its Francophone officers) in Quebec.

b) Hierarchical distribution¹

919. The structure of the military hierarchy is roughly in form of a pyramid (Figure 25), with decision-making, authority, and power flow-

¹ Appendix III, Table A-55.

Figure 25. Percentage Distribution of Military Personnel, by rank and ethno-linguistic group—Canada, 1966



Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

ing downwards from the top. This vertical distribution of authority, common to bureaucratic organizations, is crystallized in the Forces by a set rank structure.¹ The upper part of Figure 25, representing the various officer ranks, shows clearly the small number of personnel at this level: only one in six was an officer. The concentration of personnel was particularly evident at the level of sergeant and below: of all personnel, four in six occupied these ranks.

Distribution
of officers

920. Among the officers, the pyramid is to a certain extent broken; two-thirds held the intermediate ranks of major and captain. The growing professionalization of the Canadian Forces helps to explain this phenomenon—the development of military technology and the growing complexity of operations require the services of a large number of specialists, most of whom are situated at the intermediate ranks.

921. The traditional autonomy and specific roles of the three services have contributed to the development of somewhat different career lines within each. For instance, the air force accounted for half of all officers in the Canadian Forces, mainly because of the large number of specialists this service requires to operate and maintain its highly technical equipment. The air force officer corps is also proportionately the largest; 18 per cent of all air force personnel were officers, compared with 14 per cent of navy personnel and 12 per cent of army personnel. Since the intermediate officer ranks are mostly occupied by specialists, half the officers in the air force were captains in contrast to proportions of one-third in the army and navy.

Ratios of
officers
to men

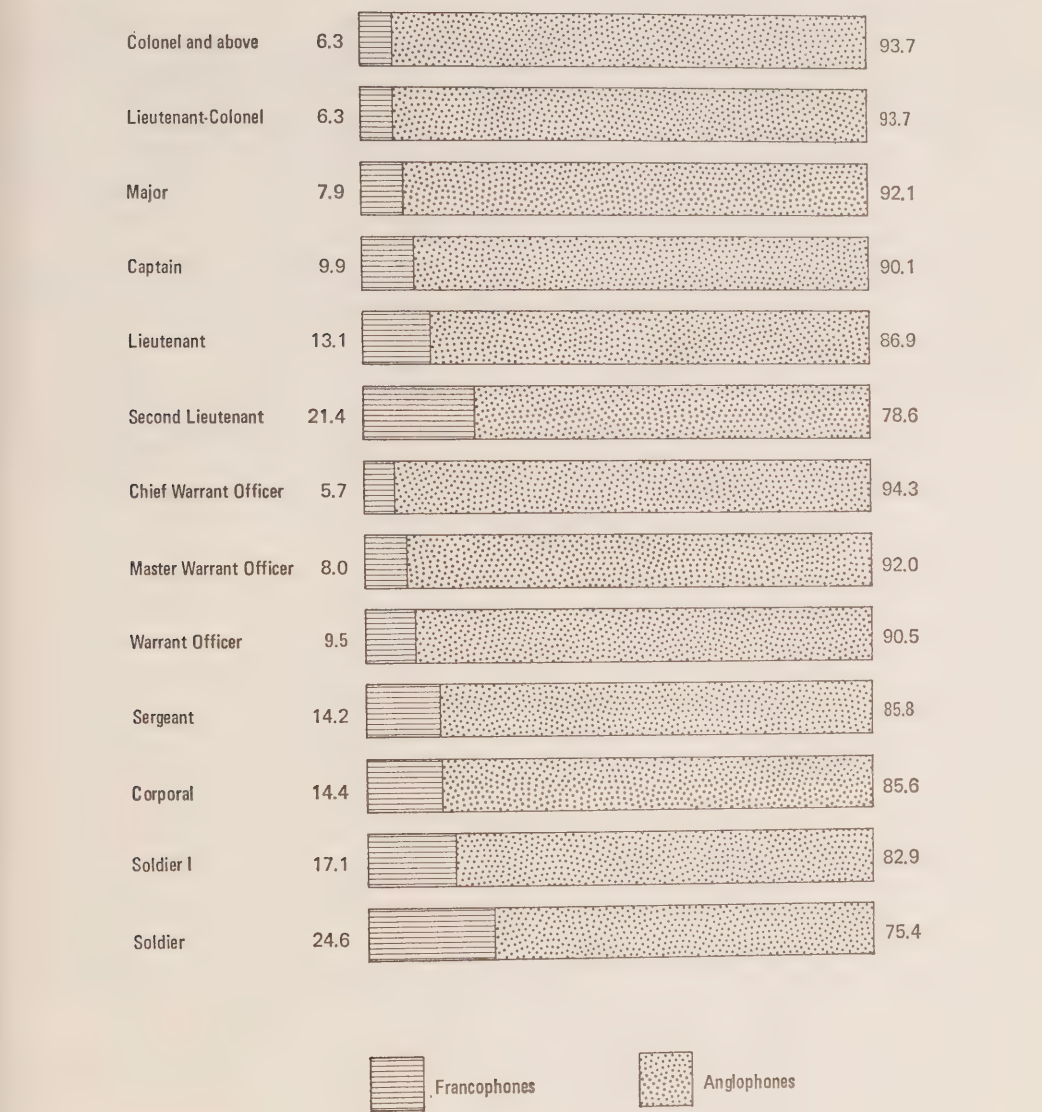
922. In the three services together, the Francophones had only half as many officers as the Anglophones, in relation to their total numbers. One Francophone out of 10 was an officer, compared with one out of five Anglophones. In other words, there were many more Francophone men to one Francophone officer than was the case for the Anglophones. This was particularly true in the air force where the ratio was one to four for the Anglophones, but one to nine for the Francophones.

Distribution
of Francophones

923. The profile of Francophone distribution given in Figure 25 showed the strongest Francophone representation to be at the lower ranks of both the officer corps and the men's rank structure. Roughly four out of five Francophones (in contrast to three out of five Anglophones) were in the ranks either of second lieutenant through to captain or of soldier and corporal. As Figure 26 shows, a sizable proportion of Francophones were entering the Forces: 25 per cent of the soldiers

¹ The hierarchical structure of the Canadian Forces includes 17 ranks, from soldier to general. For the purposes of our analysis and in order to maintain the anonymity of respondents to our survey, we reduced these by placing personnel with the rank of colonel and up in one category and by treating officer cadets separately from the main body of the study. Female personnel are not included. The nomenclature used is that established in the National Defence Act of May 1967, except that we have distinguished between soldier and soldier 1 (or acting corporal) although the Act does not.

Figure 26. Ethno-linguistic Group of Military Personnel, by rank—Canada, 1966 (Percentages)



Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

and 21 per cent of the second lieutenants were Francophones.¹ However, their participation weakened at each step up in both the officers' and the men's hierarchies.

924. Francophones experienced the most favourable development of their military careers in the army, which accounted for 48 per cent of all Francophones in the services. Their distribution in the various ranks, particularly in the officer corps, was comparable to that of the Anglophones. In the air force, by contrast, where the Francophone presence was almost as large (42 per cent), Francophones and especially Francophone officers were heavily concentrated in the less senior ranks.

925. F1s, as we have said, comprised 75 per cent of the Francophones. They constituted a larger proportion among the Francophone officers than among the Francophone men, particularly in the army. Francophone men had their highest proportion (78 per cent) in the air force. The proportion of F2s to F1s rose in each of the intermediate and higher ranks of officers and men in all three services (Figure 27), which seems to indicate that they generally had a longer career with the Forces than the F1s who tended, in the air force particularly, to leave military service prematurely.

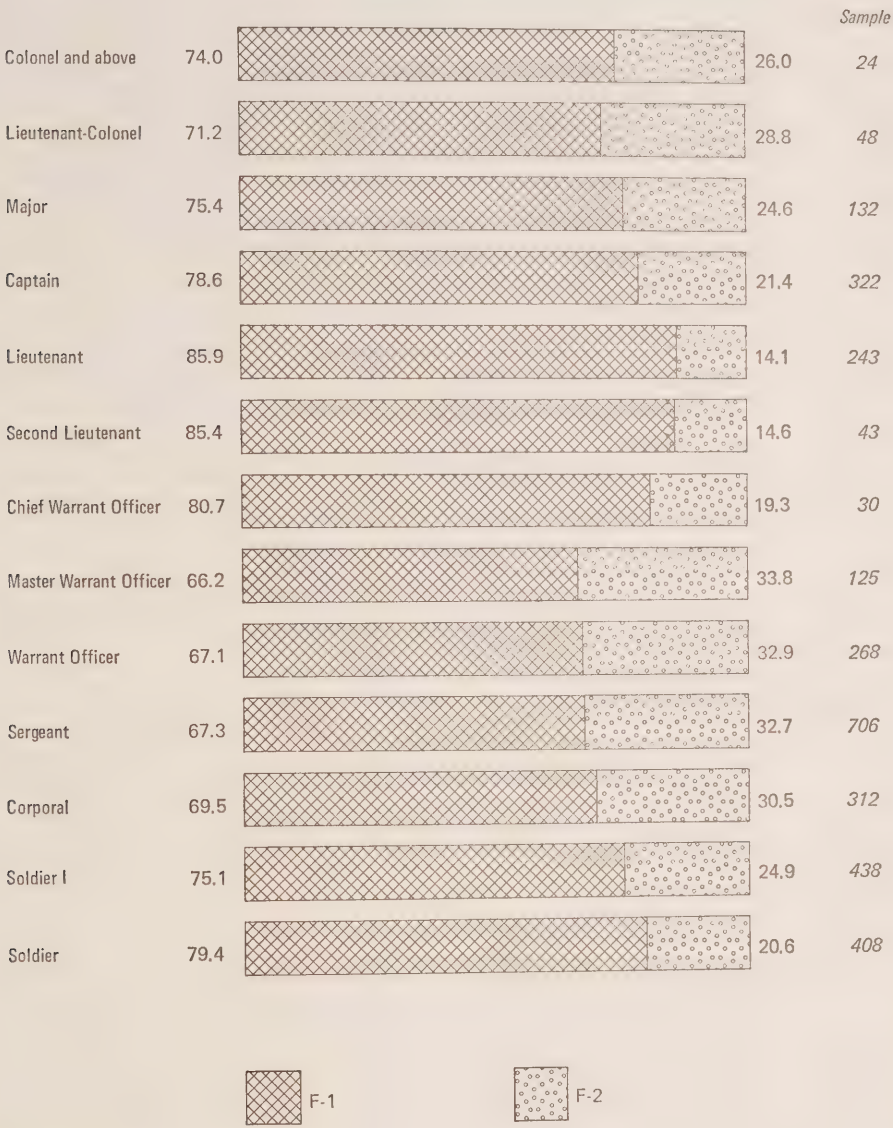
3. Career patterns

926. Since World War II the three services have had to make the best of difficult circumstances in the management of the careers of their personnel, particularly their officers. The Korean conflict created a sharp and sudden increase in manpower and forced the services to readjust their promotion methods. Adjustment also had to be made to adapt to NATO and NORAD requirements. Furthermore, the rapidly changing developments of military technology have necessitated the constant retraining of personnel. These imperatives have significantly influenced policies on recruiting, training, and use of manpower. With the Canadian Forces Reorganization Act of 1967, the question of career development arose again; previously, each of the services had parallel programmes and these are now being re-evaluated and standardized.

927. Four factors (educational level, field of work, age, and seniority) exert a substantial influence on the career development of military personnel. With the unification of the Forces these factors have taken on a new significance, but they still remain central criteria of career development and success. Officers and men must be considered separately since they follow quite different career lines.

¹ See also Appendix III, Table A-56.

Figure 27. Ethno-linguistic Group of Francophone Military Personnel, by rank—Canada, 1966 (Percentages)



Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

*a) Officers***Education**

928. In the competition to reach the senior ranks of colonel and above,¹ an advantageous starting point is a high educational level, and in this respect Francophone officers—particularly the FIs—were in a better position than the Anglophones. More than 70 per cent of the Francophone officers had had some university training, compared with only 50 per cent of the Anglophone officers. Eighteen per cent of the F1 officers, but only 8 per cent of the Anglophones and 6 per cent of the F2s, had a master's degree or its equivalent. The decreasing proportion of Francophones in the intermediate ranks of the officers' pyramid is thus not related to schooling levels. Since university-trained Francophones and Anglophones had taken similar courses, a difference in kind of training does not explain the decreasing proportion either.

929. If the chances of reaching high rank are increased with a high level of education, then university-trained personnel should be expected to form a higher proportion among the officers at and above the level of lieutenant-colonel than among those below this rank. This was in fact the case with Anglophone officers: 62 per cent of those in the highest ranks had been to university or college, compared with 48 per cent of those below the rank of lieutenant-colonel. On the other hand, Francophone personnel with university training were found in the same proportions throughout the officer ranks. Furthermore, among all the officer ranks, a larger proportion of F1s than of either Anglophones or F2s had attended military college.

Field of work

930. Field of work and educational level are to a certain extent related factors in determining the best career accessible to an officer. Given certain personal handicaps, such as a poor academic background, an officer will make a particular field his speciality and will make slow progress in his career. On the other hand, professional specialization can also impose limits on career development. Such is the case of the "civilians in uniform"—dentists, for example—whose work in the armed forces has its counterpart in civilian life and whose military careers are limited to the framework of their special field. Officers who, in their various postings, acquire experience in fields not directly linked with their specialization have the best chances of reaching the highest ranks, which have traditionally been filled by officers with experience both in commanding operational units and in administration.

931. Our research identified four major fields of employment in the Forces: operational, including all occupations closely linked with military operations; administrative; support—both technical, such as engineering, and non-technical, such as supplies; personal services, includ-

¹ Only one captain in seven will reach the rank of colonel during his career.

ing recruitment and social, medical, dental, legal, religious, and other services. As Table 56 shows, the operational and administrative fields together accounted for the highest proportion of both Francophone and Anglophone officers, although the proportion of F1s in both fields was generally lower than the proportions of F2s and Anglophones. However, in contrast to the Anglophones, more Francophones—particularly F1s—were involved in personal service than in technical support duties. Also, Francophones below the rank of lieutenant-colonel tended less than Anglophones to pursue careers in the strictly military fields. The more senior Francophones, however, were less often engaged than Anglophones in the technical fields, and more often engaged in operational duties.

Table 56. Field of Employment of Officers

Percentage distribution of officers of each ethno-linguistic group, by field of employment—Canada, 1966

	Francophones			Anglophones
	F1	F2	All Franco- phones	
Operations	34.8	40.1	35.8	40.0
Administration	25.2	32.6	26.7	28.4
Support: technical	10.5	7.3	9.9	15.8
non-technical	7.8	4.2	7.1	6.0
Personal service	21.7	15.8	20.5	9.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	655	157	812	2,262

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

932. This last point applied particularly in the army, largely because of the existence of the Royal 22nd Regiment, which not only retained a good proportion of its Francophone officers but also provided them with a path to the highest echelons of the military hierarchy. Yet the proportion of Francophone officers specializing in fields advantageous to their career development was much nearer that of the Anglophones in the air force. Given the great lack of Francophone officers at the upper levels in the air force, it would seem, therefore, that many of them were leaving the service at the level of captain or major, despite their promising career prospects.

Age and
seniority

933. Even though an officer's qualifications and field of work favour his advancement, promotion must still take place within the authorized rank structure. This limitation occurs in a relatively short run: an officer's career begins on average at the age of 23 and ends when he is between 47 and 55 years old. If in a given rank an officer's age and seniority are relatively low, one may conclude that he has experienced no delay in promotion up to that point and that his future chances are good.

934. The average age of Francophone officers is 34 years and their average length of service 12 years. For Anglophones, the figures are 37 and 15 years respectively. The Francophone officers—particularly the F1s—thus have on average shorter careers in the Forces than the Anglophones. However, the F1s up to the rank of captain were on average younger when they received their current rank and had fewer years of seniority than the F2s, whose situation was almost identical with that of the Anglophones. Thus, even if F1s had spent less time in their present rank than other officers, their theoretical chances of rapid advancement would seem to be excellent; for while they had an average of one year less of total seniority, they were also four years younger in age.

935. The ranks of captain and major are crucial ones, since it is generally at these levels that an officer's career either picks up speed or slows down. In each of the three services, the youngest captains and those with the least seniority within this rank were the F1s. In the air force and navy, F1 majors were still in a favourable position, but in the army they were older than the Anglophones and F2s, and they had accumulated more seniority since their last promotion. At and above the level of lieutenant-colonel, both groups of Francophones were older than the Anglophones and had accumulated more seniority.

Future
intentions

936. The intentions expressed by officers regarding their military careers indicate their own appreciation of the opportunities for advancement within the military organization. Virtually all the senior officers—Anglophones and Francophones alike—had been in the Forces for over 20 years and had the firm intention of staying on until retirement. The alternative was more significant for officers below the level of lieutenant-colonel: among these officers, F1s had the highest proportion of those intending to leave the Forces. The Anglophones had the lowest proportion, while the F2s were generally less clear in their intentions.¹

Summary

937. Formal educational qualifications and rhythm of promotion do not explain the relative absence of Francophone officers at the upper levels. However, their distribution among the various fields of work was not as favourable to career advancement as the Anglophones' distribu-

¹ The survey was conducted in June 1966 while the unification debate was in full swing.

tion. Furthermore, more of them expressed the intention of leaving military service, and in fact they appeared to do precisely this, particularly at the ranks of captain and major.

b) Men

938. Just as for officers, a high educational level is an advantageous starting point for a man in his military career; it conditions his choice of specialty and trade, and thus his chances of professional development and access to the posts of responsibility and authority. The long-used argument that Francophone personnel have too low a level of education to reach the most skilled levels in a given trade, and especially a technical one, appears to have a weak basis in fact. For all practical purposes, Francophone and Anglophone men had the same amount of schooling—10 years on average.

Education

939. The average amount of schooling for men varied among the three services. The air force—the service in which the specialized technical fields are most important—recruited and retained the most highly educated men, both Francophones and Anglophones, followed by the navy and then the army. In the air force and navy, the F1 men averaged more years of schooling than either the F2s or the Anglophones.

940. Personnel at the rank of sergeant and above had had on average more schooling than those in the lower ranks. But, among the air force and navy Francophones, corporals and soldiers averaged more years of schooling than the men in the higher ranks. In these services, then, the scarcity of Francophones—and of F1s in particular—above sergeant level did not appear to be related to their level of schooling. The army remained an exception, since in this service all Francophone men had slightly less schooling on average than the Anglophones.

941. In the Forces a man's career is generally spent within a particular trade or specialization. While Francophones and Anglophones had on the whole an equal level of schooling, their fields of employment were different (Table 57). Francophones were relatively more concentrated in administrative and non-technical support functions and less concentrated in the operational and technical support fields.

Field of
employment

942. Although the various fields of employment differed in importance in the three services, the number of Francophones, and particularly F1s, in the highly specialized fields was always low. The operational field in the army accounted for 44 per cent of the Anglophones, 40 per cent of the F1s, and 22 per cent of the F2s. Francophones in the operational field were mainly in the infantry. Relatively few were with the more technical artillery and armoured regiments. In the air force, technical support functions accounted for 44 per cent of the Anglophones, 36 per cent of the F1s, and 54 per cent of the F2s. While a low

Table 57. Field of Employment of Men

Percentage distribution of men of each ethno-linguistic group, by field of employment—Canada, 1966

	Francophones			Anglophones
	F1	F2	All Franco- phones	
Operations	30.4	26.8	29.5	37.0
Administration	22.9	12.1	20.1	13.5
Support: technical	24.8	32.1	26.6	29.7
non-technical	17.3	24.8	19.3	15.7
Personal service	4.6	4.2	4.5	4.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	1,744	543	2,287	2,963

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

proportion of F1s were in the technically oriented occupations, they were strongly represented in the administrative field. The two main fields of specialization in the navy are operations and technical support. In both of these, F1s were underrepresented, being concentrated instead in the non-technical support field.

Age and
seniority

943. The relative progress of Francophones and Anglophones within their specialties can be measured both by their level of professional qualifications (trade grouping) within a given rank and field of specialization and by their age and seniority within a given rank. Francophones who reached the ranks above sergeant were as well qualified as Anglophones in the same ranks. In addition they were younger on the average than the Anglophones and they had fewer years of seniority. Francophone soldiers, corporals, and sergeants were also younger than their Anglophone counterparts, and they also had relatively higher qualifications. Few Francophones actually went above the rank of sergeant, despite their more favourable combination of age, seniority, and level of professional qualification; this suggests that many were leaving the Forces prematurely, presumably because these apparent advantages were not leading to sufficiently successful careers.

D. Language Capacity and Use

1. Language capacity and individual bilingualism

944. Before reviewing the languages used by military personnel both in and outside the work situation, the languages in which they were

proficient—their language capacity—must be considered. Personnel were asked to rate their proficiency in the two oral skills (understanding and speaking) and the two written skills (reading and writing) of both French and English.¹

945. As might be expected, virtually all the Anglophones claimed a fair or considerable proficiency in English, but very few claimed a comparable command of French (Table 58).² Among the latter, more

Individuals' rating of their own skills

Table 58. Linguistic Skills of Military Personnel

Percentage of military personnel in each ethno-linguistic group claiming that their oral and written skills in French and English were considerable or fair—Canada, 1966

		Francophones		Anglophones	
		F1	F2	All Franco-phones	
Oral skills	French	99.0	82.9	94.9	5.2
	English	87.7	98.8	90.5	99.1
Written skills	French	95.0	55.4	85.0	2.7
	English	74.3	94.3	79.4	98.7
Sample		2,399	700	3,099	5,225

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

officers and men claimed proficiency in the oral than in the written skills.³ Francophones were strikingly different from the Anglophones in claiming a proficiency in both French and English. Virtually all the Francophones (95 per cent) rated themselves as having a fair or considerable proficiency in oral French and 85 per cent claimed such a proficiency in written French; 91 and 79 per cent also reported a fair or considerable proficiency in oral and written English respectively. As in the federal Public Service, few Anglophones, but most Francophones, are bilingual. In the Forces, only 4 per cent of the Anglophones but 79

¹ To measure language capacity, the Coulombe survey on which this material is based proceeded slightly differently from the two federal Public Service surveys (see § 328), which examined fluency only in the other official language.
² For an inter-service comparison, see Appendix III, Table A-57.
³ In the Public Service, the Anglophones claimed greater proficiency in reading French than in other skills (see § 330 and Figure 4).

per cent of the Francophones were bilingual (Table 59). In both groups, however, the proportion of those who were bilingual increased if only the oral skills were considered.¹

946. Table 58 shows that there were proportionately more Anglophones proficient in English than there were Francophones proficient in French. The F2s mainly accounted for this situation, since noticeably fewer of them than the F1s reported proficiency in oral and particularly in written French. This difference between the two Francophone groups was especially striking among the men in all three services.² On the other hand, while fewer F2s claimed to be fluent in French, more rated themselves proficient in English.

Table 59. Bilingualism of Military Personnel

Percentage of military personnel of each ethno-linguistic group and service claiming to be bilingual¹—Canada, 1966

	Francophones						Anglophones	
	F1		F2		All Franco- phones			
	<i>Sample</i>	%	<i>Sample</i>	%	<i>Sample</i>	%	<i>Sample</i>	%
Army	925	67.5	284	63.0	1,209	66.3	1,945	3.7
Air force	1,002	94.8	227	77.9	1,229	91.1	1,745	4.4
Navy	472	90.4	189	70.7	661	83.3	1,535	3.6
The three services	2,399	81.6	700	69.7	3,099	78.5	5,225	4.0

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

¹ Those who claim fair or considerable proficiency in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing both French and English.

947. Furthermore, as Table 59 shows, fewer F2s than F1s claimed to be bilingual. The opposite might have been expected since the F2s were those who spoke both French and English about equally in childhood. Apparently a substantial number of these F2s had lost some proficiency in French and were now more at ease in English. The F1s, by contrast, had had to acquire a proficiency in English but, being more firmly grounded in their language and culture, had on the whole retained their mastery of French.

¹ See Appendix III, Table A-58.
² See *ibid.*, Table A-57.

948. Proficiency in English among Francophone personnel was also related to rank. As with federal public servants, the higher the post or rank held by Francophones, the more likely they were to be proficient in English. At the very top of the rank structure, all Francophone officers rated themselves proficient in English.¹ Higher-level positions and the very nature of an officer's work evidently placed heavier linguistic demands on their Francophone incumbents.

Language
proficiency
and rank

949. Another influence specific to the Forces is the requirement that air force and navy recruits must take English-language courses if they have an inadequate command of this language. Since the army does not require such training for its Royal 22nd Regiment recruits, the higher rates of bilingualism among the F1 personnel in the air force and navy are not surprising; these higher rates of bilingualism are particularly striking among the men.²

2. *Language use at work*

950. The overwhelmingly "English" orientation of the Canadian military organization can be clearly seen in the work situation: 95 per cent of all personnel mostly or always used English in their military work. This percentage included virtually all the Anglophone personnel (99 per cent) as well as 72 per cent of the Francophone personnel. In the air force and navy, an even higher proportion of Francophones—89 per cent—said they mostly or always used English at work. Only in the army were noteworthy proportions of Francophones using French in their military work: 30 per cent of army Francophones mostly or always used French and 16 per cent used French as often as English. This was of course mainly due to the long-standing French-language tradition of the Royal 22nd Regiment, and to the fact that the army makes it possible for some Francophones to pursue a substantial part of their careers in Quebec.

Actual
language use

951. Thus, except for some army Francophones stationed in Quebec, English was the language of work in the Forces. This clearly requires considerable adaptation on the part of most Francophones. Practically all the Anglophones (98 per cent) declared that English was their best working language at enrolment, and the same proportion felt that this was still true (Table 60). The work milieu did not exert any pressure on them to change their initial unilingual English-speaking ability. However, virtually all the Francophones who were not able to work well in English when they enrolled had since learned to do so. Furthermore, some Francophones suffered a substantial decline in the ability to work

Best language
of work

¹ See *ibid.*, Table A-59.
² See *ibid.*, Table A-60.

in French that they had held at the start of their military careers. Yet, if the Anglophones' ability to work best or only in English was a constant and uniform characteristic, the Francophones' acquisition of a working ability in English and their loss of ability in French were complex phenomena, varying according to ethno-linguistic group, length of time spent in the Forces, and service.

952. Those who felt they could have best performed their military work in French alone at the start of their careers were almost all F1s (Table 60); consequently it was mainly F1s who had to learn to work in English. Among these Francophones, however, more F2s had lost enough of their initial bilingual ability to feel they could currently work more ably in English.¹

953. Among senior Francophones who could not have worked in English at the start of their careers, all those in the air force and navy, and almost all such in the army now felt they could do so.² This is scarcely surprising, given the existing organizational arrangements of the Forces. As we have already pointed out, Francophone recruits in the air force and navy who are not proficient in English have to take English courses. English is also normally the only language in which advancement and promotion courses are given to officers and non-commissioned officers.

954. The acquisition of the ability to work in English varied among the services. Most Francophones who were not able to work well in English when they enrolled but had since learned to do so were in the navy and the air force, particularly among the junior F1 men in the latter. Since the air force recruited most F1s who could have best performed their military work in French when they enrolled, the high proportion who had since learned to work ably in English indicates that the process of adaptation and integration to the English-language organization must be particularly stringent in this service. The army exerted less pressure on Francophone personnel to learn to work as well in English as in French. Roughly one out of three army F1 men and one out of seven army F1 officers still felt they could best perform their work in French. Such proportions are low, but these army F1s were virtually the only Francophone personnel whose best working language was still French.

Francophones'
aspirations
to work in
French

955. In our survey questionnaire we asked whether—supposing it were possible—personnel would prefer to serve in a French-language unit, an English-language unit, or in either with no preference one way or the other. Only 22 per cent of the Francophones expressed a preference for a French-language unit. These were almost all F1 personnel,

¹ See *ibid.*, Table A-61.

² See *ibid.*, Table A-62.

Table 60. Optimum Working Language of Military Personnel
Percentage distribution of military personnel of each ethno-linguistic group, by best working language on entry and in 1966¹—Canada, 1966

	Francophones						Anglophones	
	F1		F2		All Francophones		On entry	In 1966
	On entry	In 1966	On entry	In 1966	On entry	In 1966		
French	71.4	17.3	3.4	1.0	54.2	13.2	0.3	0.2
English	5.2	18.9	48.5	54.8	16.2	28.0	98.2	98.1
French and English	23.4	63.8	48.1	44.2	29.6	58.8	1.5	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	2,399	2,399	700	700	3,099	3,099	5,225	5,225

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

¹ Established according to the answers to the following questions: "At the start of your military career, in which language(s) could you have done your work best? In which language(s) can you do your work best now?"

particularly those in the army (Table 61). This is relatively easy to understand, for the army had the smallest number of F1s fluent in English. The army F1s were also virtually the only Francophones who actually used French at work and who still felt their best working language to be French. Finally, the army is the only service offering Francophones some opportunity to pursue a career in French. In other words, army F1s were the Francophones whose working lives have been least affected by the pervasiveness of English. Conversely, few air force and navy Francophones would prefer to work in French: the adaptation they have undergone to a thoroughly English-speaking situation would hinder their working comfortably in French and would indeed require their complete retraining in that language.

Table 61. Preference for a French-language Unit

Percentage of Francophone military personnel in each service who would prefer to serve in a French-language unit—Canada, 1966

	F1		F2		All Franco- phones	
	<i>Sample</i>	%	<i>Sample</i>	%	<i>Sample</i>	%
Army	925	38.4	284	6.0	1,209	30.0
Air force	1,002	17.2	227	1.7	1,229	13.8
Navy	472	19.5	189	9.7	661	15.9
The three services	2,399	27.4	700	4.9	3,099	21.7

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

3. Language use outside the work situation

a) In the home

956. In 1966, 74 per cent of all males in the Canadian Forces were married. Virtually all married Anglophone personnel had Anglophone wives (Table 62) but, among the Francophone personnel, marriages to Anglophones were quite common, especially among the F2s. Almost all the Anglophone wives, even those married to Francophones, could speak only English. On the other hand, the few Francophone wives

Table 62. Married Military Personnel and Ethno-linguistic Group of Wives

Percentage of married military personnel in each ethno-linguistic group and percentage distribution of these military personnel, by ethno-linguistic group of wife—Canada, 1966

Ethno-linguistic group of personnel	Sample	Percentage of married personnel	Sample (married personnel only)	Ethno-linguistic group of wife			
				Francophone		Anglophone	Total
				F1	F2		
Franco-phone	3,099	62.3	2,309	49.4	9.5	41.1	100.0
F1	2,399	59.1	1,745	60.4	6.3	33.3	100.0
F2	700	71.8	564	22.4	17.5	60.1	100.0
Anglo-phone	5,225	76.7	4,490	3.4	3.1	93.5	100.0

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

married to Anglophone personnel had almost all learned English.¹ Because the great majority of Francophones were bilingual and very few Anglophones had ability in French, it is readily understandable that, combined with all other environmental factors, the presence of an Anglophone spouse almost inevitably results in English being the main language of a serviceman's family.

957. Again, the army F1s must be distinguished from other Franco-phone personnel. Among these Francophones, marriage to Francophone women was most frequent; the proportion of marriages to Anglophone women did not increase with rank; and their wives had not all learned English. Theirs were also the homes in which French was the main language spoken among husband, wife, and children. As we have seen, the army F1s had the greatest opportunity to work in French and were able to live in both a work and a social environment favouring the retention of their language and culture. The proportionately large number of army F1s married to Francophone women—a fact undoubtedly related to the high proportion of such personnel who were or had been posted to Quebec—provided a further reason for their being more securely attached to the language and culture of French-speaking Canada than other Francophones in the Force.

¹ Appendix III, Table A-63.

b) In social relations and leisure pursuits

958. The Canadian Forces recognize certain obligations with respect to personnel and their families and have traditionally supported programmes aimed at their welfare. Besides recreational and educational programmes, certain artistic and cultural associations are officially recognized, while other activities, such as credit co-operatives and social and financial programmes for helping service personnel are encouraged. Messes and canteens are provided for personnel, and financial support is offered according to set rules to the various artistic, social, recreational, and leisure activities.

959. In these areas, however, the Forces do not officially recognize the presence of Francophones; in neither spirit nor application do the rules give significant consideration to their culture. Our research personnel noted an almost complete absence of French-language volumes and periodicals in the libraries, and of French-language magazines and papers in the messes. Similarly, Maple Leaf Services stores on Canadian bases in West Germany presented the unmistakable image of English unilingualism.

960. Thus it is no surprise to learn that both Anglophones and Francophones mainly used English in their social relations and leisure pursuits. Almost all the Anglophones, the large majority of F2s, and nearly half the F1s claimed that in their voluntary associations, clubs, and groups English was the main language spoken; that they used English always or almost always in their leisure-time activities; that even where they had the choice they selected an English-language radio or television station before a French one; and that they read English-language newspapers more regularly than French ones. The use of English by Francophones in these activities was particularly striking among the more senior officers and men. However, the F1 officers and men of the army were again an exception, as were the F1 men at and below the rank of sergeant in the air force, although to a lesser degree.

961. In other words, when Francophone personnel had lived outside a French-language environment and had served in the Forces for a considerable length of time, the process of acculturation that we noted in the work situation was extended to everyday life and to social and recreational activities. This is due to the fact that these activities—leisure as well as work—generally take place within the confines of the base to which personnel are stationed, and this environment generally does not offer Francophones the opportunity to conduct their social and recreational activities in the French language; another contributing factor is the fact that many Francophones have, possibly rather early in their careers, chosen to adapt, integrate, and even assimilate to the English-language milieu offered them by the Forces.

E. Officer Cadets¹

962. A rising generation of officers is being trained in military colleges, universities, and the various schools of the Canadian Forces. It is possible that these officer cadets could have a marked linguistic and cultural effect on the officer corps of tomorrow—providing, of course, that they stay in the Forces in increasing numbers.² Their contribution could be of considerable significance to the pursuit of equal partnership in the Forces.

963. Francophones formed only 10 per cent of the officers, but 23 per cent of the cadets (Table 63). Therefore, unless Francophones

Distribution

Table 63. Service and Ethno-linguistic Group of Officers and Officer Cadets

Percentage distribution of officers and officer cadets of each ethno-linguistic group, by service—Canada, 1966

		Ethno-linguistic group				
		Sample	F1	F2	Anglo-phones	Total
Army	Officers	1,199	12.1	2.5	85.4	100
	Cadets	141	19.0	3.6	77.4	100
Air force	Officers	1,184	7.0	1.8	91.2	100
	Cadets	145	18.9	8.8	72.3	100
Navy	Officers	691	3.7	1.8	94.5	100
	Cadets	76	12.2	2.8	85.0	100
All officers		3,074	8.3	2.0	89.7	100
All cadets		362	17.6	5.7	76.7	100

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

have an exceedingly high attrition rate early in their careers, they should in time increase their proportion in the more senior officer ranks where they have been absent. This possible development may be particularly important for the air force; in 1965, only 9 per cent of all air force officers were Francophones, but 28 per cent of all air force cadets were Francophones.

¹ In the following discussion we are comparing serving commissioned officers whom we refer to as "officers," and subordinate officers who hold the rank of officer cadet, and to whom we refer as "officer cadets" or "cadets."
² For example, a recent five-year survey shows that among entrants to CMR, the proportion of Anglophones who remain in the Forces at the end of their first contractual period is twice that for Francophones.

964. It is also significant that the proportion of F2s among the Francophone cadets was 5 per cent higher than among Francophone officers. Furthermore, 69 per cent of all F2 cadets were in the air force (although only 22 per cent of them are recorded as "French-Canadian" in air force files¹). Since, outside the Royal 22nd Regiment (and with the possible exception of a few units recently designated as French-language units), a thorough knowledge of English remains a prerequisite for a successful career, F2s can of course integrate much more readily than F1s with the present military organization. It is thus likely that more Francophone cadets than previously will go on to realize full careers with the Forces. This expectation is also supported by the higher rank aspirations expressed by F2 cadets. The F2 cadets are more determined to pursue a long career in the Forces and more optimistic over their chances of obtaining a permanent officer's commission than F1 cadets.

Socio-cultural
characteristics

965. The cadets also differed from the officers in their social and cultural characteristics. In comparison with Francophone officers, Francophone cadets came less often from urban surroundings, were more frequently from families of modest social and economic standing, were more often Roman Catholic, and had more French ethno-linguistic homogeneity.² On the other hand, in comparison with Anglophone officers, Anglophone cadets came more often from urban centres, more frequently had a father who had followed a military career, and represented a wider variety of religious affiliations, ethnic origins, and linguistic backgrounds.

966. Another significant socio-cultural difference is the much stronger contingent from Quebec among the cadets (30 per cent) than among the officers (12 per cent). However, both the proportions of F1 and Anglophone cadets in the Quebec group were lower than among the officers, while a higher proportion of F2s were from Quebec. Roughly three-quarters of these Quebec F2s were in the air force.

Individual
bilingualism

967. The extent of individual bilingualism among cadets is significantly different from that among the officers. As in the officer corps there are proportionately more bilingual Francophone cadets than bilingual Anglophone cadets. What is different, however—and promisingly so—is that there are proportionately three times more bilingual person-

¹ The criterion of "nationality" is the indicator by which each of the three services has traditionally recorded its personnel in its files. It is not very reliable for identifying Francophone personnel, and its definition varies from service to service. Only 60 per cent of all Francophone cadets are recorded as being of "French-Canadian origin." Of all Francophone personnel in the Forces, cadets included, 84 per cent are recorded as being of "French-Canadian origin." Of all Anglophones, cadets included, 4 per cent are recorded as being of "French-Canadian origin."

² That is, having both parents of French mother tongue.

nel among the Anglophone cadets (23 per cent) than among the Anglophone officers (7 per cent).

968. The extent of individual bilingualism is also different among Francophones, though not unexpectedly so. Fewer F1 cadets than F1 officers are bilingual, probably because the cadets have not had as much time as F1 officers to adapt and integrate to the currently English-speaking military environment. On the other hand, more F2 cadets than F2 officers are bilingual, and more F2 cadets than F1 cadets are bilingual—the reverse of the situation in the officer corps. Again this is probably because of the as yet limited military experience of the cadets; the F2 cadets have not yet forgotten their French, as their officer counterparts tend to do. But since twice as many of the F2 cadets as the F2 officers have been reared in the Francophone social and cultural environment of Quebec, their grounding in the language and culture of French-speaking Canada might persist longer than the officers' has done.

969. Thus, in comparison with the officers, there is a greater chance of individual bilingualism persisting among the cadets, particularly among the F2 and Anglophone cadets. But this individual bilingualism can be maintained and promoted only under a vigorous programme of organizational measures that would offer a viable French-language environment within the current English-speaking military organization.

F. Conclusions and Recommendations

970. Apart from war-time periods of high manpower need, and the existence of the Royal 22nd Infantry Regiment, the Canadian military organization has made little effort to establish a situation which would permit Francophones to enter the Forces and pursue a military career in their own language and within the framework of their own culture. Recent changes in the military organization in this regard have been mainly inspired by government policy for the achievement of a greater measure of bilingualism. As in the federal Public Service, however, these changes have not been primarily aimed at creating conditions that would permit French to become a viable language of work.

971. English is still the language of organization and of communications for the military, with the use of French permitted only in cases specified by regulation. This inequality in the official status of the two languages has led members of the Forces to assume that the English language must be used in all military activities unless there is a specific provision to the contrary.

972. Our study of the Canadian Forces has documented the fact that, as in the rest of the federal Public Service, Francophones are

confronted with strong pressures to work in English and to use the language extensively outside their work situations. These pressures permeate the entire military way of life and increase with seniority and rank. For Anglophones, of course, this situation contributes to the maintenance, growth, and fulfilment of their own language and culture; but for Francophones, it tends to neutralize personal development and inhibit cultural and linguistic expression. The very fact that the Francophones who have been in the Forces longest have experienced the greatest loss of their cultural and linguistic characteristics is conclusive evidence of the strength and persistence of the acculturation process. The Francophones who are less affected by this cultural change are the F1s of the army—that is, the personnel who have had some opportunity to work in French, and who have been stationed in Quebec for a good part of their careers. This group, of course, includes the members of the Royal 22nd Regiment.

973. The total distribution of Francophones in the hierarchy of rank shows a relative absence of Francophones among senior N.C.O.'s and senior officers, despite the fact that their qualifications, seniority, and age would seem to put them in a position at least as advantageous as that of Anglophones. Furthermore, many Francophones either leave the Forces early or at least envisage a shorter career and indicate more limited ambitions of promotion to high rank.

Recommendation
25

974. The measures to ensure equality between Francophones and Anglophones must be aimed at radically transforming the present situation and ending the existing inequality in the official status of the two languages. Therefore, **we recommend that the National Defence Act be amended so as to recognize officially the equality of the two languages, and to establish a system of procedures which would guarantee the application of the ensuing language rights.**

975. The official recognition of the equality of the two languages and of the obligation to implement this equality would be ineffective without the necessary institutional changes. Our recommendations for the Canadian Forces have two aims: first, to ensure basic language rights and conditions of equality for individuals in the military organization and those who have dealings with it and, second, to establish the organizational framework necessary for the creation, maintenance, and growth of a sizable and functionally integrated French-language work milieu. In drawing up our recommendations we have taken full account of the specific nature and role of the military in time of war as well as in time of peace.

1. Basic language rights and conditions of equality

Recommendation
26

976. Canadian military life is closely regulated by a whole system of rules and regulations, orders, notices, directives, and forms. For the

purposes of equality these documents must be available in the two official languages simultaneously. By the same token, the quality and prestige of the French language as used in the forces must be raised, and French must be used more frequently for the drafting of documents. Therefore, we recommend a) that the Queen's Regulations for the Canadian Forces, Canadian Forces Administrative Orders, Canadian Forces Supplementary Orders, notices, directives, forms, and other documents of this nature be drafted jointly and issued simultaneously in both official languages; and b) that the practice of originating almost all documents in English and subsequently translating them into French cease at once.

977. Until very recently there was no published glossary or lexicon of military and organizational terms appropriate to the Canadian defence institution. In March 1969, an "English-French—French-English Military Dictionary" was published in Ottawa. It is to be hoped that it will ensure the compatibility of words and expressions, in the two languages. Therefore, we recommend that the "English-French—French-English Military Dictionary" be the official source for military and organizational terms and expressions used in the Canadian Forces and that it be continuously revised by a permanent team of experts.

Recommendation
27

978. The presence of both Francophones and Anglophones in a military organization that affords official and practical recognition to the two official languages implies that disciplinary procedures and claims for the protection of an individual's fundamental linguistic or other rights should be heard in the language of his choice. Therefore, we recommend that in all disciplinary procedures, both verbal and written, an individual have the right to choose which of the official languages will be used; and that he have a right to formulate his personal complaints and grievances in the official language of his choice; and that a system of appeal be established in respect of these rights.

Recommendation
28

979. Because the Canadian Forces are on a volunteer basis, their members, while accepting the demands inherent to military life, are preoccupied with the repercussions of these demands on their family life, and particularly on their children's education. This concern is critical for those wishing to have their children educated in French because, outside Quebec, very few schools available to military personnel offer adequate instruction in that language. Furthermore, postings available in Quebec are proportionately very few in number.¹

980. We believe that in general the department of National Defence should, with the help of the provinces, organize French-language

Recommendation
29

¹See Table 55.

schools or classes before considering the payment of the costs involved in sending a child away from home as provided for in recent policy. Therefore, **we recommend that the department of National Defence provide for French- and English-language instruction of dependent children: a) by keeping up-to-date personnel records of the language or languages of instruction in which individual service members want their children to study and by giving full consideration to these preferences in the case of each new posting; b) by co-operating with provincial authorities in the organization of French- or English-language schools or classes wherever the proportion of personnel seeking such instruction justifies it; and c) by paying—without any form of language test—all financial costs incurred by parents in sending their children away from home to study in French or English when such schooling is not available or cannot be organized on or near a military base.**

Recommendation
30

981. Although the Canadian Forces are already providing some measures for the well-being of personnel and their dependents, this role must be re-oriented to give recognition to the French cultural and linguistic elements in the Forces. There must be adequate Francophone representation on decision-making bodies and provision for financial and other contributions that would provide Francophone personnel with the cultural facilities (newspapers and magazines, films and records, radio and television, libraries, and so on) that they cannot obtain through normal military channels or by majority decisions in paramilitary or mess associations. Therefore, **we recommend that in the formulation of regulations, rules, and conventions governing social, cultural, leisure, commercial, and financial activities, the department of National Defence and the Canadian Forces recognize officially and in practice the linguistic and cultural equality of the two language groups.**

Recommendation
31

982. The military should have such means of contact, relations, and communications with the surrounding community as to respect completely its linguistic and cultural character. Men on duty at the gates, telephone operators, those responsible for local purchases, and all those in similar posts should be able to communicate in one or both of the official languages in response to local realities. In addition, the image and public presence projected by the military in Canada and abroad must reflect the equality of the two language groups. Thus, the department of National Defence, the Canadian Forces, and all its major components should always be identified in both languages on publications, forms, markings, signs, crests, vehicles, ships, aircraft, equipment, buildings, and so on. Therefore, **we recommend that the department of National Defence and the Canadian Forces take all necessary measures to ensure that in their relations with the public they fully respect the**

linguistic and cultural duality of the Canadian population, both within the country and abroad.

2. Creation of a functionally integrated French-language work milieu

983. Up to this point we have recommended measures applicable to all personnel and to the Canadian Forces as a whole. But the creation, maintenance, and growth of a functionally integrated French-language work environment will require changes in the organizational structures that will permit French to become a viable language of work and of military operations. Such a milieu will help attract and retain a greater number of Francophones and will enable a good many of them to pursue their entire career in French.

984. In Chapter X we recommended that the French-language unit become a basic organizational and managerial principle for the federal Public Service. The purpose of the French-language unit—to establish French as a viable language of work—applies equally to the Canadian Forces. However, the creation of French-language units will have to take into account the organizational and operational methods of the Forces, and the peculiar nature and relatively short duration of the military career.

985. We envision as a first and major measure the establishment of a large formation or sector where French will be the military language of work.¹ This sector must be broad in scope and fully integrated into the total organizational structure so that a milieu will be established where the French language will be fully accepted and will exist in a dynamic state of development. It will give a new life to French beyond the bounds of a base or unit. The constitution of the French-language sector, and particularly its size, will make possible and realistic the growth of a French military language of work which is at the same time uniquely Canadian. The French-language sector will be able to function only under conditions that ensure its existence and viability, without compromising its military role.

986. The French-language sector must be large enough to provide opportunities for a sizable proportion of Francophone personnel to pursue their complete careers in French. To realize itself fully, the French-language sector will have to be located where it can be fully supported by a strong Francophone community. The creation of such a large and functionally integrated French-language sector presupposes a major allocation of such resources as personnel fully trained or

¹ When we refer to military language of work we mean the whole language of work. "Operational language," "technical language," and "language of communication" must be included as integral parts of the whole military language of work.

retrained in French. Manuals and all other means necessary for expressing in French the complex realities of the military profession must also be made available.

987. No existing formation in the Canadian Forces can readily fulfil these requirements. The Royal 22nd Infantry Regiment has been able, through the years, to function in French to a certain degree and there is no doubt that the everyday language in the 22nd has been French. However, lacking up-to-date French manuals and instructors and officers who have received their training in French, the technical and operational language has never really been French. It is through the personal efforts of dedicated officers and men and the milieu in which they live that the French language has been able to keep more or less abreast of the rapid military evolution affecting the 22nd. This Regiment has been able to offer a congenial milieu for Francophones, but French has not achieved the status of a language which expresses the technical and operational realities.

Recommendation
32

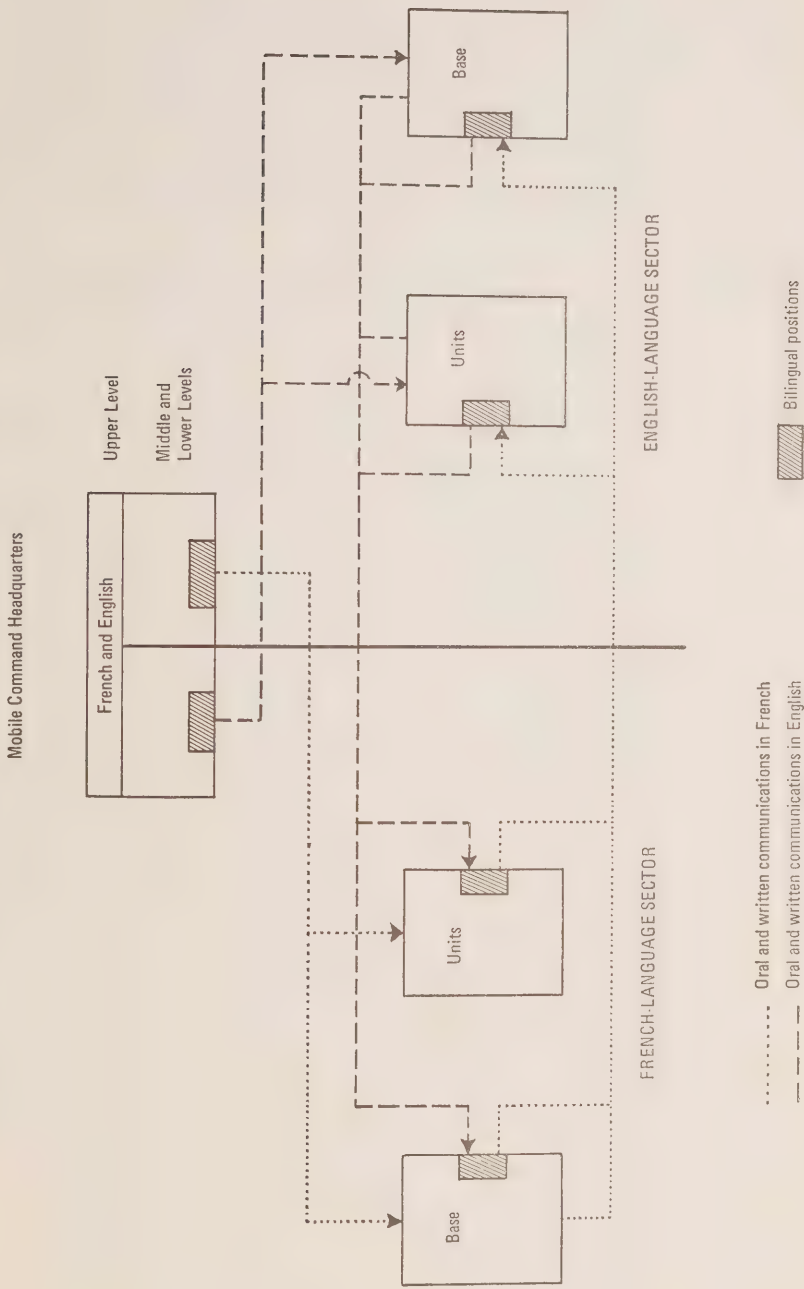
988. We believe that, given its nature and size, and because it offers a wide range of specialties and includes some of the functions where Francophone personnel are already present in fair number, Mobile Command comes closest to the requirements of a French-language sector. This command is the central operating formation of the land components of the Forces. It also includes some air components and the possibility of some sea components. A number of its bases and units, including the Royal 22nd Regiment, are in or near the province of Quebec. Thus, the French-language sector could operate within the structure of Mobile Command and account for about half its personnel. Therefore, we recommend a) that a French-language sector be created within Mobile Command; b) that French be the military language of work within this sector; c) that the sector include land and air units, as well as bases and other functional components; and d) that the French-language units and bases be situated in French-speaking areas of the country.

989. The structure and arrangements for communications in the two languages which we propose for Mobile Command are illustrated in Figure 28. The linguistic structure is fundamentally dualistic up to the senior level of responsibility in Mobile Command; at this level, individual bilingualism must be mandatory. As in the French-language units of the Public Service, the basic components of the French-language sector—the military bases and units—will have French as their language of work.

Recommendation
33

990. French- and English-language sectors cannot coexist within an integrated military formation such as Mobile Command without an efficient communications network. Therefore, some basic rules have to

Figure 28. Languages of Communications between Different Levels and Sectors within Mobile Command (theoretical model)



be established in order to regulate the choice of the language of communications throughout the whole military organization. **We recommend a) that each base and unit within Mobile Command be designated as either a French-language or an English-language base or unit; b) that the bases and units of one language group communicate in their own language with bases and units of the other language group and with the rest of the Canadian Forces; and c) that communications from superior formations be sent in the language of the base or unit which is to receive them.**

Patterns of
communication

991. Thus communications between the two sectors would always be sent in the language of the sector which originates them and would always be received through a bilingual post. Communications from Headquarters would be in French when directed to the French sector and in English when directed to the English sector.

992. For example, a French-language unit will send a message in French to a bilingual post at an English-language base. The reply will be sent back in English and received through a bilingual post in the French-language unit. The English-language unit will communicate the same way. This same French-language unit will send and receive messages in French when communicating with Mobile Headquarters. The same rule will apply at the middle and lower level of the Headquarters. Communications between the French-language sector and English-language components outside Mobile Command, including Canadian Forces headquarters, will be subject to the same rules.

Recommendation
34

993. Obviously, bilingualism will not be demanded of all military personnel but only of those holding specified bilingual positions. The types and degrees of bilingualism needed in the various bilingual positions could be identified, since liaison operations between the sectors would have many dimensions, and different levels of bilingual ability will be necessary in the different types of bilingual positions. The qualifications demanded of candidates for bilingual positions will be best determined after a study of the communications networks necessary for the proper functioning of the French-language sector within Mobile Command and in its relations with the rest of the Canadian Forces. Therefore, **we recommend a) that bilingual positions within Mobile Command be formally designated; b) that the level of bilingual proficiency be set for each of these positions; c) that such positions, including those requiring full bilingual proficiency, be filled according to set criteria of proficiency; and d) that personnel be trained or retrained in order to attain the required level of bilingual proficiency.**

Recommendation
35

994. Personnel should not be required to join the French-language sector, but those who choose to do so must be able to function effectively in French. Many Francophones after a long period of service in the

Forces find it difficult to work in French; many more, having been trained in English, now find it easier to work in this language. A French-language unit manned by such individuals would likely revert to English as the main language of work. The capacity to work in French must thus be the general rule for all those seeking entry into the French-language sector. Where this capacity is inadequate, appropriate retraining would be given. Therefore, **we recommend that all personnel who wish to serve in the French-language sector receive, where necessary, professional training in French before being posted to that sector.**

995. Despite retraining courses, the relative scarcity of Francophones with certain specializations may still make the staffing of the French-language sector difficult. To overcome these difficulties it will probably be necessary to accelerate the promotion of qualified personnel. Therefore, **we recommend a) that, where necessary to staff the different positions in the French-language sector of Mobile Command, qualified personnel who can exercise their duties in French be rapidly promoted; and b) that the authorized rank and promotion quotas be adjusted so as to make this possible.**

Recommendation
36

996. We have focussed our attention on the creation of a French-language sector in Mobile Command because we believe that it is the minimum essential for giving Francophone citizens and their language their rightful place in the Canadian Forces. It must therefore be treated as the first priority. However, if Francophones are to be able to have a full career in the Canadian Forces and if the French-language sector is to receive necessary support from the rest of the Forces, Francophone participation and the use of French as a military language of work must be extended into the other commands and, most importantly, to Canadian Forces Headquarters. Therefore, **we recommend the progressive establishment of French-language units at Canadian Forces Headquarters and in commands other than Mobile Command.** We shall not go into further details on the implementation of this structural change. However, we suggest that our recommendations for both Mobile Command and the federal Public Service should serve as a useful basis for this reform as well as for deciding on the kind and location of French-language units to be established.

Recommendation
37

997. If long-term viability and development are to be achieved, the French-language sector will need support services in the French language. The different units required to support the sector and to ensure the training of personnel in French are to be found throughout the Forces, but three support Commands—Air Transport, Materiel, and Training—maintain particularly close relations with Mobile Command.

998. Since Air Transport and Materiel Commands will have to provide important services to the French-language sector, they should strive

to organize themselves so as to be able to offer services in French. For example, all equipment requisitions coming from the French-language sector will be made to Materiel Command in French.

999. For the future of the French-language sector, Training Command is undoubtedly the most important support command. All professional and specialized military instruction comes under this Command, while Mobile Command is responsible for on-the-job or operational training.

Recommendation
38

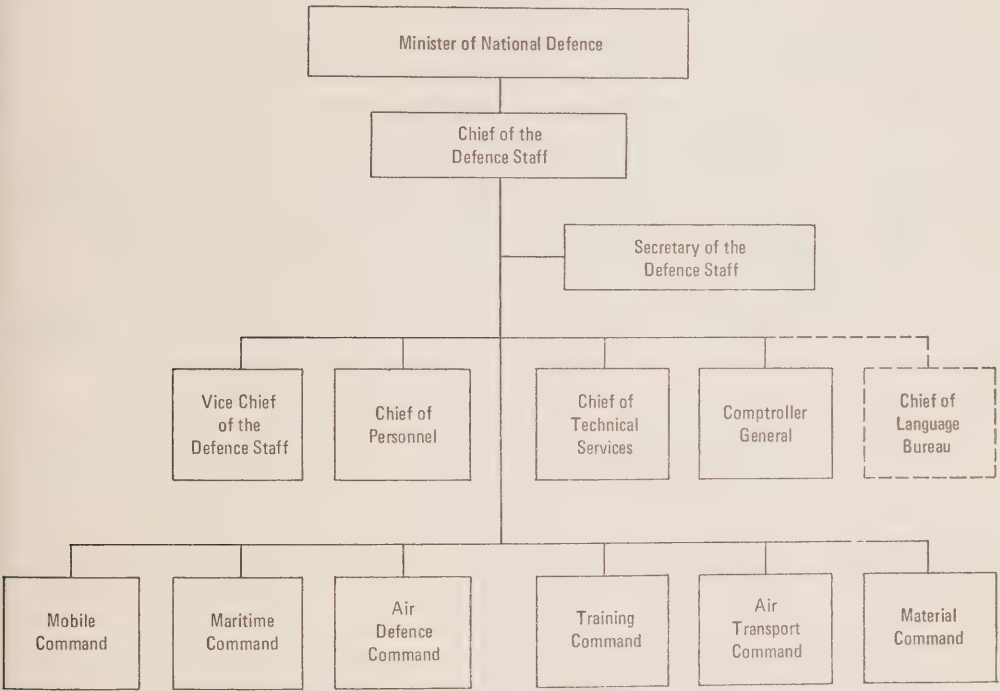
1000. Because of their important role, Training Command and Mobile Command should have all the means necessary for the education, training, and retraining of personnel in French. We think that in this field the Forces could make extensive use of French-language technical, professional, and university institutions already in existence in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada, and abroad (Belgium, France, and Switzerland, for example). The editing, adapting to French, or simple translation of manuals and other teaching aids could also be done in collaboration with French-language educational institutions in Quebec or elsewhere. With these objectives in mind, **we recommend that Training and Mobile Command make available to the French-language sector instructors qualified to teach in the French language, as well as French-language manuals, texts and teaching aids; and that, when required, they call upon French-language technical and technological institutions and universities in Canada and abroad.**

Recommendation
39

1001. For several years now, the Forces have maintained high-quality schools for the teaching of English. All of them were recently integrated into the framework of the new Canadian Forces Language School at Saint-Jean, where French is also being taught on a limited basis. This integration at Saint-Jean should assure the continued development of language teaching. However, Francophones bound for the French-language sector should no longer be taught English at the start of their military career but rather after a certain period of service and only if judged necessary for their professional advancement. When personnel—Francophone or Anglophone—need to become bilingual to fill new positions, then and only then should they be sent to language school to acquire a working knowledge of the second language. In this way all recruits destined for the French-language sector would start learning their military role immediately in French. Therefore, **we recommend that recruits and previously trained personnel who intend to join the French-language sector not be required to take English courses unless and until their professional development so requires.**

1002. Officer training is particularly important, and we have studied with interest the numerous documents on the role and rationale of the three military colleges of Kingston (RMC), Saint-Jean (CMR), and

Figure 29. The Language Bureau at Canadian Forces Headquarters



Royal Roads. In view of recommendations made by the Royal Commission on Government Organization (the Glassco Commission), Royal Roads may soon be disbanded; consequently our recommendations do not take it into account.

1003. Since the main role of a military college should be to give the officer cadet a sound university-level education in his own language, we believe that the Collège militaire royal de Saint-Jean should be a French-language institution, and that it should give courses in the French language up to the level of the bachelor's degree. This means increasing its present programme of one preparatory year and two university years to a programme of a preparatory year and four university years. When this programme is completed, CMR should become a degree-granting institution, much like RMC which already gives a full university course. Therefore, **we recommend a) that the existing Royal Military College at Kingston continue to be an English-language institution, and that the Collège militaire royal de Saint-Jean become a French-language, degree-granting institution with analogous curricula; and b) that there be a strong emphasis on the teaching of French at the Royal Military College at Kingston and on the teaching of English at the Collège militaire royal de Saint-Jean in order to develop bilingual proficiency among future officers.**

Recommendation
40

1004. To oversee the rapid establishment and effective functioning and maintenance of the French-language sector, we believe that a new body analogous to the language bureaux recommended for the federal Public Service will be necessary in the Canadian Forces. We emphasize that this must be a new body since its duties cannot be carried out by any existing body. The language bureaux of the federal Public Service are to report directly to the deputy minister of the department or agency concerned. For the Forces, it seems appropriate to place this responsibility at the level of the four existing branches (Figure 29). **We recommend that a Canadian Forces language bureau be established as a fifth branch at Canadian Forces Headquarters, and that it be made responsible for the planning, implementation, and co-ordination of the organizational measures needed to guarantee the realization of our recommendations within the Canadian Forces.**

Recommendation
41

1005. There are many other measures which could be taken to aid the Canadian Forces in creating a strong and dynamic French-language milieu, but the military can better judge needed measures, once the major structural and other recommended changes are set in motion. The most crucial of these in transforming the Forces into a bilingual and bicultural institution is the creation of a French-language sector, since it will provide both a viable base for the use of French in all activities and large career possibilities for Francophones.

1. We recommend that the federal government adopt the French-language unit as a basic organizational and management principle, and that it therefore provide for the creation and development, in all federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies, of organizational units in which French would be the language of work; these units would be established in a variety of locations and would be of different sizes and functions. (§ 766.)
2. We recommend a) that in each federal department, Crown corporation, and other agency there be established French-language units (regional, headquarters, and/or cluster types) which correspond to existing units in their functions and organizational arrangements; b) that service units be reorganized into Anglophone and Francophone sections or in other appropriate ways to provide the normal range of services in both English and French; and c) that, within the larger regional French-language units, provision be made where necessary for the establishment of English-language units organized on the same pattern as the French-language units. (§ 787.)
3. We recommend that the appointments to the posts of deputy minister, associate deputy minister, assistant deputy minister, and equivalent positions in Crown corporations and other federal agencies be administered so as to ensure effectively balanced participation of Anglophones and Francophones at these levels. (§ 789.)

4. We recommend that on all federal planning and advisory bodies, including task forces, there be effectively balanced participation by Anglophones and Francophones. (§ 792.)
5. We recommend a) the use of French in written and oral communications from the French-language units to other units in the Public Service; and b) the use of either language in the written and oral communications originating from within the Public Service and addressed to the French-language units. (§ 795.)
6. We recommend a) that within two years all notices, directives, forms, and other formal written information and instructions (except manuals) used within federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies be made available in both languages and that, effective immediately, new documents of this kind be issued simultaneously in French and English; b) that within five years all manuals now in use be translated into French and that, beginning immediately, all new manuals be issued simultaneously in both languages; and c) that the order of priority for the translation of such documents be determined in accordance with the needs of the French-language units. (§ 800.)
7. We recommend the immediate amendment of the Public Service Employment Act and its Regulations, of collective bargaining agreements between the federal administration and its employees, and of similar laws, regulations, and agreements affecting the Crown corporations and other federal agencies, to require that communications in the general area of employee-employer relations take place in either English or French, according to the choice of the employee. (§ 802.)
8. We recommend that all positions throughout the federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies be classified as to language requirements, and that these requirements be specifically taken into account in the determination of remuneration. (§ 807.)
9. We recommend that the Language Training Directorate adapt the teaching of French and English to the needs of the French-language and English-language units. (§ 809.)
10. We recommend that language training for federal public servants increasingly emphasize receptive knowledge. (§ 810.)

11. We recommend that the Language Training Directorate accelerate, at all levels of instruction, the development of courses using vocabulary appropriate to the work of Canadian public servants. (§ 812.)
12. We recommend a) that the Public Service Commission's Language Training Directorate establish, as a matter of priority, courses to improve the French used by the federal administration; and b) that these courses be made available primarily to those Francophones and fully bilingual Anglophones who have assumed or intend to assume positions within a French-language unit, or positions which require regular communications with Francophones. (§ 813.)
13. We recommend that immediate and urgent attention be given to the preparation of a bilingual glossary of terminology appropriate to work in the Public Service. (§ 814.)
14. We recommend a) that the practice, current in many federal government departments, of translating as a matter of routine all letters and documents written in French cease immediately; b) that the federal government increase its support of translation courses at universities; and c) that the programme of financial aid for students of translation be accelerated and expanded. (§ 815.)
15. We recommend that the practice of original drafting in French be encouraged and that there be an end to the federal administration's current practice of originating almost all texts in English and subsequently translating them into French. (§ 817.)
16. We recommend that specific discussions among university, federal, and provincial representatives be initiated for the purpose of expanding programmes for teaching and research in public administration. (§ 821.)
17. We recommend that the federal government's recent efforts to recruit qualified people from France and other French-speaking countries be both intensified and expanded. (§ 823.)
18. We recommend that the actual process of recruiting for federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies involve more direct contact between senior public servants and placement officers, faculty, and students in French-language universities. (§ 825.)

19. We recommend a) that the process of testing and selecting candidates for federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies take into account the differing linguistic and cultural attributes of Francophone and Anglophone applicants; and b) that interviews and examinations related to recruiting, evaluation, and promotion of Francophones be conducted in French by public servants fluent in French, unless the candidate or employee opts for English. (§ 826.)
20. We recommend a) that the practices of staff rotation in the Public Service be extended to include the movement of personnel with the requisite language skills from one language environment to the other; and b) that all Public Service training and development programmes provide for the same opportunities in French as in English. (§ 829.)
21. We recommend that a system of educational allowances be introduced to help defray the costs of elementary and secondary education for the children of Francophone or Anglophone public servants who accept posts in places within Canada where adequate educational facilities in their own language are not available. (§ 830.)
22. We recommend the creation of a Public Service Language Authority. This new body will be responsible for: a) planning, implementing, and maintaining institutional bilingualism; b) acting as a guide for the government as a whole and giving encouragement to the individual components of the Public Service, including departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies; c) co-ordinating, aiding, and overseeing the activities of departmental language bureaux; d) defining general translation policy; and e) undertaking continuing research into the programme of institutional bilingualism and evaluating the results of the programme. (§ 835.)
23. We recommend that within each federal department, Crown corporation, or other agency, a language bureau, reporting directly to the deputy minister or his equivalent, be created and given the responsibility for planning, implementing, and maintaining a system of institutional bilingualism and for performing within the department the functions assigned to the Public Service Language Authority. (§ 839.)
24. We recommend that the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Official Languages be interpreted as including the language rights of public servants. (§ 842.)

25. We recommend that the National Defence Act be amended so as to recognize officially the equality of the two languages, and to establish a system of procedures which would guarantee the application of the ensuing language rights. (§ 974.)
26. We recommend a) that the Queen's Regulations for the Canadian Forces, Canadian Forces Administrative Orders, Canadian Forces Supplementary Orders, notices, directives, forms, and other documents of this nature be drafted jointly and issued simultaneously in both official languages; and b) that the practice of originating almost all documents in English and subsequently translating them into French cease at once. (§ 976)
27. We recommend that the "English-French—French-English Military Dictionary" be the official source for military and organizational terms and expressions used in the Canadian Forces and that it be continuously revised by a permanent team of experts. (§ 977.)
28. We recommend that in all disciplinary procedures, both verbal and written, an individual have the right to choose which of the official languages will be used; and that he have a right to formulate his personal complaints and grievances in the official language of his choice; and that a system of appeal be established in respect of these rights. (§ 978.)
29. We recommend that the department of National Defence provide for French- and English-language instruction of dependent children: a) by keeping up-to-date personnel records of the language or languages of instruction in which individual service members want their children to study and by giving full consideration to these preferences in the case of each new posting; b) by co-operating with provincial authorities in the organization of French- or English-language schools or classes wherever the proportion of personnel seeking such instruction justifies it; and c) by paying—without any form of language test—all financial costs incurred by parents in sending their children away from home to study in French or English when such schooling is not available or cannot be organized on or near a military base. (§ 980.)
30. We recommend that in the formulation of regulations, rules, and conventions governing social, cultural, leisure, commercial, and financial activities, the department of National Defence and the Canadian Forces recognize officially and in practice the linguistic and cultural equality of the two language groups. (§ 981.)

31. We recommend that the department of National Defence and the Canadian Forces take all necessary measures to ensure that in their relations with the public they fully respect the linguistic and cultural duality of the Canadian population, both within the country and abroad. (§ 982.)
32. We recommend a) that a French-language sector be created within Mobile Command; b) that French be the military language of work within this sector; c) that the sector include land and air units, as well as bases and other functional components; and d) that the French-language units and bases be situated in French-speaking areas of the country. (§ 988.)
33. We recommend a) that each base and unit within Mobile Command be designated as either a French-language or an English-language base or unit; b) that the bases and units of one language group communicate in their own language with bases and units of the other language group and with the rest of the Canadian Forces; and c) that communications from superior formations be sent in the language of the base or unit which is to receive them. (§ 990.)
34. We recommend a) that bilingual positions within Mobile Command be formally designated; b) that the level of bilingual proficiency be set for each of these positions; c) that such positions, including those requiring full bilingual proficiency be filled according to set criteria of proficiency; and d) that personnel be trained or re-trained in order to attain the required level of bilingual proficiency. (§ 993.)
35. We recommend that all personnel who wish to serve in the French-language sector receive, where necessary, professional training in French before being posted to that sector. (§ 994.)
36. We recommend a) that, where necessary to staff the different positions in the French-language sector of Mobile Command, qualified personnel who can exercise their duties in French be rapidly promoted; and b) that the authorized rank and promotion quotas be adjusted so as to make this possible. (§ 995.)
37. We recommend the progressive establishment of French-language units at Canadian Forces Headquarters and in commands other than Mobile Command. (§ 996.)

38. We recommend that Training and Mobile Command make available to the French-language sector instructors qualified to teach in the French language, as well as French-language manuals, texts, and teaching aids; and that, when required, they call upon French-language technical and technological institutions and universities in Canada and abroad. (§ 1000.)
39. We recommend that recruits and previously trained personnel who intend to join the French-language sector not be required to take English courses unless and until their professional development so requires. (§ 1001.)
40. We recommend that the existing Royal Military College at Kingston continue to be an English-language institution, and that the Collège militaire royal de Saint-Jean become a French-language, degree-granting institution with analogous curricula; and that there be a strong emphasis on the teaching of French at the Royal Military College at Kingston and on the teaching of English at the Collège militaire royal de Saint-Jean in order to develop bilingual proficiency among future officers. (§ 1003.)
41. We recommend that a Canadian Forces language bureau be established as a fifth branch at Canadian Forces Headquarters, and that it be made responsible for the planning, implementation, and co-ordination of the organizational measures needed to guarantee the realization of our recommendations within the Canadian Forces. (§ 1004.)

P.C. 1963-1106

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 19th July, 1963.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, the Prime Minister, advise that

André Laurendeau,¹ Montreal, P.Q.
Davidson Dunton, Ottawa, Ont.
Rev. Clément Cormier, Moncton, N.B.
Royce Frith, Toronto, Ont.
Jean-Louis Gagnon, Montreal, P.Q.
Mrs. Stanley Laing, Calgary, Alta.
Jean Marchand,² Quebec City, P.Q.
Jaroslav Bodhan Rudnycky, Winnipeg, Man.
Frank Scott, Montreal, P.Q.
Paul Wyczynski, Ottawa, Ont.

be appointed Commissioners under Part I of the Inquiries Act to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution; and in particular

¹ André Laurendeau died on June 1, 1968. On October 8, 1968, Jean-Louis Gagnon was appointed Co-Chairman and André Raynauld was appointed a member of the Commission.

² The resignation of Jean Marchand from the Commission was accepted on September 21, 1965. On November 22 of that year Paul Lacoste, formerly one of the Co-Secretaries of the Commission, was appointed to fill the vacancy created by M. Marchand's resignation. On May 1, 1966, Prof. Gilles Lalonde of the University of Montreal was appointed Co-Secretary.

1. to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration—including Crown corporations—and in their communications with the public and to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration;

2. to report on the role of public and private organizations, including the mass communications media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country and of the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures; and to recommend what should be done to improve that role; and

3. having regard to the fact that constitutional jurisdiction over education is vested in the provinces, to discuss with the provincial governments the opportunities available to Canadians to learn the English and French languages and to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual.

The Committee further advise:

- (a) that the Commissioners be authorized to exercise all the powers conferred upon them by section 11 of the Inquiries Act and be assisted to the fullest extent by Government departments and agencies;
- (b) that the Commissioners adopt such procedures and methods as they may from time to time deem expedient for the proper conduct of the inquiry and sit at such times and at such places as they may decide from time to time;
- (c) that the Commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisers as they may require at rates of remuneration and reimbursement to be approved by the Treasury Board;
- (d) that the Commissioners report to the Governor in Council with all reasonable despatch, and file with the Dominion Archivist the papers and records of the Commission as soon as reasonably may be after the conclusion of the inquiry.
- (e) that André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton be co-Chairmen of the Commission and André Laurendeau be Chief Executive Officer thereof.

R. G. ROBERTSON

Clerk of the Privy Council

Statement of the Right Hon. Lester B. Pearson
Regarding Policy Respecting Bilingualism
in the Public Service¹

Mr. Speaker, I should like also at this time to make a statement on the government's policy on bilingualism in the public service. I hope the house will agree that the importance of this subject justifies the fact that the statement is a little longer than would normally be acceptable.

It is the objective of the government to make the public service of maximum benefit to the people of Canada by attracting to it the most competent and qualified Canadians available in all parts of Canada. To this end, and having regard to the character of our country, the government for several years has been taking practical steps to encourage bilingualism in the federal public service as part of its fundamental objective of promoting and strengthening national unity on the basis of the equality of rights and opportunities for both English speaking and French speaking Canadians.

In a diverse federal state such as Canada it is important that all citizens should have a fair and equal opportunity to participate in the national administration and to identify themselves with, and feel at home in, their own national capital. The government hopes and expects that, within a reasonable period of years, a state of affairs in the public service will be reached whereby

(a) it will be normal practice for oral or written communications within the service to be made in either official language at the option of the person making them, in the knowledge that they will be understood by those directly concerned;

(b) communications with the public will normally be in either official language having regard to the person being served;

(c) the linguistic and cultural values of both English speaking and French speaking Canadians will be reflected through civil service recruitment and training; and

(d) a climate will be created in which public servants from both language groups will work together toward common goals, using their own language and applying their respective cultural values, but each fully understanding and appreciating those of the other.

In developing measures to assist those now in the public service more effectively to achieve a reasonable proficiency in both official languages and to improve the recruitment of civil servants with this proficiency, the government has been guided by the following principles:

(a) The achievement of bilingualism is in itself a desirable objective for any Canadian citizen. Where the need for bilingualism clearly exists in practice, above all in the national

¹ House of Commons, April 6, 1966.

capital, it should be recognized as an element of merit in selection for civil service positions.

(b) In conformity with the merit system, which must remain unimpaired, the requirement for bilingualism should relate to positions, and not only to individuals.

(c) Bilingualism must be introduced gradually over a period of years in a manner which will not lead to injustice or misunderstanding. The various measures should be integrated into a well defined, long term program.

(d) It must therefore be a requirement of any program that, in areas where a need for bilingualism exists, civil servants and prospective recruits must be provided with adequate time and opportunity to adapt themselves to new conditions in the service in a way that will increase their own possibilities for a successful and satisfying career.

(e) For similar reasons of equity, the careers of civil servants who are not bilingual and who have devoted many years of their lives to the service of their country must not be prejudiced in any way by measures to develop bilingualism.

(f) The government will consult from time to time with civil service associations concerning its policy on bilingualism in order to obtain their point of view, and to provide them with all reasonable assurances and remove any possible misunderstandings in regard to measures being proposed.

On the basis of the above objectives of policy and principles of action the government has approved the following measures:

I. In respect of civil service positions requiring prior university training

1. (a) Beginning in 1967, reasonable proficiency in the two official languages or willingness to acquire it within a prescribed period of time through appropriate training at public expense will be an element of merit in the selection of university graduates recruited for administrative trainee positions where the need

for bilingualism exists, as is already being done in the case of candidates for foreign service positions.

(b) In those centres where a need exists for reasonable proficiency in both languages, procedures will progressively be established for the filling of executive and administrative positions, so that by about 1970 in the case of appointments from outside the service and by about 1975 in the case of promotions from within, bilingual proficiency or willingness to acquire it will normally be a requirement for the positions in such centres; that is, where a need exists for reasonable proficiency in both languages.

(c) These procedures will not cover at this time the technical, professional and scientific positions in the civil service, the armed forces or federal crown agencies as these categories present special problems. The appropriate departmental and agency authorities are therefore being asked to submit a long term program of effective action in their respective areas of responsibility which takes these special problems and particular difficulties into account.

2. A special pool of positions will be established in the national capital to be used to facilitate the recruitment and to accelerate the development of candidates of high potential who are proficient in both languages.

II. In respect of senior executive officers

A special program for improving bilingualism among senior executive officers serving in the national capital will be undertaken. It is envisaged that each year some 20 English speaking civil servants from the most senior categories, plus their families, will spend a 12 month period in a mainly French speaking city, while some 10 French speaking civil servants and their families will spend a similar period in a mainly English speaking city, to study the other official language and gain an understanding of the cultural values of the group they are visiting.

In respect of bilingual clerical and secretarial positions, it has been agreed in principle that a higher rate of pay will be paid in future in respect of clerical and secretarial positions in which there is the requirement for a knowledge of both languages and where both are used in the performance of duties, providing the incumbents of such positions meet standards of competence established by the Civil Service Commission.

The present program of language training will be strengthened and expanded to make the most effective contribution to the development of proficiency in both languages in the public service in those centres where the need for such proficiency exists.

The federal government will undertake discussions with the Ontario and Quebec governments concerning the early establishment of a secondary school in the Ottawa area in which the language of instruction will be French, in order to meet the requirements of those who wish to provide their children with

secondary education in French, and concerning other joint measures that would directly or indirectly contribute to the improvement of the bicultural character of the civil service in the national capital.

A special secretariat on bilingualism is being established within the privy council office under my direction. Working in close consultation and co-operation with the Civil Service Commission, the Treasury Board and all deputy ministers and heads of agencies, it will be responsible for ensuring the co-ordinated and progressive implementation of the government's policy and program regarding bilingualism in the public service.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I should like to express the sincere hope that on the eve of our centennial, all Canadians will share my deep conviction that the policy and program of the government on bilingualism in the public service will be to make a very important, indeed an essential, contribution to the promotion of national unity and to a great and stronger Canada.

	344	52	15.1	332	52	15.7	12	0	0.0
Justice									
Public Printing and Stationery (Queen's Printer)									
Auditor General's Office	224	73	32.1	192	57	29.7	32	16	50.0
External Aid Office	220	13	5.1	170	6	3.5	50	7	14.0
Privy Council Office ²	203	36	17.7	203	36	17.7	0	0	0.0
	—	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Insurance	119	3	2.5	90	0	0.0	29	3	2.5
Air Transport Board	97	4	4.1	97	4	4.1	0	0	0.0
National Gallery	77	24	31.1	75	23	30.7	2	1	
Board of Broadcast Governors	42	19	45.2	42	19	45.2	0	0	0.0
Tariff Board	36	5	13.9	36	5	13.9	0	0	0.0
Canadian Maritime Commission	28	1	3.6	28	1	3.6	0	0	0.0
Office of the Chief Electoral Officer	19	9	47.4	19	9	47.4	0	0	0.0
All departments and agencies	175,865	15,834	8.9	24,141	2,371	9.6	134,867	12,204	9.0

Source: The departments and agencies concerned, and H. Steiner and H. Taylor, "Bilingual Posts and Their Incumbents."

¹ Civilian establishment only.

² Department or agency did not supply complete information.

Table A-2. Location of Bilingual Positions

Percentage distribution of bilingual positions in various federal departments and agencies, by region—Canada, 1966

	Ontario		Quebec		New		Total	
	Ottawa- Hull	(excluding Ottawa)	Montreal ¹	(excluding Hull)	Brunswick	Elsewhere	%	Number
National Defence ²	7.5	2.1	54.0	7.4	27.0	0.5	100	1,402
Post Office	19.4	5.9	62.3	1.2	8.8	0.6	100	3,969
Veterans' Affairs	7.6	1.5	81.8	5.1	2.5	0.0	100	1,540
Transport	3.5	0.0	57.3	19.6	16.1	3.5	100	1,183
Agriculture	37.9	1.5	31.6	9.8	16.6	0.0	100	576
Public Works	54.0	0.6	27.0	8.6	8.6	0.0	100	582
National Revenue—Customs and Excise	4.6	0.0	57.3	6.9	27.5	0.0	100	1,817
Unemployment Insurance Commission	21.5	8.0	31.2	2.9	13.8	0.0	100	942
National Employment Service	11.7	5.5	43.2	6.6	28.5	0.0	100	1,344
Northern Affairs and National Resources	51.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	32
Defence Production	56.3	0.0	29.9	7.2	0.0	6.6	100	167
Mines and Technical Surveys ³	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21
Citizenship and Immigration	13.1	0.0	47.5	16.6	14.8	5.0	100	514
National Health and Welfare	75.0	0.0	12.5	12.5	0.0	0.0	100	40
Dominion Bureau of Statistics	87.2	0.0	12.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	100	125
Fisheries	12.2	0.0	26.8	19.5	41.5	0.0	100	91
Trade and Commerce	12.8	2.4	54.4	14.4	15.2	0.8	100	130
Forestry	77.8	0.0	0.0	19.4	2.8	0.0	100	52
Secretary of State	91.7	0.0	7.8	0.5	0.0	0.0	100	444
Civil Service Commission	83.9	0.0	15.6	0.0	0.0	0.5	100	192
Industry	90.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.4	0.0	100	55
Labour	82.4	0.0	14.3	1.1	0.0	2.2	100	95
Finance ⁴	2							2
National Library and Public Archives	95.7	0.8	0.4	0.0	1.9	0.4	100	265
Justice	96.7	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	52
Public Printing and Stationery (Queen's Printer)	90.6	0.0	9.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	73
Auditor General's Office	6		6	1				13
External Aid Office	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	36

Privy Council Office ⁴	15																		15
Insurance ⁴				3															3
Air Transport Board ⁴	4																		4
National Gallery	100.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	24
Board of Broadcast Governors	100.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	19
Tariff Board ⁴	5																		5
Canadian Maritime Commission ⁴	1																		1
Office of the Chief Electoral Officer ⁴	9																		9
All departments and agencies	44.4		2.0	32.8	5.9	10.6	3.4	0.9	100									15,834	

Source: The departments and agencies concerned, and Steiner and Taylor, "Bilingual Posts and Their Incumbents."

¹ Metropolitan area.

² Civilian establishment only.

³ Department or agency did not supply complete information.

⁴ Since there are too few bilingual positions to give meaningful percentages, we have indicated the distribution in numbers.

Table A-3. Bilingual Positions and Occupations

Percentage distribution of bilingual positions of various federal departments and agencies, by occupation—Canada, 1966

	Adminis- trators	Scientists and pro- fessionals	Office employees	Tech- nicians	Opera- tional	Total	
						%	Number
National Defence ¹	14.7	10.1	40.8	15.4	19.0	100	1,402
Post Office	2.3	1.1	93.2	1.7	1.7	100	3,969
Veterans' Affairs	3.0	14.0	31.7	41.8	9.5	100	1,540
Transport	9.5	9.6	50.5	25.9	4.5	100	1,183
Agriculture	41.5	23.8	23.3	3.6	7.8	100	576
Public Works	9.9	14.0	20.9	9.9	45.3	100	582
National Revenue—							
Customs and Excise	71.4	1.2	25.6	0.9	0.9	100	1,817
Unemployment Insurance							
Commission	10.7	49.7	28.6	11.0	0.0	100	942
National Employment Service	7.6	60.1	31.3	0.5	0.5	100	1,344
Northern Affairs and							
National Resources	15.6	18.8	43.7	18.8	3.1	100	32
Defence Production	47.4	2.4	37.7	10.2	2.3	100	167
Mines and Technical Surveys ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	21
Citizenship and Immigration	11.2	59.5	29.3	0.0	0.0	100	514
National Health and Welfare	12.5	12.5	57.5	17.5	0.0	100	40
Dominion Bureau of Statistics	11.2	16.8	62.4	9.6	0.0	100	125
Fisheries	43.2	9.1	40.9	6.8	0.0	100	91
Trade and Commerce	82.5	0.8	14.3	2.4	0.0	100	130
Forestry	13.5	29.8	43.2	13.5	0.0	100	52
Secretary of State	3.5	59.2	36.8	0.5	0.0	100	444
Civil Service Commission	43.3	17.2	38.0	1.5	0.0	100	192
Industry	1.9	3.7	40.7	42.5	11.2	100	55
Labour	33.8	6.5	51.0	8.7	0.0	100	95
Finance ³	2						2
National Library and							
Public Archives	3.8	38.5	38.1	18.9	0.7	100	265
Justice	9.6	23.1	63.5	0.0	3.8	100	52
Public Printing and Station- ery (Queen's Printer)	30.1	1.4	53.4	15.1	0.0	100	73
Auditor General's Office ³	1		3	8	1		13
External Aid Office	33.3	5.6	61.1	0.0	0.0	100	36
Privy Council Office ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
Insurance ³	2		1				3
Air Transport Board ³	2		2	1			4
National Gallery	8.3	50.0	37.5	4.2	0.0	100	24
Board of Broadcast Governors	26.3	5.3	68.4	0.0	0.0	100	19
Tariff Board ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	5

Table A-3. (cont'd.)

	Adminis- trators	Scientists and pro- fessionals	Office employees	Tech- nicians	Opera- tional	Total	
						%	Number
Canadian Maritime Com- mission			1				1
Office of the Chief Electoral Officer ³	6		3				9
All departments and agencies	22.5	24.8	38.5	9.5	4.7	100	15,834

Source: The departments and agencies concerned, and Steiner and Taylor, "Bilingual Positions and Their Incumbents."
¹ Civilian establishment only.
² Department or agency did not supply complete information.
³ Since there are too few bilingual positions to give meaningful percentages, we have indicated the distribution in numbers.

Table A-4. Linguistic Aptitudes in Seven Federal Agencies

Index¹ of linguistic aptitudes of public servants in seven federal agencies and in the departmental Public Service, by mother tongue—Canada, 1965

	Mother tongue	Second language	Sample	Reading	Writing	Speaking	Under- standing spoken
Air Canada	French	English	177	92	84	88	92
	English	French	1,845	29	21	26	28
	Other	French	291	36	26	33	36
CBC	French	English	445	83	73	77	80
	English	French	1,011	37	27	30	33
	Other	French	135	33	27	27	30
RCMP (uniformed staff)	French	English	119	94	88	89	96
	English	French	1,583	22	14	16	18
	Other	French	169	17	10	11	12
NRC	French	English	47	90	83	89	92
	English	French	486	44	27	31	35
	Other	French	104	45	27	29	32
CMHC	French	English	166	83	77	77	83
	English	French	497	27	17	20	23
	Other	French	77	27	20	23	27
NFB	French	English	78	88	84	84	89
	English	French	167	52	37	44	47
	Other	French	21	49	37	43	50
Bank of Canada	French	English	31	84	83	76	85
	English	French	125	39	28	25	29
	Other	French	10	*	*	*	*
Departmental Public Service	French	English	1,189	80	73	73	80
	English	French	6,803	23	17	17	20
	Other	French	806	20	13	17	17

Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."
* No statistical value.
¹ The scale goes from 0 (no aptitude) to 100 (considerable aptitude).

Table A-5. Optimum Working Language

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants, classed according to optimum working language on entrance to the Public Service, by optimum working language in 1965—Canada, 1965

On entrance	Sample	In 1965			Total
		French	English	French and English	
French	608	52.5	6.4	41.1	100
English	7,653	0.1	98.5	1.4	100
French and English	891	3.0	11.3	85.7	100
All public servants	9,152	7.0	79.7	13.3	100

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table A-6. Optimum Working Language and Region of Posting

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants, classed according to optimum working language on entrance to the Public Service and location of posting, by optimum working language in 1965—Canada, 1965

On entrance	Location of posting	Sample	In 1965			Total
			French	English	French and English	
French	Atlantic provinces	21	64.8	5.9	29.3	100
	Ottawa-Hull	275	27.1	16.8	56.1	100
	Quebec (excluding Hull)	537	62.0	1.2	36.8	100
	Ontario (excluding Ottawa)	19	39.4	19.7	40.9	100
	Western provinces	14	37.6	48.8	13.6	100
	All locations ¹	891	52.5	6.4	41.1	100
English	Atlantic provinces	803	0.0	99.0	1.0	100
	Ottawa-Hull	3,213	0.0	97.6	2.4	100
	Quebec (excluding Hull)	211	3.4	79.6	17.0	100
	Ontario (excluding Ottawa)	1,449	0.1	99.6	0.3	100
	Western provinces	1,737	0.0	99.7	0.3	100
	All locations ¹	7,653	0.1	98.5	1.4	100
French and English	Atlantic provinces	26	0.0	16.1	83.9	100
	Ottawa-Hull	305	0.0	12.0	87.9	100
	Quebec (excluding Hull)	197	7.5	3.4	89.1	100
	Ontario (excluding Ottawa)	51	2.5	18.2	79.3	100
	Western provinces	23	0.0	54.0	46.0	100
	All locations ¹	608	3.0	11.3	85.7	100

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ Includes posts outside Canada.

Table A-7. Optimum Working Language and Occupation

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants, classed according to optimum language of work on entrance to the Public Service and occupational category, by optimum working language in 1965—Canada, 1965

On entrance		Sample	In 1965			Total
			French	English	French and English	
French	Managers	146	39.7	12.8	47.5	100
	Engineers and scientists	64	38.4	12.1	49.5	100
	Other professionals and technicians	144	39.0	6.0	55.0	100
	Clerical	274	51.5	7.6	40.9	100
	Other	263	59.6	3.4	37.0	100
	All categories	891	52.5	6.4	41.1	100
English	Managers	1,615	0.0	97.0	3.0	100
	Engineers and scientists	1,428	0.0	98.9	1.1	100
	Other professionals and technicians	1,202	0.0	98.8	1.2	100
	Clerical	1,522	0.3	98.6	1.1	100
	Other	1,886	0.1	98.7	1.2	100
	All categories	7,563	0.1	98.5	1.4	100
French and English	Managers	126	2.6	12.0	85.4	100
	Engineers and scientists	40	15.8	9.7	74.5	100
	Other professionals and technicians	82	4.0	13.1	82.9	100
	Clerical	190	1.7	13.2	85.1	100
	Other	170	3.7	8.9	87.4	100
	All categories	608	3.0	11.3	85.7	100

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table A-8. Knowledge of English, Length of Service, and Salary Advancement

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants of French mother tongue, classed according to whether or not they had acquired English as a working language and according to years of service, by salary advancement—Canada, 1965

Salary advancement since entry	Had acquired English		Had not acquired English	
	10 years or less	More than 10 years	10 years or less	More than 10 years
Less than \$2,000	35.1	4.6	50.1	10.6
\$2,000 – \$3,999	53.4	47.9	41.7	42.0
\$4,000 and over	11.5	47.5	8.2	47.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	193	262	204	219

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table A-9. Survival and Acquisition of Optimum Working Language

Percentage of public servants in seven federal agencies and the departmental Public Service who kept French, English, or French and English as their optimum working language or who acquired French or English since joining the Public Service—Canada, 1965

	Survival of French ¹		Survival of English ²		Survival of bilingualism		Acquisition of French		Acquisition of English	
	Sample	%	Sample	%	Sample	%	Sample	%	Sample	%
Air Canada	278	86.1	2,279	99.7	146	77.1	2,133	2.6	132	71.9
CBC	509	96.1	1,306	98.2	158	83.9	1,148	4.0	351	32.7
RCMP (uniformed staff)	167	92.3	1,822	99.9	63	89.1	1,759	1.0	104	67.0
NRC	81	83.3	641	99.3	48	77.8	593	2.2	33	83.8
CMHC	203	92.0	653	99.0	82	86.0	571	2.0	121	48.0
NFB	89	98.8	212	100.0	27	100.0	185	10.5	62	43.7
Bank of Canada	37	94.2	159	99.1	13	*	136	1.0	24	77.8
Departmental Public Service	1,499	91.6	8,261	99.6	608	85.7	7,653	1.5	891	7.5

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

* No statistical value.

¹ Retention of French by public servants whose optimum working language on entry was French or French and English.

² Retention of English by those whose optimum working language on entry was English or French and English.

Table A-10. Language Use at Work and at Home

Index of the use¹ of French and English at work and at home by public servants in seven federal agencies and in the departmental Public Service, by mother tongue—Canada, 1965

	Mother tongue	Sample	At work		At home	
			French	English	French	English
Air Canada	French		38	75	79	27
	English		6	95	38	97
	Other		11	92	70	74
	All	2,413	11	92	15	84
CBC	French		74	38	88	16
	English		8	92	16	96
	Other		12	88	10	62
	All	1,655	34	72	36	62
RCMP (uniformed staff)	French		48	68	70	33
	English		3	97	12	97
	Other		2	92	8	89
	All	1,950	7	93	10	90
NRC	French		8	81	76	30
	English		28	95	44	97
	Other		5	93	34	67
	All	675	11	92	16	81
CMHC	French		62	50	84	20
	English		4	94	4	96
	Other		12	90	8	74
	All	777	22	82	24	74
NFB	French		59	57	85	17
	English		16	89	70	93
	Other		25	85	22	56
	All	277	31	79	33	66
Bank of Canada	French		51	66	87	18
	English		6	94	18	96
	Other		*	*	*	*
	All	175	18	87	24	75
Departmental Public Service	French		57	55	81	24
	English		4	96	24	98
	Other		5	93	28	83
	All	9,152	15	87	19	81

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

* No statistical value.

¹ Scale from 0 (never) to 100 (always).

Table A-11. Use of French and English in Seven Federal Agencies

Percentage¹ of public servants in seven federal agencies whose optimum working language includes both French and English and who use French and English at work—Canada, 1965

	<i>Sample</i>	Language used at work	Use				
			Exclusive	Dominant	About half the time	Frequent	Occasional
Air Canada	229	French	0.4	6.7	29.9	64.8	90.6
		English	18.0	73.8	95.7	99.5	100.0
CBC	278	French	11.1	59.6	80.9	88.1	98.0
		English	13.3	19.8	41.3	73.0	98.2
RCMP (uniformed staff)	133	French	1.6	16.4	49.4	73.3	93.8
		English	13.2	54.5	89.0	96.0	99.9
NRC	64	French	1.7	1.7	12.9	47.8	90.5
		English	16.9	84.4	92.4	100.0	100.0
CMHC	133	French	1.6	36.9	69.2	83.7	94.0
		English	6.8	32.8	62.0	86.4	98.4
NFB	70	French	0.0	14.7	52.5	78.4	97.2
		English	5.7	47.2	83.2	100.0	100.0
Bank of Canada	31	French	0.0	13.9	53.0	74.7	96.4
		English	3.5	57.4	86.1	93.1	100.0

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ The percentages are cumulative.

Table A-12. Bilingualism and Contact with the Public

Percentage of public servants in federal departments who consider themselves bilingual, by mother tongue and frequency of contact with the Francophone or Anglophone public—Canada, 1965

Amount of contact with public speaking the other official language	Mother tongue			
	French		English and other	
	<i>Sample</i>	Percentage who rated themselves bilingual	<i>Sample</i>	Percentage who rated themselves bilingual
None	84	30.0	4,036	0.7
Limited	330	33.2	3,000	2.5
Fair	385	55.8	389	15.5
Considerable	392	80.1	163	34.1
All public servants	1,191	52.5	7,588	2.4

Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table A-13. French Mail Received

Percentage and translation of French letters received by various federal departments and agencies—Canada, 1965

	Total number of letters received	Letters in French received		Departments and agencies where French letters received and translated
		Number	%	
Agriculture	232,000	45,000	19.4	
Air Canada	*	*	*	X ¹
Air Transport Board	28,452	1,422	5.0	X
Atlantic Development Board	2,400	24	1.0	
Atomic Energy of Canada	300,000	3,000	1.0	
Auditor General's Office	1,000	20	2.0	
Bank of Canada	25,000	1,875	7.5	
Board of Transport Commissioners	18,000	2,160	12.0	X
Canadian Arsenals Limited	39,560	1,741	4.4	
CBC	47,317	3,785	8.0	
CNR	927,000	46,350	5.0	
Canadian Penitentiary Service	52,052	8,328	16.0	
Canadian Pension Commission	117,780	5,418	4.6	
Centennial Commission	7,500	600	8.0	
CMHC	87,500	3,063	3.5	X
Citizenship and Immigration	433,710	13,011	3.0	X
—Citizenship Branch	10,000	1,000	1.0	
—Citizenship Registration	42,490	424	1.0	
—Indian Affairs	60,000	1,200	2.0	
—Personnel Branch	2,700	108	4.0	
Civil Service Commission	400,000	92,000	23.0	
Comptroller of the Treasury	300,000	1,500	0.5	
Crown Assets Disposal Corporation	30,000	1,500	5.0	
Defence Construction Limited	52,700	2,160	4.1	
Defence Production	232,064	3,783	1.6	
DBS	15,000	750	5.0	
Emergency Measures Organization	100	25	25.0	X ¹
Export Credits Insurance Corporation	13,000	7	0.05	X
External Affairs	27,541	2,479	9.0	
Farm Credit Corporation	7,500	525	7.0	
Finance	12,000	1,200	10.0	X
Fisheries	140,000	7,000	5.0	
Fisheries Research Board	25,000	5	0.002	
Forestry	4,800	480	10.0	
House of Commons	12,000	3,000	25.0	
Industry	77,210	2,670	3.5	
Insurance	20,000	200	1.0	
International Joint Commission	2,000	20	1.0	
Justice (and Attorney General)	42,000	4,200	10.0	
Labour	212,000	10,600	5.0	
Library of Parliament	*	*	25.0	

Table A-13. (cont'd.)

	Total number of letters received	Letters in French received		Departments and agencies where French letters received and translated
		Number	%	
Mines and Technical Surveys	200,000	10,000	5.0	
National Capital Commission	57,200	9,724	17.0	
National Defence	64,200	1,797	2.8	
National Energy Board	6,000	180	3.0	X
National Gallery	10,000	2,000	20.0	
National Health and Welfare	2,187,640	765,674	35.0	X
National Library	40,000	2,700	6.8	
NRC	745,000	7,450	1.0	
National Revenue				
—Customs and Excise	413,267	12,728	3.1	
—Taxation	1,800,000	360,000	20.0	
Northern Affairs and National Resources	157,500	7,875	5.0	
Office of the Chief Electoral Officer	3,000	1,000	33.3	
Post Office	137,500	11,000	8.0	
Privy Council Office	26,000	3,900	15.0	
Public Printing and Stationery	50,000	20,000	40.0	
Public Works	250,000	15,250	6.1	
Royal Canadian Mint	100,000	2,000	2.0	X
RCMP	106,710	4,910	4.6	X
St. Lawrence Seaway Authority	63,000	4,280	6.8	
Secretary of State	522,000	11,650	2.2	
Senate	3,000	300	10.0	
Tariff Board	1,500	30	2.0	
Tax Appeal Board	1,200	96	8.0	
Trade and Commerce	788,000	8,670	1.1	
Treasury Board	15,000	150	1.0	
Transport	330,400	28,084	8.5	
Unemployment Insurance Commission	102,353	35,830	35.0	
Veterans' Affairs	1,680,000	77,280	4.6	X
All departments and agencies	13,919,846*	1,677,181*	12.0*	15

Source: The departments and agencies concerned, and Jacques LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique."

* Incomplete data.

¹ Letters in French are translated only when the recipient is an Anglophone.

Table A-14. Language of External Forms

Percentage distribution of external forms distributed by various federal departments and agencies—Canada, 1965

	Language of forms					Total	
	English only	French only	French and English on separate forms	Bilingual (one form only)	English and bilingual ¹	%	Number
Agriculture	59.9	1.9	19.3	18.9	0.0	100	259
Air Canada	65.2	4.5	9.0	21.3	0.0	100	39
Air Transport Board	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100	50
Atlantic Development Board	4						4
Atomic Energy of Canada	93.8	0.0	3.1	3.1	0.0	100	32
Auditor General's Office	1						1
Bank of Canada	22.5	4.5	60.7	7.8	4.5	100	89
Board of Transport Commissioners	85.7	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	14
Canadian Arsenals Limited	1		1	1			3
CBC	11.5	0.0	84.6	3.9	0.0	100	26
CNR	55.8	1.8	4.6	23.0	14.8	100	217
Canadian Penitentiary Service	1		5				6
Canadian Pension Commission	0.0	0.0	83.8	16.2	0.0	100	117
Centennial Commission			4				4
CMHC	34.3	0.9	12.8	52.0	0.0	100	344
Citizenship and Immigration							
—Citizenship Branch	8.3	0.0	20.8	70.9	0.0	100	24
—Citizenship Registration	2	2					4
—Immigration	11.1	0.0	29.6	59.3	0.0	100	27
—Indian Affairs	55.9	0.0	42.9	1.2	0.0	100	84
Civil Service Commission	4.3	0.0	30.4	65.2	0.0	100	23
Comptroller of the Treasury	29.8	0.0	64.3	5.9	0.0	100	84
Crown Assets Disposal Corporation	1		1	1			3
Defence Construction Limited	47.6	0.0	20.2	32.2	0.0	100	84
Defence Production	93.5	0.0	2.2	0.7	3.6	100	139
DBS	60.9	0.4	33.4	5.1	0.2	100	2,179
Export Credits Insurance Corporation	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	26
External Affairs	4.0	0.0	72.0	24.0	0.0	100	25
Farm Credit Corporation	53.9	12.6	29.9	3.6	0.0	100	167
Finance	7		6				13
Fisheries	58.6	0.0	34.5	6.9	0.0	100	58
Forestry	43.7	0.0	4.2	52.1	0.0	100	71
House of Commons			5				5
Industry	3		5				8
Insurance	60.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	0.0	100	25
International Joint Commission				1			1
Justice (and Attorney General)					1		1
Labour	34.4	0.0	50.2	15.4	0.0	100	195
Library of Parliament			2				2

Table A-14. (cont'd.)

	Language of forms					Total	
	English only	French only	French and English on separate forms	Bilingual (one form only)	English and bilingual ¹	%	Number
Mines and Technical Surveys	71.4	28.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	35
National Capital Commission	1		2	1			4
National Defence	51.4	0.0	10.8	37.8	0.0	100	37
National Employment Service	1		11	1			13
National Energy Board	8						8
NFB	6		6	1			13
National Gallery	6			3			9
National Health and Welfare	68.6	0.9	20.8	9.3	0.4	100	236
National Library	38.9	0.0	38.9	22.2	0.0	100	18
NRC	44.1	0.0	52.5	3.4	0.0	100	59
National Revenue							
— Customs and Excise	38.0	0.0	34.9	26.3	0.8	100	129
— Taxation	6.2	0.0	14.7	79.1	0.0	100	129
Northern Affairs and National Resources	76.5	0.0	5.9	17.6	0.0	100	85
Office of the Chief Electoral Officer	0.0	0.0	67.5	0.0	32.5	100	40
Post Office	4.9	0.0	7.7	87.4	0.0	100	222
Public Printing and Stationery	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100	56
Public Works	15.1	6.1	66.7	12.1	0.0	100	33
Royal Canadian Mint				1			1
RCMP	38.9	0.0	44.4	16.7	0.0	100	18
St. Lawrence Seaway Authority	23.8	0.0	47.6	28.6	0.0	100	21
Secretary of State	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100	300
Senate	1		7				8
Trade and Commerce	40.0	0.0	45.0	15.0	0.0	100	20
Transport	49.7	0.0	22.4	27.9	0.0	100	344
Unemployment Insurance							
Commission	3.5	0.0	33.6	62.9	0.0	100	512
Veterans' Affairs	0.0	0.0	96.2	13.8	0.0	100	188
All departments and agencies	42.4	1.0	29.9	25.8	0.9	100	7,041

Source: The departments and agencies concerned, and La Rivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique."

¹ Bilingual form for Quebec and English form for the rest of Canada.

Table A-15. Language and Translation of Publications

Language of publications issued by various federal departments and agencies, and percentage of translation into French—Canada, 1965

	Number of words in English	Words translated into French		Number of words in French only
		Number	%	
Agriculture	1,520,675	266,200	17.5	
Air Canada	47,576	15,576	32.7	
Atomic Energy of Canada	9,400	9,400	100.0	
Auditor General's Office	97,500	97,500	100.0	
Bank of Canada	172,300	92,300	53.6	
Board of Transport Commissioners	280,930	280,150	99.7	
Canadian Arsenal Limited	4,500	4,500	100.0	
CBC	400,000	40,000	10.0	80,000
CNR	55,500	55,500	100.0	
Canadian Penitentiary Service	71,600	71,600	100.0	
Centennial Commission	61,500	57,500	93.5	
CMHC	322,450	322,450	100.0	
Citizenship and Immigration	57,000	45,500	79.8	
—Citizenship Branch	420,436	420,436	100.0	
—Indian Affairs	188,700	188,700	100.0	
Civil Service Commission	46,800	46,800	100.0	
Comptroller of the Treasury	213,000	213,000	100.0	
Crown Assets Disposal Corporation	2,000	2,000	100.0	
Defence Construction Limited	28,200	28,200	100.0	
Defence Production	296,000	101,000	34.1	
DBS	2,761,710	1,142,025	41.3	139,400
Export Credits Insurance Corporation	4,000	4,000	100.0	
External Affairs	323,738	322,780	99.7	
Farm Credit Corporation	9,000	9,000	100.0	
Finance	51,000	51,000	100.0	
Fisheries	1,110,600	156,400	14.1	
Fisheries Research Board	2,390,000	420,000	17.6	
Forestry	2,383,350	231,750	9.7	
House of Commons	3,469,700	3,469,700	100.0	
Industry	22,060	22,060	100.0	
Insurance	611,000	571,000	93.5	
Justice (and Attorney General)	231,500	231,500	100.0	
Labour	1,237,930	780,554	63.1	
Mines and Technical Surveys	5,168,300	1,535,000	29.7	
National Capital Commission	46,199	34,199	74.0	
National Defence	968,500	328,500	33.9	
National Employment Service	41,650	41,650	100.0	
National Energy Board	49,368	6,670	13.5	
NFB	98,000	98,000	100.0	
National Health and Welfare	1,432,143	917,605	64.1	7,200
National Library	989,800	829,800	83.8	

Table A-15. (cont'd.)

	Number of words in English	Words translated into French		Number of words in French only
		Number	%	
NRC	1,424,950	234,000	16.4	3,000
National Revenue				
—Taxation	333,000	333,000	100.0	
Northern Affairs and National Resources	672,000	—	0.0	
Post Office	316,800	316,800	100.0	
Public Printing and Stationery	1,444,500	1,444,500	100.0	
Public Works	263,000	263,000	100.0	
Royal Canadian Mint	5,500	5,500	100.0	
RCMP	413,250	47,650	11.5	
St. Lawrence Seaway Authority	18,500	18,500	100.0	
Secretary of State	971,100	420,400	43.3	132,600
Senate	21,000	21,000	100.0	
Tariff Board	260,000	260,000	100.0	
Tax Appeal Board	1,900	1,900	100.0	
Trade and Commerce	471,640	176,500	37.4	22,380
Transport	4,946,519	589,819	11.9	
Unemployment Insurance Commission	173,350	173,350	100.0	
Veterans' Affairs	582,430	77,620	13.3	
All departments and agencies	40,015,054	17,934,544	44.8	386,180

Source: The departments and agencies concerned, and Jacques LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique."

Table A-16.

Language of Internal Forms

Percentage distribution of internal forms used in various federal departments and agencies, by language—

Canada, 1965

	Language of forms					Total	
	English only	French only	French and English on separate forms	Bilingual (one form only)	English and bilingual ¹	%	Number
Agriculture	91.7	0.5	5.1	2.7	0.0	100	1,750
Air Canada	82.3	0.6	0.3	16.8	0.0	100	1,553
Air Transport Board	6						6
Atlantic Development Board	87.5	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	100	40
Atomic Energy of Canada	99.7	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	100	1,454
Auditor General's Office	3						3
Bank of Canada	95.7	0.0	3.1	0.9	0.3	100	810
Board of Transport Commissioners	84.7	0.0	0.0	15.3	0.0	100	72
Canadian Arsenal Limited	92.5	5.8	0.6	1.1	0.0	100	970
CBC	60.9	0.4	17.5	19.2	2.0	100	468
CNR	95.0	0.4	0.6	3.0	1.0	100	2,092
Canadian Penitentiary Service	86.3	0.0	12.5	1.2	0.0	100	1,600
Canadian Pension Commission	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	125
CMHC	97.0	0.0	1.2	1.8	0.0	100	330
Citizenship and Immigration							
— Administration	93.5	0.0	0.0	6.5	0.0	100	77
— Citizenship Branch	60.0	1.0	8.0	31.0	0.0	100	100
— Citizenship Registration	1						1
— Immigration	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	132
— Indian Affairs	83.4	0.4	14.8	1.4	0.0	100	445
Civil Service Commission	74.3	0.0	12.2	13.5	0.0	100	74
Comptroller of the Treasury	63.8	2.4	0.0	33.8	0.0	100	826
Crown Assets Disposal Corporation	85.2	0.0	0.0	14.8	0.0	100	27
Defence Construction Limited	90.1	0.0	2.0	7.9	0.0	100	152
Defence Production	98.3	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	100	478
DBS	89.5	0.3	5.1	5.1	0.0	100	1,625
Emergency Measures Organization	0.0	0.0	93.7	6.3	0.0	100	32
Export Credits Insurance Corporation	3						3
External Affairs	95.9	0.8	2.5	0.8	0.0	100	1,205
Farm Credit Corporation	85.0	7.1	3.6	4.3	0.0	100	140
Finance	5						5
Fisheries	96.2	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0	100	210
Fisheries Research Board	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	20
Forestry	89.9	0.0	0.4	9.7	0.0	100	298
House of Commons	2		3	5			10
Industry	88.6	0.0	0.0	11.4	0.0	100	70
Labour	89.2	0.0	6.8	4.0	0.0	100	528
Mines and Technical Surveys	16.7	0.0	50.0	33.3	0.0	100	600
National Capital Commission	86.4	0.0	9.1	4.5	0.0	100	22

Table A-16. (cont'd.)

	Language of forms					Total	
	English only	French only	French and English on separate forms	Bilingual (one form only)	English and bilingual ¹	%	Number
National Defence	95.9	0.0	1.6	2.5	0.0	100	6,063
National Employment Service	15.9	0.0	25.6	58.5	0.0	100	82
National Energy Board	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	42
NFB	57.1	0.3	8.5	34.1	0.0	100	305
National Gallery	4						4
National Health and Welfare	86.9	7.6	4.9	0.6	0.0	100	799
National Library	78.8	0.0	5.2	16.0	0.0	100	212
NRC	96.5	0.0	2.2	1.3	0.0	100	227
National Revenue							
— Customs and Excise	84.8	0.0	8.7	6.5	0.0	100	310
— Taxation	51.7	7.1	3.5	37.7	0.0	100	714
Northern Affairs and National Resources	91.1	0.0	0.8	8.1	0.0	100	1,240
Office of the Chief Electoral Officer	0.0	0.0	63.9	0.0	36.1	100	72
Post Office	27.5	1.2	2.9	68.4	0.0	100	861
Privy Council Office	1			1			2
Public Printing and Stationery	16.7	3.3	0.0	80.0	0.0	100	30
Public Works	83.0	0.8	9.1	7.1	0.0	100	758
Royal Canadian Mint	4			2			6
RCMP	91.5	0.0	4.9	3.6	0.0	100	471
St. Lawrence Seaway Authority	86.6	1.9	0.0	9.5	0.0	100	525
Secretary of State	3.6	3.6	92.8	0.0	0.0	100	700
Senate	6		6				12
Tax Appeal Board	1			9			10
Trade and Commerce	90.7	0.0	0.4	8.9	0.0	100	236
Treasury Board	95.3	0.0	4.7	0.0	0.0	100	43
Transport	84.0	0.7	3.8	11.2	0.3	100	3,364
Unemployment Insurance Commission	53.6	0.0	2.3	44.1	0.0	100	345
Veterans' Affairs	97.3	0.0	1.6	1.1	0.0	100	707
All departments and agencies	83.8	0.9	6.1	9.0	0.2	100	36,493

Source: The departments and agencies concerned, and La Rivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique."

¹ Bilingual form for Quebec and English form for the rest of Canada.

Table A-17. Language of Manuals and Circulars

Percentage distribution of manuals used in various federal departments and agencies, by language—Canada, 1965

	Language of manuals		Total	
	English only	French and English	%	Number
Agriculture	74.2	25.8	100	31
Air Canada	100.0	0.0	100	200
Air Transport Board		2		2
Atomic Energy of Canada	7			7
Auditor General's Office	1			1
Bank of Canada	1			1
Board of Transport Commissioners	1			1
Canadian Arsenals Limited	5	4		11
CBC	7	6		11
CNR	64.9	35.1	100	74
Canadian Penitentiary Service		1		1
Canadian Pension Commission	2			2
CMHC	2	3		5
Citizenship and Immigration				
—Administration	2			2
—Citizenship Branch	1			1
—Immigration	9			9
—Indian Affairs	3			3
Civil Service Commission	1			1
Comptroller of the Treasury	5	2		7
Crown Assets Disposal Corporation	1	1		3
Defence Construction Limited	2	2		3
Defence Production	4	2		6
DBS	55.6	44.4	100	18
Emergency Measures Organization	0.0	100.0	100	16
External Affairs	90.0	10.0	100	20
Farm Credit Corporation		5		5
Fisheries	1	1		2
Forestry	1			1
House of Commons		1		1
International Joint Commission	1			1
Labour	4			4
Mines and Technical Surveys	6			6
National Capital Commission	2			2
National Defence	99.8	0.2	100	24,497
National Employment Service	9	3		12
National Energy Board	2			2
NFB	1	1		1
National Health and Welfare	60.7	39.3	100	28
National Library	3			3
NRC	1			1

Table A-17. (cont'd.)

	Language of manuals		Total	
	English only	French and English	%	Number
National Revenue				
— Customs and Excise	6	3		9
— Taxation	43.7	56.3	100	16
Northern Affairs and National Resources	100.0	0.0	100	17
Office of the Chief Electoral Officer		8		8
Post Office	2	8		10
Public Works	6			6
RCMP	90.9	9.1	100	22
St. Lawrence Seaway Authority	5	5		10
Secretary of State		4		4
Tariff Board	1			1
Trade and Commerce	6			6
Treasury Board	2			2
Transport	87.0	13.0	100	46
Unemployment Insurance Commission	1	7		8
Veterans' Affairs	1	3		4
All departments and agencies	99.15	0.85	100	25,172

Source: The departments and agencies concerned, and LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique."

Table A-18. Translation into English of French-Language Documents and the Language Used in File Indices
Frequency of translation into English of French-language documents in various federal departments and agencies; language of file indices—Canada, 1965

	Language of File Indices						
	Translation into English of French-language documents			In Ottawa		In Quebec	
	Usually	Rarely	Never	English only	French only	English and French	English only
Agriculture	×			×			
Air Canada	×			×		×	
Air Transport Board	×			×			
Atlantic Development Board			×	×			
Atomic Energy of Canada		×		×			
Auditor General's Office			×	×			×
Bank of Canada	×						
Board of Transport Commissioners	×			×			
Canadian Arsenals Limited		×		×			
CBC		×				×	
CNR			×	×			×
Canadian Penitentiary Service		×		×		×	×
Canadian Pension Commission			×	×		×	
Centennial Commission			×				
CMHC	×			×			
Citizenship and Immigration							
—Administration		×		×			×
—Citizenship Branch		×		×			×
—Citizenship Registration		×		×			×
—Immigration	×			×		×	
—Indian Affairs	×			×		×	
Civil Service Commission		×		×			
Comptroller of the Treasury	×			×			×
Crown Assets Disposal Corporation				×			
Defence Construction Limited	×			×			
Defence Production	×			×			
DBS						×	
Emergency Measures Organization	×	×		×			×

Table A-18. (cont'd.)

	Translation into English of French-language documents		Language of File Indices			
			In Ottawa		In Quebec	
	Usually	Rarely	Never	English only	French only	English and French
Export Credits Insurance Corporation	×			×		
External Affairs			×	×		
Farm Credit Corporation			×	×		×
Finance	×			×		
Fisheries		×		×	×	
Fisheries Research Board				×		
Forestry		×		×		
House of Commons		×		×	×	
Industry	×			×		
Insurance		×		×		
International Joint Commission	×			×		
Justice		×		×		
Labour	×				×	×
Library of Parliament		×			×	
Mines and Technical Surveys	×			×		×
National Capital Commission	×			×		
National Defence				×	×	
National Employment Service	×			×		×
National Energy Board	×			×		
NFB		×			×	×
National Gallery		×		×		
National Health and Welfare	×			×		×
National Library			×	×		
NRC		×		×		
National Revenue						
— Customs and Excise	×			×		
— Taxation		×		×		×
Northern Affairs and National Resources	×			×		

Source: The departments and agencies concerned, and La Rivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique."

Table A-19. Optimum Working Language and Language Use at Work

Percentage¹ of federal departmental public servants who use French and English at work, by optimum working language—Canada, 1965

Optimum working language	Sample	Language used at work	Use				
			Exclusive	Dominant	About half the time	Frequent	Occasional
French	456	French	29.4	73.7	86.6	93.9	97.6
		English	1.5	9.8	22.4	47.0	82.3
English	7,719	French	0.3	0.5	1.4	2.8	15.6
		English	86.0	97.0	97.8	98.1	98.5
French and English	977	French	3.1	26.2	56.3	76.4	93.6
		English	8.8	48.3	75.4	90.5	98.7

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ The percentages are cumulative.

Table A-20. Language Required in First Employment and Location of Posting

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants, classed according to location of first posting, by language required in first federal employment—Canada, 1965

Location of posting	Sample	Language required				Total
		French	English	French and English	Other	
Atlantic provinces	938	0.2	97.4	2.4	0.0	100
Newfoundland	126	0.0	98.9	1.1	0.0	100
Prince Edward Island	50	0.0	97.3	2.7	0.0	100
Nova Scotia	497	0.0	99.5	0.5	0.0	100
New Brunswick	265	0.6	92.4	7.0	0.0	100
Ottawa-Hull	3,466	0.8	81.3	17.7	0.2	100
Quebec (excluding Hull)	1,056	26.9	15.9	57.2	0.0	100
Ontario (excluding Ottawa)	1,572	0.2	98.1	1.6	0.1	100
Western provinces	1,955	0.2	99.4	0.3	0.1	100
Manitoba	432	0.0	99.6	0.4	0.0	100
Saskatchewan	314	0.0	99.5	0.5	0.0	100
Alberta	507	0.0	99.4	0.6	0.0	100
British Columbia	702	0.4	99.4	0.0	0.2	100
Yukon and N.W.T.	66	0.0	89.5	0.3	10.2	100
Foreign posts	106	0.0	74.4	13.6	12.0	100
All locations	9,159	4.2	82.3	13.3	0.2	100

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table A-21. Language Required in First Employment and Mother Tongue

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants, classed according to mother tongue and optimum working language on entry to the Public Service, by language required in first employment in the Public Service—Canada, 1965

			Language required in first employment in the Public Service					
Mother tongue	Optimum working language on entry	Sample	French	English	French and English	Other	Total	%*
French	French	864	31.0	18.0	50.8	0.2	100	43.7
	English	144	3.9	61.7	34.4	0.0	100	
	French and English	481	5.4	34.0	60.6	0.0	100	
English or other	French	27	19.1	32.9	38.6	9.4	100	97.1
	English	7,511	0.1	98.2	1.6	0.1	100	
	French and English	127	1.5	48.8	48.1	1.6	100	

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

* Percentage of public servants whose optimum working language on entry to the Public Service corresponded to the language required in their first employment.

Table A-22. Period of Recruitment and Use of French Required in First Employment

Percentage of federal departmental public servants who were required to use French in their first employment, by location of posting and period of recruitment—Canada, 1965

Location of posting	Period of recruitment					
	1950 or earlier		1951-1960		1961 or later	
	Sample	%	Sample	%	Sample	%
Atlantic provinces	410	2.1	373	3.4	152	0.8
Ottawa-Hull	1,456	16.7	1,253	17.9	749	21.9
Quebec (excluding Hull)	454	83.1	427	83.0	166	87.6
Ontario (excluding Ottawa)	646	2.3	622	1.1	335	2.3
Western provinces	818	0.3	763	0.7	365	0.3
Elsewhere	63	4.2	71	7.4	35	7.8
All locations	3,847	18.5	3,509	16.8	1,802	16.9

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table A-23. Foreign Service Officers in the Department of External Affairs

Percentage distribution of Foreign Service Officers in the Department of External Affairs, classed according to hierarchical position, by language group—Canada, 1949, 1952, 1953, 1955, 1960, and 1965

	All officers	Central administration and upper level	Middle level	Lower level
December 27, 1949				
Anglophones	78.6	73.5	74.3	82.1
Francophones	21.4	26.5	25.7	17.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	201	49	35	117
September 1, 1952				
Anglophones	79.3	75.9	71.4	83.5
Francophones	20.7	24.1	28.6	16.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	227	58	42	127
April 1, 1953				
Anglophones	80.3	75.4	73.8	84.3
Francophones	19.7	24.6	26.2	15.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	233	57	42	134
July 1, 1955				
Anglophones	78.2	77.3	79.6	78.1
Francophones	21.8	22.7	20.4	21.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	257	66	54	137
July 1, 1960				
Anglophones	76.5	79.8	81.7	71.6
Francophones	23.5	20.2	18.3	28.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	324	94	82	148
July 1, 1965				
Anglophones	78.7	82.9	76.1	77.4
Francophones	21.3	17.1	23.9	22.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	395	123	117	155

Source: Lalande, "Le ministère des Affaires extérieures."

Table A-24. Students Enrolled in Language Courses

Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of students in three levels of the French and English courses of the Civil Service Commission, by type of programme—Canada, 1967

Level of course		Type of programme				
		Full-time	Half-time	One hour per day	Evening	Total
Basic						
French	N	35	75	941	372	1,423
	%	2.5	5.3	66.1	26.1	100.0
English	N	0	0	10	0	10
	%	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
Total	N	35	75	951	372	1,433
	%	2.4	5.2	66.4	26.0	100.0
Intermediate						
French	N	17	16	264	77	374
	%	4.5	4.3	70.6	20.6	100.0
English	N	0	23	78	35	136
	%	0.0	16.9	57.4	25.7	100.0
Total	N	17	39	342	112	510
	%	3.3	7.6	67.1	22.0	100.0
Advanced						
French	N	7	11	47	31	96
	%	7.3	11.4	49.0	32.3	100.0
English	N	0	9	58	12	79
	%	0.0	11.4	73.4	15.2	100.0
Total	N	7	20	105	43	175
	%	4.0	11.4	60.0	24.6	100.0
All levels						
French	N	59	102	1,252	480	1,893
	%	3.1	5.4	66.1	25.4	100.0
English	N	0	32	146	47	225
	%	0.0	14.2	64.9	20.9	100.0
Total	N	59	134	1,398	527	2,118
	%	2.8	6.3	66.0	24.9	100.0

Source: Civil Service Commission.

Table A-25. Anglophone Public Servants and French Lessons

Percentage distribution of middle-level Anglophone public servants in four federal departments, by their plans to take French lessons—Canada, 1965

	Agriculture	Finance	National Revenue— Taxation	Public Works	The four departments
Taking or has taken Civil Service					
Commission French course	10.8	25.0	9.1	18.7	13.7
Taking or has taken other French course	16.2	7.1	9.1	6.3	11.5
Will definitely take Civil Service					
Commission course in the future	24.3	32.2	27.3	31.2	27.5
Already bilingual	0.0	17.9	3.0	6.3	3.8
May take course in the future	29.8	7.1	42.4	28.1	30.5
No plans to take course	18.9	10.7	9.1	9.4	13.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	37	28	33	32	130

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

Table A-26. Anglophone Public Servants and Use of French

Percentage distribution of middle-level Anglophone public servants in four departments, by opportunity to use French—Canada, 1965

Opportunities to use French at work	Agriculture	Finance	National Revenue— Taxation	Public Works	The four departments
Many	2.7	21.4	27.3	6.3	10.7
Frequent	16.2	17.9	12.1	21.9	16.8
Few	37.8	35.7	39.4	43.7	39.7
None	43.3	25.0	21.2	28.1	32.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	37	28	33	32	130

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Carrers."

Table A-27. Anglophone Public Servants and Their Reasons for Learning French

Percentage distribution of middle-level Anglophone public servants in four federal departments, by their personal reasons for learning French—Canada, 1965

Reason for learning French	Agriculture	Finance	National Revenue—Taxation	Public Works	The four departments
Increase in salary	20.0	13.0	51.9	24.1	28.4
Useful in work	23.3	26.1	18.5	13.8	19.3
Personal improvement	50.0	56.5	25.9	58.7	47.7
Patriotism	6.7	4.4	3.7	3.4	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	30	23	27	29	109

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

Table A-28. Interest in a Career in the Federal Public Service

Percentage distribution within language groups of applicants to the JEO-RSO and SR programmes, by interest in a career in the federal Public Service—Canada, 1965

Interest in a career in the Public Service	Language group	
	Francophones	Anglophones
Strong	27.7	28.7
Moderate	55.4	51.3
Slight	11.8	17.6
None	2.0	2.2
No reply	3.1	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0
Sample	302	1,080

Source: Jeannotte and Taylor, "Survey of Applicants."

Table A-29. Attraction of the Federal Public Service

Percentage distribution within language groups of applicants to the JEO-FSO and ST programmes, by principal factor of attraction to the Public Service—Canada, 1965

Factor of attraction	Language group	
	Francophone	Anglophone
Work factors	47.6	64.2
Personal benefit factors	46.3	32.5
Attitude undetermined	6.1	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0
<i>Sample</i>	302	1,080

Source: Jeannotte and Taylor, "Survey of Applicants."

Table A-30. Cultural Adaptation of the Civil Service Commission's Publicity Material

Percentage distribution within mother-tongue groups¹ of applicants to the JEO-FSO and ST programmes, by their evaluation of the cultural adaptation of the Civil Service Commission's publicity material—Canada, 1965

Cultural adaptation of publicity	Mother tongue	
	French	English
Very well adapted	10.5	32.6
Moderately well adapted	43.2	43.6
Not very well adapted	16.6	7.4
Not at all adapted	7.4	2.0
Opinion undetermined	21.3	14.4
Total	100.0	100.0
<i>Sample</i>	269	864

Source: Jeannotte and Taylor, "Survey of Applicants."

¹ Applicants of French mother tongue reported on the adaptation of material to "French Canadian" culture, and applicants of English mother tongue reported on the same to "English Canadian" culture.

Table A-31. Geographic Origin and Mother Tongue

Percentage distribution within mother-tongue groups of federal departmental public servants (1965) and the Canadian population (1961), by geographic origin¹

Geographic origin	Mother tongue of public servants			Mother tongue of population		
	French	English	All public servants	French	English	Total population
Atlantic provinces	3.7	21.1	15.6	5.6	16.3	11.2
Quebec	70.0	4.6	18.3	83.2	5.4	27.0
Ontario	22.4	36.2	31.4	7.1	38.2	25.7
Western provinces	3.1	29.4	26.0	2.4	28.0	21.1
Foreign countries	0.7	8.7	8.7	1.7	12.1	15.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	1,963	6,338	9,132			

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey," for public servants; Census of Canada, 1961, for the total population.

¹ For public servants, "geographic origin" is defined as place of secondary schooling; for the Canadian population it is defined as place of birth.

Table A-32. Place of Work and Mother Tongue

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants, classed according to place of work (1965), and of the Canadian population (1961), by mother tongue

	Sample	Mother tongue			
		French	English	Other	Total
Atlantic provinces	853	7.9	90.2	1.9	100
Ottawa-Hull	3,779	31.1	63.4	5.5	100
Quebec (excluding Hull)	942	80.9	16.5	2.6	100
Ontario (excluding Ottawa)	1,515	5.0	84.4	10.6	100
Western provinces	1,709	2.2	79.4	18.4	100
Yukon and N.W.T.	62	0.2	80.4	19.4	100
Foreign posts	272	16.1	75.1	8.8	100
All regions	9,137	21.5	69.4	9.1	100
Population of Canada (1961)		28.1	58.5	13.4	100

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey," for public servants; Census of Canada, 1961, for the population.

Table A-33. Salary of Public Servants of French Mother Tongue

Percentage of public servants of French mother tongue in various federal departments who earned more or less than \$10,000 per annum—Canada, 1965

	Earning \$10,000 or more per annum		Earning less than \$10,000 per annum	
	<i>Sample</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>%</i>
Agriculture	468	6.0	241	12.9
Citizenship and Immigration	101	12.9	81	21.0
Defence Production	282	5.0	44	22.7
Dominion Bureau of Statistics	137	7.3	58	34.5
External Affairs	208	18.8	40	25.0
Finance	187	8.6	165	26.1
Fisheries	47	2.1	41	12.2
Forestry	80	6.3	21	*
Industry	167	13.8	7	*
Labour	57	14.5	15	*
Mines and Technical Surveys	382	2.6	66	15.2
National Defense	244	12.7	738	21.8
National Health and Welfare	329	12.5	89	24.7
National Revenue	340	16.7	436	24.4
Northern Affairs and National Resources	72	5.6	34	11.8
Post Office	57	26.3	969	28.8
Public Works	145	9.7	135	27.4
Secretary of State	58	44.8	25	*
Trade and Commerce	158	5.1	26	*
Transport	410	6.8	295	16.3
Unemployment Insurance Commission	166	12.8	39	6.0
Veterans Affairs	260	16.7	300	26.3
Above departments and agencies	4,631	10.8	3,970	21.9

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

* No statistical value.

Table A-34. Period of Recruitment and Initial Salary

Percentage of federal departmental public servants whose initial salary was at least \$5,000, by mother tongue and period of recruitment—Canada, 1965

Period of recruitment	Mother tongue					
	French		English		Other	
	<i>Sample</i>	%	<i>Sample</i>	%	<i>Sample</i>	%
1950 or earlier	589	0.1	3,018	1.0	207	0.3
1951-4	228	2.1	995	1.8	122	0.7
1955-60	335	3.2	1,524	6.0	270	6.0
1961-5	319	7.5	1,248	14.1	213	11.6
All periods	1,471	3.0	6,787	5.3	812	5.7

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table A-35. Annual Salary Increment and Length of Service

Annual median salary and annual median increment of federal departmental public servants, by years of service and mother tongue—Canada, 1965

Years of service	Annual median salary by mother tongue				Annual median increment by mother tongue		Differ- ential B-A
	French		English or other		French A	English or other B	
	Sample	\$	Sample	\$			
0-2	190	3,515	895	3,664	\$ 501	\$ 452	\$-49
3-4	129	3,832	571	4,065	331	274	-47
5-6	108	4,085	616	4,376	265	275	+10
7-10	230	4,384	1,178	4,696	229	243	+14
11-14	226	4,851	1,124	4,933	207	207	0
15-18	160	5,004	1,101	5,388	195	216	+21
19-22	214	4,948	993	5,390	163	182	+19
23-26	106	5,273	579	5,388	151	156	+ 5
27-30	47	5,360	287	5,923	134	153	+19
31 or more	65	5,472	273	5,953	121	135	+14

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table A-36. Annual Salary Increment

Mean annual salary increment¹ of federal departmental public servants, by initial salary and mother tongue—Canada, 1965

Initial salary	Mother tongue					
	French		English		Other	
	Sample	Mean increment \$	Sample	Mean increment \$	Sample	Mean increment \$
Less than \$ 2,000	566	192	2,227	208	174	193
\$ 2,000–2,999	444	204	1,795	228	205	223
\$ 3,000–3,999	217	211	1,002	248	150	308
\$ 4,000–4,999	88	265	544	293	87	327
\$ 5,000–5,999	47	356	308	308	54	490
\$ 6,000–7,999	45	678	393	367	76	598
\$ 8,000 or more	64	366	519	398	67	457

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ After standardization of years of service.

Table A-37. Annual Salary and Level of Schooling

Median annual salary—actual and standardized for years of service—of federal departmental public servants, by level of schooling and mother tongue—Canada, 1965

Level of schooling ¹	Actual median annual salary, by mother tongue						Median annual salary standardized for years of service, by mother tongue		
	French		English		Other		French	English	Other
	Sample	\$	Sample	\$	Sample	\$	\$	\$	\$
10 years or less	524	4,291	1,265	4,330	196	3,805	4,276	4,313	3,908
11–12 years	386	4,415	1,569	4,747	130	4,712	4,690	4,666	4,691
Some university but no degree	104	4,880	856	5,331	133	5,330	4,987	5,304	5,460
Degree holders	473	6,763	3,162	8,840	360	7,432	6,980	8,704	7,675

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ The categories "11–12 years" and "some university but no degree" are not mutually exclusive.

Table A-38. Median Years of Schooling and Age

Median years of schooling of male federal departmental public servants, by age and mother tongue—Canada, 1965

Age	Mother tongue						Differential	
	French		English		Other		B-A	C-A
	Sample	Median years of schooling A	Sample	Median years of schooling B	Sample	Median years of schooling C		
Under 25	80	11.2	142	11.6	19	10.9	+0.4	-0.3
25-44	533	10.5	2,369	11.4	369	11.5	+0.9	+1.0
45 or older	574	9.8	3,269	10.8	310	10.4	+1.0	+0.6
All age groups ¹	1,487	10.1	6,852	10.8	819	10.6	+0.7	+0.2

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ Includes men and women.

Table A-39. Mobility and Salary

Percentage of male federal departmental public servants who have experienced mobility,¹ by salary and mother tongue—Canada, 1965

Salary	Mother tongue	Had held at least three positions		Had worked in more than one department		Had worked in more than one city	
		Sample	%	Sample	%	Sample	%
Less than \$10,000 per annum	French	652	31.1	644	23.7	653	32.6
	English or other	2,210	29.4	2,200	27.8	2,198	34.7
At least \$10,000 per annum	French	456	52.4	458	35.5	458	47.2
	English or other	3,868	45.1	3,866	30.8	3,863	48.5

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ After standardization for years of service.

Table A-40. Age and Mother Tongue

Percentage distribution within age groups of federal departmental public servants, by mother tongue—Canada, 1965

	<i>Sample</i>	Mother tongue			Total
		French	English	Other	
Under 20	109	25.0	68.5	6.5	100
20-4	371	37.7	57.0	5.3	100
25-9	469	25.3	63.7	11.0	100
30-4	688	26.3	60.8	12.9	100
35-9	991	24.4	65.2	10.4	100
40-4	1,672	19.4	70.3	10.3	100
45-9	1,658	17.7	74.2	8.2	100
50-4	1,458	16.0	76.1	7.9	100
55-9	1,018	18.1	74.6	7.3	100
60 and over	648	17.9	73.2	8.9	100
All age groups	9,082	21.5	69.4	9.1	100

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux. "Public Service Survey."

Table A-41. Employment Experience outside the Federal Public Service

Percentage¹ of federal departmental public servants who had worked outside the federal Public Service, by number of years of experience outside the service and by mother tongue—Canada, 1965

	Mother tongue		
	French	English	Other
At least 15 years	14.5	23.1	23.0
At least 11 years	21.1	33.1	34.0
At least 7 years	33.7	47.6	49.7
At least 3 years	50.7	65.6	68.3
Less than 3 years	66.2	77.1	79.9
<i>Sample</i>	1,487	6,852	819

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ The percentages are cumulative.

Table A-42. Length of Service and Mother Tongue

Percentage distribution within mother-tongue groups of federal departmental public servants, by number of years of service—Canada, 1965

	Mother tongue		
	French	English	Other
2 years or less	13.8	13.6	17.3
3-4 years	10.4	8.8	10.7
5-6 years	7.9	8.7	14.6
7-10 years	17.8	17.3	22.8
11-14 years	16.6	16.5	16.5
15-18 years	9.8	11.7	8.3
19-22 years	13.0	13.7	3.9
23 or more	10.7	9.7	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Sample</i>	<i>1,487</i>	<i>6,852</i>	<i>819</i>
Median years of service	10.5	10.9	7.8

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table A-43. Country of Origin

Percentage distribution of middle-level Francophone and Anglophone public servants in five federal departments—Canada, 1965

	<i>Sample</i>	Country of origin				Total
		Canada	United Kingdom	France	Other	
Francophones	<i>128</i>	93.0	0.0	5.5	1.5	100
Anglophones	<i>168</i>	74.5	10.7	0.0	14.8	100

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

Table A-44. Mother Tongue and Language Group

Percentage distribution of middle-level Francophone and Anglophone public servants in five federal departments—Canada, 1965

	<i>Sample</i>	Mother tongue				Total
		French	English	Other European	Non-European	
Francophones	128	93.7	4.7	1.6	0.0	100
Anglophones	168	0.6	86.3	10.1	3.0	100

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

Table A-45. Ethnic Origin and Language Group

Percentage distribution of middle-level Francophone and Anglophone public servants in five federal departments, by ethnic origin—Canada, 1965

	<i>Sample</i>	Ethnic origin							Total
		British	French	Germanic	Slavic	Jewish	Other	No response	
Francophones	128	0.8	96.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	1.5	100
Anglophones	168	73.4	2.4	10.0	5.9	2.4	5.9	0.0	100

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

Table A-46. Geographic Origin and Language Group

Percentage distribution of middle-level Francophone and Anglophone public servants in five federal departments, by geographic origin¹—Canada, 1965

		Geographic origin ¹							
	<i>Sample</i>	Atlantic prov- inces	Ottawa- Hull	Quebec (exclud- ing Hull)	Ontario (exclud- ing Ottawa)	Western prov- inces	United Kingdom	Other country	Total
Francophones									
Agriculture	28	0.0	32.2	50.0	7.1	3.6	0.0	7.1	100
Finance	6	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
National Revenue— Taxation	33	0.0	57.5	27.3	15.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	100
Secretary of State	33	9.1	30.3	39.4	3.0	3.0	0.0	15.2	100
Public Works	28	7.1	60.7	25.0	3.6	3.6	0.0	0.0	100
Anglophones									
Agriculture	37	2.7	21.6	5.4	21.6	27.1	8.1	13.5	100
Finance	28	3.6	25.0	7.2	7.1	39.2	14.3	3.6	100
National Revenue— Taxation	33	12.1	24.2	3.0	27.4	24.2	9.1	0.0	100
Secretary of State	38	13.2	7.9	0.0	28.9	26.3	7.9	15.8	100
Public Works	32	12.5	12.5	12.5	21.9	9.4	15.6	15.6	100

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

* No statistical value.

¹ "Geographic origin" is defined as the region or country of secondary schooling.

Table A-47. Geographic Origin and Occupation

Percentage distribution within occupations of middle-level Francophone and Anglophone public servants in five federal departments, by geographic origin¹—Canada, 1965

		Geographic origin ¹						
	<i>Sample</i>	Atlantic provinces	Ottawa-Hull	Quebec (exclud- ing Hull)	Ontario (exclud- ing Ottawa)	Western provinces	Foreign country	Total
Francophones								
Professionals and scientists	43	4.7	20.9	58.2	9.2	2.3	4.7	100
Technicians and semi-professionals	54	5.6	48.1	27.8	7.4	1.9	9.2	100
Administrative personnel	31	0.0	64.5	22.5	6.5	6.5	0.0	100
Anglophones								
Professionals and scientists	84	14.3	8.3	4.8	21.4	22.6	28.6	100
Technicians and semi-professionals	42	0.0	28.6	7.2	21.0	16.6	16.6	100
Administrative personnel	42	7.1	26.2	4.8	14.3	38.1	9.5	100

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

¹ "Geographic origin" is defined as the region or country of secondary schooling.

Table A-48. Opinion of Cultural Activities and Educational Facilities in Ottawa

Percentage of middle-level Francophone and Anglophone public servants in five federal departments who expressed an unfavourable opinion of cultural activities and educational facilities in Ottawa—Canada, 1965

	<i>Sample</i>	Had an unfavourable opinion of	
		cultural activities	educational facilities
Francophones	128	30.5	21.9
Anglophones	168	19.6	8.3

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

Table A-49. Opinion of Francophones towards Ottawa-Hull

Percentage distribution of middle-level Francophone public servants, classed according to geographic origin,¹ in five federal departments, by opinion of Ottawa-Hull as a place to live—Canada, 1965

Opinion	Geographic origin ¹	
	Quebec (excluding Hull)	Ottawa-Hull
Very favourable	15.2	30.9
Moderately favourable	47.8	47.3
Unfavourable	17.4	14.5
Unenthusiastic or bitter	17.4	5.5
Undetermined	2.2	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0
Sample	47	55

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

¹ "Geographic origin" is defined as city or region of secondary schooling.

Table A-50. Commitment of Francophones to the Federal Public Service

Percentage distribution of middle-level Francophone public servants, classed according to geographic origin,¹ in five federal departments, by degree of commitment to the federal Public Service—Canada, 1965

	Geographic origin ¹		
	Quebec (excluding Hull)	Ottawa- Hull	Elsewhere in Canada or abroad
Unconditionally committed	34.0	44.4	48.0
Conditionally committed or undecided	25.6	35.2	28.0
Uncommitted or plan to leave	40.0	20.4	24.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	47	55	26

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

¹ "Geographic origin" is defined as city or region of secondary schooling.

Table A-51. Commitment to the Federal Public Service and Bilingualism

Percentage distribution of middle-level Francophone and Anglophone public servants, classed according to their ability to speak the other official language, by degree of commitment to the federal Public Service—Canada, 1965

		Degree of commitment to the Public Service		
Ability to speak the other official language	<i>Sample</i>	Unconditionally or conditionally committed	Undecided, uncommitted or plan to leave	Total
Francophones				
Fair, weak, or none	40	45.0	55.0	100
Considerable	88	65.9	34.1	100
Anglophones				
Weak or none	131	65.6	34.4	100
Fair or considerable	37	78.4	21.6	100

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

Table A-52. Interdepartmental Mobility

Percentage distribution of middle-level Francophone and Anglophone public servants in five federal departments, by number of interdepartmental moves—Canada, 1965

	Sample	Number of interdepartmental moves				Total
		None	One	Two	Three or more	
Francophones	128	68.0	17.2	10.2	4.6	100
Anglophones	168	83.9	11.3	3.6	1.2	100

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

Table A-53. Language of Education and Level of Schooling

Percentage distribution of public servants in all federal departments and of middle-level public servants in five departments, classed according to level of schooling, by language of education—Canada, 1965

Level of schooling	Sample	Language of education			
		French	English	French and English	Total
All departments					
Elementary	1,406	83.1	5.4	11.5	100
Secondary	1,273	66.3	15.5	18.2	100
University	756	68.6	13.6	17.8	100
Five departments					
Elementary	128	77.3	3.9	18.8	100
Secondary	126	57.9	10.4	31.7	100
University					
Undergraduate	126	44.1	24.5	31.4	100
Postgraduate	38	39.5	42.1	18.4	100

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey," for all departments; Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers," for middle-level public servants in five departments.

Table A-54. Francophones with Weak Ability in English

Percentage of middle-level Francophone public servants with weak ability in English, by geographic origin¹—Canada, 1965

Geographic origin ¹	Sample ²	Weak ability in	
		spoken English	written English
Quebec (excluding Hull)	39	48.7	33.3
Elsewhere in Canada or abroad	66	21.2	16.7
All geographic origins	105	31.4	21.9

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

¹ "Geographic origin," is defined as region or country of secondary schooling.

² Translators are excluded.

Table A-55. Rank and Ethno-linguistic Group of Military Personnel

Percentage distribution of military personnel, by rank and ethno-linguistic group—Canada, 1966 (Sample: 8,324)

	Francophones	Anglophones	Total
Officers	1.5	13.5	15.0
Colonel	0.03	0.4	0.4
Lieutenant-colonel	0.06	0.9	1.0
Major	0.3	3.0	3.3
Captain	0.6	5.8	6.4
Lieutenant	0.4	3.0	3.4
Second-Lieutenant	0.1	0.4	0.5
Men	14.5	70.5	85.0
Chief Warrant Officer	0.06	0.9	1.0
Master Warrant Officer	0.2	2.8	3.0
Warrant Officer	0.5	4.9	5.4
Sergeant	1.7	10.0	11.7
Corporal	2.9	17.1	20.0
Soldier 1	3.9	18.7	22.6
Soldier	5.2	16.1	21.3
All military personnel	16.0	84.0	100.0

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

Table A-56. Ethno-linguistic Group of Military Personnel

Percentage distribution of military personnel within ranks, by ethno-linguistic group—Canada, 1966

	Sample	Francophones		Total A	Anglophones	Total
		F 1	F 2		B	A+B
Officers	3,074	8.3	2.0	10.3	89.7	100
Colonel	336	4.7	1.6	6.3	93.7	100
Lieutenant-colonel	779	4.5	1.8	6.3	93.7	100
Major	447	6.0	1.9	7.9	92.1	100
Captain	891	7.8	2.1	9.9	90.1	100
Lieutenant	544	11.2	1.9	13.1	86.9	100
Second-Lieutenant	77	18.3	3.1	21.4	78.6	100
Men	5,250	12.6	4.4	17.0	83.0	100
Chief Warrant Officer	114	4.6	1.1	5.7	94.3	100
Master Warrant Officer	359	5.3	2.7	8.0	92.0	100
Warrant Officer	709	6.4	3.1	9.5	90.5	100
Sergeant	1,536	9.6	4.6	14.2	85.8	100
Corporal	774	10.0	4.4	14.4	85.6	100
Soldier 1	956	12.9	4.2	17.1	82.9	100
Soldier	802	19.5	5.1	24.6	75.4	100
All military personnel	8,324	12.0	4.0	16.0	84.0	100

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

Table A-57. Linguistic Ability of Military Personnel

Percentage of officers and men who claim fair or considerable proficiency in the oral and written skills of French and English, by service and ethno-linguistic group—Canada, 1966

Rank and Service	Ethno-linguistic group	Sample	Oral skills		Written skills	
			French	English	French	English
Officers						
Army	Francophones	390	98.6	98.8	96.0	93.1
	F 1	326	100.0	98.5	98.5	92.0
	F 2	64	92.2	100.0	83.9	98.5
	Anglophones	809	7.5	99.5	3.6	99.5
Air force	Francophones	334	99.8	100.0	90.4	98.7
	F 1	266	100.0	100.0	95.6	98.5
	F 2	68	99.0	100.0	70.0	100.0
	Anglophones	850	6.9	99.5	3.4	100.0
Navy	Francophones	88	100.0	97.3	91.1	99.3
	F 1	63	100.0	96.0	97.3	96.0
	F 2	25	100.0	100.0	78.3	100.0
	Anglophones	603	7.8	99.4	5.4	99.7
Men						
Army	Francophones	819	92.9	81.5	82.3	64.8
	F 1	599	98.1	75.7	93.2	55.9
	F 2	220	78.9	97.5	52.6	89.2
	Anglophones	1,136	4.9	98.7	2.6	97.6
Air force	Francophones	895	96.5	96.7	87.7	90.5
	F 1	736	99.7	95.8	96.1	87.7
	F 2	159	85.0	100.0	58.3	100.0
	Anglophones	895	5.5	99.1	2.6	98.9
Navy	Francophones	573	93.2	97.3	77.2	84.1
	F 1	409	98.4	96.0	95.5	78.9
	F 2	164	84.2	99.5	45.4	94.8
	Anglophones	932	3.4	99.3	1.9	99.3

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

Table A-58. Bilingualism of Military Personnel

Percentage of military personnel who claim bilingual proficiency in oral and written French and English, ethno-linguistic group—Canada, 1966

	<i>Sample</i>	Oral skills	Written skills
Francophones	3,099	85.6	66.1
F1	2,399	86.8	70.2
F2	700	82.1	53.8
Anglophones	5,255	5.1	2.5
All military personnel	8,324	17.9	12.6

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

Table A-59. Rank and Ability in English of Francophone Military Personnel

Percentage of Francophone military personnel who claim fair or considerable ability in oral and written French, by service, stratum, and ethno-linguistic group—Canada, 1966

		Oral skills						Written skills		
		F1		F2		All Francophones				
	Stratum ¹	<i>Sample</i>	%	<i>Sample</i>	%	<i>Sample</i>	%	F1	F2	All Francophones
Army	A	35	100.0	13	100.0	48	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	B	291	98.3	51	100.0	342	98.7	91.4	98.3	92.5
	C	303	93.7	130	98.9	433	95.6	81.6	97.8	87.4
	D	296	72.4	90	97.0	386	78.5	51.0	86.4	59.8
Air force	A	9	100.0	6	100.0	15	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	B	257	100.0	62	100.0	319	100.0	98.6	100.0	98.8
	C	340	99.8	97	100.0	437	99.8	97.5	100.0	98.1
	D	396	95.2	62	100.0	458	96.2	86.0	99.9	89.2
Navy	A	8	100.0	1	100.0	9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	B	55	95.5	24	100.0	79	97.1	95.6	100.0	97.1
	C	187	99.5	72	100.0	259	99.7	98.5	100.0	99.1
	D	222	99.5	92	99.2	314	96.2	70.1	92.4	78.1

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

¹ Stratum A includes the ranks of lieutenant-colonel and above; stratum B the ranks of major down through second-lieutenant; stratum C the ranks of chief warrant officer down through sergeant; and stratum D the ranks of corporal, soldier 1, and soldier.

Table A-60. Bilingualism of Officers and Men

Percentage of officers and men who claim bilingual proficiency,¹ by service and ethno-linguistic group—Canada, 1966

	Francophones						Anglophones	
	F1		F2		All Francophones			
	<i>Sample</i>	%	<i>Sample</i>	%	<i>Sample</i>	%	<i>Sample</i>	%
Officers								
Army	326	97.9	64	88.3	390	96.3	809	6.1
Air force	266	99.5	68	96.1	334	98.8	850	6.4
Navy	63	97.3	25	91.8	88	95.5	603	7.8
Men								
Army	599	63.7	220	61.3	819	63.0	1,136	3.3
Air force	736	94.3	159	76.1	895	90.2	895	4.0
Navy	409	89.8	164	69.0	573	82.2	932	2.9

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

¹ Those who claim fair or considerable skill in oral and written skills of French and English.

Table A-61. Optimum Working Language of Francophone Military Personnel

Percentage of Francophone military personnel whose optimum working language on entry included both French and English, by ethno-linguistic group; percentage distribution of Francophone military personnel, by optimum working language in 1966—Canada, 1966

	French and English optimum working language on entry		<i>Sample</i>	Optimum working language in 1966			
	<i>Sample</i>	%		French	English	French and English	Total
F1	2,399	23.4	625	3.0	24.8	72.2	100
F2	700	48.1	411	0.8	30.1	69.1	100
All Francophone personnel	3,099	29.6	1,036	2.1	27.0	70.9	100

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

Table A-62. Optimum Working Language of F1 Military Personnel

Percentage distribution of F1 military personnel¹ within services and strata, by optimum working language—Canada, 1966

	Stratum ²	Sample		Optimum working language			Total
				French	English	French and English	
Army	A	35	On entry	60.0	—	40.0	100
			In 1966	2.9	8.6	88.5	100
	B	291	On entry	67.6	3.1	29.3	100
			In 1966	15.4	12.0	72.6	100
	C	303	On entry	63.6	7.4	29.0	100
			In 1966	14.4	17.9	67.7	100
	D	296	On entry	72.7	5.9	21.4	100
			In 1966	33.9	10.1	56.0	100
Air force	A	9	On entry	55.6	—	44.4	100
			In 1966	—	33.3	66.7	100
	B	257	On entry	66.1	8.2	25.7	100
			In 1966	11.7	22.4	65.9	100
	C	340	On entry	60.9	5.8	33.3	100
			In 1966	0.5	34.5	65.0	100
	D	396	On entry	75.7	4.0	20.3	100
			In 1966	6.8	25.5	67.7	100
Navy	A	8	On entry	23.1	15.4	61.5	100
			In 1966	—	23.1	76.9	100
	B	55	On entry	68.6	4.5	26.9	100
			In 1966	12.0	12.0	76.0	100
	C	187	On entry	65.9	7.4	26.7	100
			In 1966	0.5	30.0	69.5	100
	D	222	On entry	67.0	5.5	27.5	100
			In 1966	11.0	20.8	68.2	100

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

¹ Only F1s are included here because, as shown in Table 60, they are virtually the only military personnel claiming their optimum working language on entry to be French and English.

² Stratum A includes the ranks of lieutenant-colonel and above; stratum B the ranks of major down through second-lieutenant; stratum C the ranks of chief warrant officer down through sergeant; and stratum D the ranks of corporal, soldier 1, and soldier.

Table A-63. Francophone Military Personnel Married to Anglophones

Percentage of Francophone military personnel who are married to Anglophones, by service, stratum, and ethno-linguistic group—Canada, 1966

	Stratum ¹	F1		F2		All Francophones	
		<i>Sample</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>%</i>
Army	A	32	21.9	13	77.0	45	37.7
	B	207	24.1	41	67.8	248	32.2
	C	282	23.2	122	63.7	404	37.9
	D	146	26.2	49	60.2	195	35.7
Air force	A	6	50.0	6	84.0	12	67.4
	B	198	48.2	52	60.7	250	51.0
	C	324	39.4	94	59.7	418	44.2
	D	224	34.8	50	50.5	274	39.2
Navy	A	7	60.8	1	100.0	8	65.4
	B	35	39.6	18	84.5	53	55.4
	C	172	63.2	66	91.6	238	73.9
	D	77	59.2	42	64.5	119	61.3

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

¹ Stratum A includes the ranks of lieutenant-colonel and above; stratum B the ranks of major down through second-lieutenant; stratum C the ranks of chief warrant officer down through sergeant; and stratum D the ranks of corporal, soldier 1, and soldier.

We selected seven federal agencies for study: the National Film Board, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Air Canada, the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the Bank of Canada, the National Research Council, and the uniformed staff of the RCMP. All of these play distinctive and important roles in Canadian life. The NFB and the CBC exercise cultural functions designed explicitly to serve both French- and English-speaking Canada, and parts of their organizations are divided according to language. Air Canada is a commercial Crown corporation operating competitively in a vital modern area of national policy. CMHC is closely involved with urbanization, one of the major areas of change in the modern world. Decisions taken in the Bank of Canada affect the economy of the whole country, while the NRC is Canada's most important scientific research body and employs many of her most competent scientists. Finally, the RCMP is the country's federal police and security force.

The largest Crown corporation, Canadian National, was not included in this study.² At the time of our main research activities, this corporation was further advanced than most government institutions in coping with the issues of bilingualism and biculturalism, and was itself engaged in large-scale surveys and adaptations involving many employees.

These institutions are capable of greater adaptability and flexibility than the departmental Public

Service, since they are not subject to the same degree of centralized control. But, at the same time, they are not as subject to the adaptation required and enforced by central agencies of government. Generally, they are more closely and directly in touch with society. Finally some of these agencies have head offices located outside Ottawa (for example, those of Air Canada and the NFB, which are in Montreal). Nevertheless, with the exceptions of the Bank of Canada and NRC, these agencies display both centralized and regionalized characteristics similar to those of the departmental Public Service.

We examined these institutions in much the same way as we examined the departmental Public Service. We wanted to discover whether there were significant differences between these institutions and the departments and whether their functions and locations affected the participation of Anglophones and Francophones.

A. Distribution

1. In the seven agencies

As in the departmental Public Service, participation by members of the various mother-tongue groups varied among the seven agencies (Table A-64). In all of them, those of English mother tongue were in the majority, ranging from 53 per

¹ Based on J. W. Johnstone, W. Klein, and D. Ledoux, "Public Service Survey," a research report prepared for the R.C. B.&B. In this study the language groups are defined by mother tongue.

² Language use in the CN is discussed in Chapter XIV, along with that in other major enterprises with head offices in Quebec.

cent in the CBC to 81 per cent in the RCMP. Neither percentage reached the extremes recorded for the Public Service; in four agencies (the Bank of Canada, NFB, CBC, and CMHC) the proportion of employees of English mother tongue was below the average for the Public Service, and the proportion of those of French mother tongue was above the average.

Among all seven agencies, the proportion of employees of French mother tongue ranged from

10 per cent in the RCMP to 38 per cent in the CBC, again within the extremes recorded for the Public Service. The reason for the low proportion of those of French mother tongue in the RCMP may lie partly in the fact that, although this agency has a Quebec division, it exercises in Quebec only a few of the functions it performs elsewhere, particularly in the western provinces, where it acts as the provincial police force and even occasionally as a municipal police force.

Table A-64. Mother Tongue of Public Servants in Seven Federal Agencies
Percentage distribution of public servants in seven federal agencies and in the departmental Public Service, by mother tongue—Canada, 1965

	Number	Sample	Mother tongue			Total
			French	English	Other	
Agency	33,863	7,956	20.6	67.5	11.9	100
Air Canada	12,058	2,419	14.3	70.4	15.3	100
CBC	8,133	1,675	38.0	52.3	9.7	100
RCMP (uniformed staff)	7,431	1,950	9.8	81.2	9.0	100
NRC	2,552 ¹	676	16.9	68.5	14.6	100
CMHC	2,055	780	27.1	62.2	10.7	100
NFB	851	278	31.2	60.0	8.8	100
Bank of Canada	783	178	26.2	66.0	7.8	100
Departmental Public Service	137,292	9,159	21.5	69.4	9.1	100

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."
¹ Excludes post-doctoral fellows.

In four agencies the proportion of those of other mother tongues exceeded the Public Service average of just over 9 per cent. In NRC and Air Canada, which employ a great many scientists and technicians, their proportion was 15 per cent.

2. Geographic distribution

We did not examine the Bank of Canada and NRC in terms of geographic distribution because their operations are concentrated in Ottawa. Among the others we distinguished two groups:

the RCMP, CMHC, and CBC, whose headquarters are in Ottawa but whose principal administrative divisions are regional, and NFB and Air Canada, whose headquarters are in Montreal (Table A-65).

In the first group, those of French mother tongue formed a majority of at least 75 per cent in the Quebec division,¹ a minority of from 11 to 30 per cent in Ottawa headquarters and a distinctly smaller minority in all other regions (in 1965 there were none in the CBC's British Columbia and Newfoundland regions). But the CBC had the greatest proportion of employees

¹ In the case of the CBC, the Quebec division is an administrative unit different from the International Service and the Technical Services which are attached to the Montreal headquarters; in these services, employees of French mother tongue formed a minority of 19 and 29 per cent, respectively.

of French mother tongue in the Ottawa zone and, of the three agencies in this group, it also had the highest proportion of total personnel in Quebec—39 per cent compared with 22 per cent for the CMHC and 8 per cent for the RCMP.

Air Canada and the NFB were quite different in the extent of their decentralization and in their functions, but both had recently moved their headquarters to Montreal. About a third of their employees in Quebec were of French mother tongue (29 per cent in Air Canada and 35 per cent in the NFB) and, in both, those of English mother tongue formed a clear majority of at least 78 per cent in regions outside Quebec. The overall participation of the French mother-tongue group was significantly higher in the NFB than at Air Canada (31 per cent, compared with

14 per cent), because of the much larger proportion of total personnel in Quebec (84 per cent, compared with 43 per cent).

3. Salary

In all the agencies studied, those of English mother tongue received higher average annual salaries (Table A-66). The participation of those of French mother tongue was greater in the lower salary levels and tended to decrease as salary level increased. There were more of this group earning less than \$10,000 than earning more than \$10,000—except in the NFB and RCMP, where their participation in the two salary groups was about the same.

Table A-65. Place of Work and Mother Tongue

Percentage distribution of public servants in five federal agencies, grouped according to geographic or administrative division, by mother tongue—Canada, 1965

	<i>Sample</i>	Mother tongue			
		French	English	Other	Total
Air Canada	2,419	14.3	70.4	15.3	100
Atlantic provinces	107	2.9	94.0	3.1	100
Quebec (excluding Hull)	1,159	28.6	53.9	17.5	100
Ontario (excluding Ottawa)	511	4.0	80.2	15.8	100
Ottawa and Hull	27	17.0	83.0	0.0	100
Western provinces	580	2.4	82.7	14.9	100
Abroad	35	8.3	78.7	13.0	100
CBC	1,675	38.0	52.3	9.7	100
Newfoundland Region	46	0.0	99.5	0.5	100
Maritime Region	96	15.4	82.6	2.0	100
Quebec Division	399	90.4	7.4	2.2	100
Technical Services	116	29.4	53.1	17.5	100
International Service	44	18.7	38.4	42.9	100
Ontario Division	378	1.6	77.5	20.9	100
Headquarters	204	30.1	67.4	2.5	100
Ottawa Zone	90	36.8	61.0	2.2	100
Prairie Region	171	5.1	82.7	12.2	100
British Columbia Region	91	0.0	92.7	7.3	100
Northern Services and Canadian Forces	29	10.9	84.8	4.3	100
Abroad	11	*	*	*	*

Table A-65. (cont.)

	<i>Sample</i>	Mother tongue			
		French	English	Other	Total
RCMP (uniformed staff)	1,945	9.8	81.2	9.0	100
Atlantic provinces	335	3.7	95.4	0.9	100
Quebec (excluding Hull)	154	75.2	20.8	4.0	100
Ontario (excluding Ottawa)	139	2.9	85.4	11.7	100
Ottawa and Hull	305	10.7	83.0	6.3	100
Western provinces	943	2.4	85.7	11.9	100
Yukon and N.W.T.	55	2.5	69.9	27.6	100
Abroad	14	*	*	*	*
CMHC	777	27.1	62.2	10.7	100
Atlantic Region	38	8.3	88.9	2.8	100
Quebec	160	87.7	6.6	5.7	100
Ontario	195	4.1	84.8	11.1	100
Ottawa (headquarters)	228	24.7	66.1	9.2	100
Prairies	112	0.9	76.1	23.0	100
British Columbia	44	4.8	85.7	9.5	100
NFB	278	31.2	60.0	8.8	100
Quebec (excluding Hull)	238	34.7	54.7	10.6	100
Elsewhere	40	13.0	87.0	0.0	100

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

* Statistically insignificant.

The phenomenon of parachuting, observed in our data on the departmental Public Service, did not appear to have occurred in most of the agencies studied, except the CBC and the NFB, where the proportion of employees of French mother tongue earning the highest salaries was greater than might have been deduced from their proportion in the salary levels immediately below.

The relative earnings of those of other mother tongues varied among the agencies: they ranked highest at the NRC and lowest at the CBC. But, in general, their pattern resembled that of the French mother-tongue group more closely than it did that of the English mother-tongue group. Except at the NRC, they earned less than the employees of English mother tongue.

The effect on current salary of initial salary, rate of advancement, and length of service at the time of our study was quite different in the

non-departmental agencies and the departments of the Public Service. In the agencies studied, the generally shorter period of service of those of French and other mother tongues probably explains a large part of the difference between their salaries and those of the English mother-tongue group.

On the other hand, those of French mother tongue had entered several of the agencies—the RCMP, Air Canada, the NFB, and the CMHC—at salaries higher than those of Anglophones. This difference appeared in every period of recruitment. Moreover, in every agency except the NFB and CBC, those of other mother tongues also received higher initial salaries than those of English mother tongue in every period of recruitment. However, this difference may partly result from the fact that they had had more working experience than the English mother-

tongue group before joining these agencies; they may also have been older.¹ In general, the salary disadvantage of those of French and other mother tongues in comparison to those of English mother tongue was not due to lower initial salaries.

At Air Canada, the Bank of Canada, the NFB, and the CMHC, the lower current salaries of those of French mother tongue appeared to result from

smaller annual increments, as well as from shorter length of service. At the Bank of Canada a very small part of their disadvantage might be attributed as well to lower initial salaries.

At the NRC and CBC, however, the disadvantage of those of French mother tongue could not be imputed to fewer years of service but rather to lower initial salaries and annual increases. At the NRC the latter was the most important cause, but

Table A-66. Annual Salary Increment

Average annual salary on entry and in 1965, average number of years of service, and average annual salary increment of employees of seven federal agencies and of the departmental Public Service, classed according to mother tongue—Canada, 1965

	Sample	Average salary		Average number of years of service	Average annual increment
		On entry \$	In 1965 \$		
Air Canada					
French	261	3,086	5,619	9.26	274
English	1,850	2,886	7,059	12.23	341
Other	302	3,318	5,783	9.50	259
CBC					
French	507	2,973	6,115	9.40	334
English	1,024	3,208	6,461	9.04	360
Other	144	3,207	5,409	8.15	270
RCMP (uniformed staff)					
French	191	2,862	5,999	9.25	339
English	1,588	2,778	6,207	10.81	317
Other	171	2,893	5,824	9.73	301
NRC					
French	80	3,029	5,991	12.87	230
English	490	3,179	7,753	12.60	363
Other	1,106	4,634	8,215	8.14	440
CMHC					
French	198	2,817	4,910	8.06	260
English	499	2,803	5,786	9.85	303
Other	83	3,046	5,292	7.39	304

At the NRC this advantage also results from a higher level of education. In recent years this agency seems to have intensified its recruitment of European-trained scientists and to have given them important positions.

Table A-66. (cont.)

	Sample	Average salary		Average number of years of service	Average annual increment \$
		On entry \$	In 1965 \$		
NFB					
French	85	3,605	6,516	9.34	312
English	168	3,078	7,003	12.30	319
Other	24	3,437	6,608	8.68	365
Bank of Canada					
French	38	2,374	3,895	8.46	180
English	126	2,545	5,984	12.99	265
Other	11	*	*	*	*
Departmental Public Service					
French	1,487	2,434	4,771	11.82	198
English	6,852	2,620	5,281	11.88	224
Other	820	2,844	4,890	9.13	224

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

* Statistically insignificant.

the opposite was true of the CBC. There, the major cause of salary disadvantage of those of French mother tongue in 1965 was lower initial salaries, and the effect of these was slightly increased by lower annual increments.

In the RCMP, those of French mother tongue were recruited at higher salaries and received larger increments than those of English mother tongue. Their slight current salary disadvantage was therefore due solely to their period of service.

The salary disadvantage of those of mother tongues other than French or English, in comparison with those of English mother tongue appeared to result solely from their shorter length of service at the NFB and CMHC, and from this factor combined with lower annual increments in the RCMP, Air Canada, and the CBC. However, at the NRC they had received such large salary increments that their current salaries surpassed those of the English mother-tongue group.

In concentrating on only three factors contributing to current salary positions, the preceding discussion has to some extent taken place in a vacuum. However, the next section will show that

the current salary positions are a good reflection of occupational status. We shall also see later that part of the explanation for quality of participation lies in employees' backgrounds.

4. Occupation

The range and kind of occupations varied among the non-departmental agencies, but the distribution of the mother-tongue groups among them was generally the same as in the departmental Public Service: a higher proportion of those of English mother tongue at the managerial and professional levels; a relative absence of those of French mother tongue from the same levels, coupled with their high proportion at the lower levels; and the concentration of those of other mother tongues among the professionals and scientists on the one hand and at the lowest level on the other (Tables A-67 to A-73). This description applies particularly to the NRC (Table A-67), Air Canada (Table A-68), and the CMHC (Table A-69).

Table A-67. National Research Council—Occupation and Mother Tongue
Percentage distribution of employees of NRC classed according to mother-tongue groups, by occupation—Canada, 1965

	Mother tongue		
	French	English	Other
Executives	0.0	1.1	0.8
Administrators	1.7	3.0	1.6
Scientists and professionals	8.0	26.9	46.2
Technicians	44.7	42.4	34.0
Clerical workers	20.9	16.2	14.6
Manual workers	24.7	10.4	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Sample</i>	80	487	106

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table A-68. Air Canada—Occupation and Mother Tongue
Percentage distribution of employees of Air Canada classed according to mother-tongue groups, by occupation—Canada, 1965

	Mother tongue		
	French	English	Other
Administrators	1.9	4.2	0.9
Professionals, scientists, and technicians	5.4	13.7	6.7
Flight personnel	0.3	6.6	1.0
Supervisors	2.3	6.6	2.0
Clerical workers	10.5	14.0	9.4
Skilled workers	25.9	15.2	27.9
Semi-skilled workers	34.3	27.9	38.2
Labourers	19.3	11.8	13.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Sample</i>	262	1,846	299

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table A-69. Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation—Occupation and Mother Tongue

Percentage distribution of employees of CMHC classed according to mother-tongue groups, by occupation—Canada, 1965

	Mother Tongue		
	French	English	Other
Administrators	14.2	20.1	9.9
Scientists and professionals	3.4	6.6	20.4
Technicians	20.1	24.4	14.5
Clerical workers	45.4	45.3	37.4
Labourers and maintenance workers	16.9	3.6	17.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	198	499	83

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

In the CBC, the distribution of those of French mother tongue was closer to that of the English mother-tongue group. However, at the upper level, the participation of those of French mother tongue was weaker, especially among the scientists and professionals (Table A-70). Their weaker participation at the managerial level may also have been related to the fact that the administrative centre of the CBC is in Ottawa.

At the NFB, the distribution of those of English and French mother tongue was just about the same, with the latter participating slightly more at the upper level; the chief difference was that they had a higher proportion of clerical workers and the former had a higher proportion of technicians. Those of other mother tongues were found only among the clerical workers, film makers, and technicians (Table A-71).

At the Bank of Canada those of other mother tongues were virtually absent. Those of French mother tongue were quite well represented at the managerial level, but their participation among the professionals was weak (Table A-72).

The RCMP's occupational structure makes it difficult to compare with the other agencies. Those of French mother tongue participated less in the administrative and technical positions, but because general police duties are exercised in Quebec by the provincial police force, officers of French mother tongue were promoted to carry out spe-

cialist functions in connection with the federal law—for example, criminal investigations and security (Table A-73).

5. Summary

In most of the agencies studied there was a close correspondence between the salary and the occupational status of those of French mother tongue. As in the rest of the federal Public Service, their concentration in the lower salary levels and their smaller annual increments paralleled their concentration in the lower occupational levels. This was particularly true at Air Canada, the Bank of Canada, the CBC, the CMHC, and the NRC.

In general, the participation of those of French mother tongue was not as high as that of the English mother-tongue group among those with more years of service and among the administrators and professionals. The NFB and, to a lesser extent, the RCMP were exceptions, however, in that participation of the former more closely resembled that of the latter.

B. Contributing Factors

1. Education

In most of the agencies studied, the educational level was lowest among those of French mother tongue (Table A-74). The difference was par-

Table A-70. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation—Occupation and Mother Tongue
Percentage distribution of employees of CBC classed according to mother-tongue groups, by occupation—Canada, 1965

	Mother tongue		
	French	English	Other
Administrative and professional staff	15.8	23.8	12.9
Creative personnel	20.4	17.2	13.9
Technicians	21.3	21.4	11.3
Clerical workers	29.1	31.9	33.6
Labourers and maintenance workers	13.4	5.7	28.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Sample</i>	<i>507</i>	<i>1,024</i>	<i>144</i>

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table A-71. National Film Board—Occupation and Mother Tongue
Percentage distribution of employees of NFB classed according to mother-tongue groups, by occupation—Canada, 1965

	Mother tongue		
	French	English	Other
Executives	1.9	1.4	0.0
Scientists and professionals	2.6	2.0	0.0
Administrators	26.1	25.1	0.0
Film makers	20.0	22.0	30.5
Technicians	13.1	25.7	46.3
Clerical workers	29.7	19.1	23.2
Labourers and maintenance workers	6.6	4.7	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Sample</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>168</i>	<i>25</i>

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table A-72. Bank of Canada—Occupation and Mother Tongue
Percentage distribution of employees of the Bank of Canada classed according to mother-tongue groups, by occupation—Canada, 1965

	Mother tongue		
	French	English	Other
Administrators	4.1	5.1	*
Professionals and technicians	3.4	8.2	*
Supervisors	5.4	5.1	*
Clerical workers	81.7	72.3	*
Specialized maintenance workers	2.7	6.2	*
Unspecialized maintenance workers	2.7	3.1	*
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	39	128	11

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."
* Statistically insignificant.

Table A-73. Royal Canadian Mounted Police—Occupation and Mother Tongue
Percentage distribution of employees of the RCMP classed according to mother-tongue groups, by occupation—Canada, 1965

	Mother tongue		
	French	English	Other
Administrators	4.2	8.5	3.2
Technicians	3.5	6.3	1.8
Clerical workers	14.9	13.5	9.6
Investigation, security, intelligence	44.4	15.2	20.6
General police work: patrol, traffic, and guard duties	27.5	52.3	64.2
Recruits	5.5	4.2	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	190	1,578	172

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table A-74. Education and Mother Tongue

Percentage of university-educated employees of seven federal agencies and of the departmental Public Service, by mother tongue—Canada, 1965

		Level of education			
	<i>Sample</i>	Median number of years of schooling	Percentage having attended university	Percentage with university degree	Percentage with postgraduate degree
Air Canada					
French	255	11.3	25.4	6.0	0.1
English	1,833	11.7	27.6	4.0	0.5
Other	295	11.5	30.2	6.0	0.7
CBC					
French	497	12.4	37.5	22.7	4.4
English	1,012	12.5	38.7	14.5	2.0
Other	139	12.3	46.9	26.4	6.6
RCMP (uniformed staff)					
French	188	11.1	28.9	2.4	0.0
English	1,575	11.3	24.1	2.3	0.3
Other	171	11.2	22.7	4.4	0.6
NRC					
French	79	11.1	25.1	11.3	4.9
English	479	12.9	51.9	33.3	16.7
Other	104	16.2	72.3	55.8	38.8
CMHC					
French	193	11.5	21.1	15.2	3.1
English	485	12.0	27.6	15.9	0.9
Other	82	11.9	30.8	24.3	9.6
NFB					
French	83	12.9	42.0	32.9	9.2
English	163	12.4	51.6	21.0	1.6
Other	25	12.2	47.4	11.9	6.0

Table A-74. (cont.)

	<i>Sample</i>	Median number of years of schooling	Level of education		
			Percentage having attended university	Percentage with university degree	Percentage with postgraduate degree
Bank of Canada					
French	37	11.4	12.9	6.5	3.6
English	124	11.5	36.4	12.0	4.3
Other	10	*	*	*	*
Departmental Public Service					
French	1,473	10.1	17.5	10.1	3.2
English	6,829	10.8	19.0	12.0	3.8
Other	814	10.6	25.4	16.8	5.0

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."
* Statistically insignificant.

ticularly marked at the NRC, CMHC, and Bank of Canada, less in the RCMP and Air Canada, and almost absent in the CBC. At the NFB, where the French mother-tongue group had most years of schooling, the situation was reversed. Although the average differences in years of schooling may seem rather small, this group contained a much larger proportion of employees who had had fewer than 10 years of schooling.

At the NRC, those of other mother tongues had by far the most education; in several agencies—even when their average years of schooling were fewer than those of the other two groups—they had the largest proportion of university graduates. This was particularly striking in the RCMP, Air Canada, the CBC, and the CMHC, and paralleled their strong participation at the scientific and professional levels of these agencies and indeed of the departmental Public Service in general.

The differences in education among the language groups were smaller among recent recruits than among employees of long standing. As in the departmental Public Service, this probably reveals a narrowing of the gap between the educational backgrounds of those of English and French mother tongue.

Differences in schooling should not be given too great an importance in determining income

and occupational status. Certainly their effects are often obvious—for example, at the NRC and the Bank of Canada—but these effects are less clear in such agencies as Air Canada and the NFB, where those of French mother tongue—although as well or better educated than their colleagues of English mother tongue—received smaller increments. However, their concentration in the lower salary and occupational levels seems to result from the fact that a large number of them had fewer than 10 years' schooling. This appeared to be the situation at Air Canada, the Bank of Canada, the CBC, the CMHC, and the NRC. On the other hand, even though at first sight it appeared that, among those of equal education, those of English mother tongue generally received higher salaries than those of French and other mother tongues, a closer examination showed that the disparity was due to their greater seniority. The situation was reversed when those of French mother tongue had equal seniority.

2. Mobility

In the seven agencies, as in the departmental Public Service, those of French mother tongue had as high a rate of occupational mobility as those of the other two groups (Table A-75).

Table A-75. Mobility of Public Servants and Number of Years of Service
Occupational, interdepartmental, and geographic mobility of male employees¹ of seven federal agencies and of the departmental Public Service, by mother tongue and number of years of service

	Percentage who had worked in more than 2 positions in the Public Service						Percentage who had worked in more than one department						Percentage who had worked in more than one location					
	French		English		Other		French		English		Other		French		English		Other	
	S ²	%	S ²	%	S ²	%	S ²	%	S ²	%	S ²	%	S ²	%	S ²	%	S ²	%
Air Canada																		
10 years or less	97	18.4	449	18.3	115	16.4	93	19.4	450	24.5	115	29.6	97	36.1	450	31.0	114	23.5
11 years or more	95	35.2	1,109	43.6	123	40.2	90	16.0	1,105	35.5	122	43.2	95	35.3	1,109	62.8	122	49.4
CBC																		
All employees	487	33.9	1,003	32.9	131	23.1	487	16.2	1,003	34.1	131	28.3	487	18.9	1,003	29.2	131	15.8
RCMP (uniformed staff)																		
10 years or less	97	14.4	743	11.6	84	14.6	95	5.3	739	12.4	81	7.6	98	90.0	750	93.2	83	81.5
11 years or more	68	27.4	751	33.8	77	26.9	68	9.5	751	12.0	78	14.6	68	88.9	755	95.9	78	96.0
NRC																		
10 years or less	23	15.8	141	3.4	53	2.7	23	15.8	141	13.5	53	3.4	22	0.0	140	8.0	53	2.7
11 years or more	43	22.8	286	28.2	37	10.7	44	20.5	284	30.2	38	25.0	43	11.4	286	25.0	37	26.8
CMHC																		
All employees	188	28.4	493	38.9	83	15.8	186	22.0	493	35.8	82	20.7	187	40.3	485	48.4	82	29.3

[illegible]

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

*Statistically insignificant.

1. At CBC and CMHC, the sample includes both sexes.

2 Sample.

3 Standardized for years of service.

However, while those of French mother tongue who were older had been less mobile than those of English mother tongue of the same age, the younger members of the French group were more mobile. This represents a striking difference between the language groups, though its proper interpretation is not altogether clear; it may reflect either changes over time in promotion policies or traditional characteristics of their respective career patterns. For example, one possible explanation could be that in recent years the Crown corporations have either found it easier to recruit promising young employees of French mother tongue—or have at least sought consciously to upgrade the more promising ones already in their employ. An alternative interpretation could be that there has been no real change in the mobility patterns of either group in the federal Public Service during the past decade, but that it has traditionally been characteristic of public servants of French mother tongue to be more mobile than those of English mother tongue early in their careers and to arrive more quickly at the peak of their possible advancement. In the long run, those of English mother tongue are the more mobile and are eventually promoted into the higher echelons of management. Perhaps recognizing this, public servants of French mother tongue who have accumulated tenure also tend more frequently to leave the Public Service for other employment.

The nature of the data does not permit us to accept one of these interpretations over the other, but the results are at least not inconsistent with an interpretation that the fortunes of public servants of French mother tongue may be improving. Interdepartmental and geographic mobility, on the other hand, was slightly less for this group.

3. Working experience

Again, the non-departmental agencies resembled the rest of the Public Service in their employees' working experience both inside and outside the Service, the group with most members with longest experience in the Public Service being those of English mother tongue, followed by those of French and other mother tongues in that order. However, the difference in length of service between the first two groups was more marked than in the departments. Participation of those of French mother tongue tended to decrease inversely with the number of years' service in the RCMP, Air Canada, the Bank of Canada, the NFB, and the CMHC.

Those of French mother tongue were more likely than those of either English or other mother tongues to have been recruited directly to the Public Service without prior employment in other sectors of the work world, possibly because of limited opportunities for employment in those sectors (Table A-76).

Table A-76. The Public Service as First Employer

Percentage of employees in seven federal agencies and in the departmental Public Service whose first employer was the Public Service, by mother tongue—Canada, 1965

	Sample	Percentage whose first employer was the Public Service
Air Canada		
French	245	34.3
English	1,830	27.2
Other	285	28.3
CBC		
French	490	37.5
English	1,012	31.6
Other	136	22.1

Table A-76. (cont'd.)

	<i>Sample</i>	Percentage whose first employer was the Public Service
RCMP (uniformed staff)		
French	189	55.4
English	1,567	43.3
Other	168	46.7
NRC		
French	77	59.9
English	487	45.8
Other	103	47.7
CMHC		
French	191	44.9
English	493	26.2
Other	84	28.6
NFB		
French	84	29.3
English	164	24.2
Other	22	20.0
Bank of Canada		
French	38	70.6
English	125	63.1
Other	10	*
Departmental Public Service		
French	1,487	50.8
English	6,852	29.2
Other	819	33.2

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

* Statistically insignificant.

C. Summary

Although the agencies studied represent a variety of functions, structures, and language-group mixtures, a few general tendencies can be observed with regard to participation. In terms of

salary, occupation, and years of service, those of English mother tongue were in a much more solid position than those of French mother tongue, even at the NFB and CBC. However, much of this could be explained by differences in the two

groups' levels of schooling, amount of working experience before joining the Public Service, and rate of interdepartmental and geographic mobility within the Public Service. In fact, in these seven agencies, those of French mother tongue who were employed seemed to have had as much success as those of English mother tongue with equal qualifications.

However, fewer members of the French mother-

tongue group were being recruited and those who did join the Service apparently left it at an earlier point in their career. Thus the problem of their participation in these agencies seems not so much one of their opportunity for relative success within them but rather one of recruitment and retention, aspects which may be influenced by the language-use practices described in Chapter VII.

Appendix V

Differences in Status within Managerial and Professional Occupations in the Federal Departmental Public Service¹

In 1965, managerial personnel accounted for more than 10 per cent of the employees of the federal departmental Public Service, and professional staff accounted for more than 14 per cent; about 25 per cent of all public servants were in these two categories (Table A-77). The occupational distribution of those of French mother tongue was different; only 19 per cent of them were managers or professionals. The deficiency is chiefly in professional staff: the proportion of

Francophones who held managerial posts was only slightly less than the average (9.5 per cent compared to 10.4 per cent), but the proportion who were professionals was much lower (9.5 per cent compared to 14.4 per cent). This difference is largely explained by their underrepresentation among the scientists and engineers (2.6 per cent compared with 4.9 per cent).

Anglophone senior staff, in general, were close to the average distribution of specialization for

Table A-77. Managers, Professionals, and Technicians

Percentage of employees in the departmental Public Service who are managers or professionals, by mother tongue—Canada, 1965

	Mother tongue			All linguistic groups
	French	English	Other	
Managers	9.5	11.3	5.8	10.4
Professionals	9.5	15.5	17.4	14.4
Engineers and scientists	2.6	5.1	8.4	4.9
Physicians, etc.	1.1	2.2	2.1	2.0
Lawyers	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.2
Social scientists	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.3
Others	4.1	6.8	5.4	6.0
Sample	1,487	6,853	819	9,159

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ Based on J. W. Johnstone, W. Klein, and D. Ledoux, "Public Service Survey." In this study the language groups are defined by mother tongue.

the total Public Service; they exceeded the average slightly but consistently, with almost 27 per cent of their total number occupying positions in the top 25 per cent of the Service. Public servants of mother tongues other than French and English held slightly less than the average percentage of the top posts, with their distribution concentrated mainly among the engineers and physical scientists. They were close to the average in the other professional categories, but significantly below it among the managerial group.

A. Managers

There was no significant difference in the education of managers of French and English mother tongue; the medians for years of schooling were 11.4 and 11.5 respectively for the two groups; the proportions with university qualifications were just about the same: 18.4 per cent compared to 17.6 per cent (Table A-78). The most noticeable variation, however, was in staff of other mother tongues. While relatively few occupied managerial

posts, they were the best educated; only 38 per cent had not attended university, compared with 71 and 73 per cent of those of English and French mother tongue respectively.

Given these facts, one might have expected those of French mother tongue to earn about the same as their colleagues of English mother tongue. On first inspection this does not appear to be so (Table A-79). Among the three groups, the highest actual salaries were paid to those of English mother tongue, but this figure is affected by the incumbents' varying lengths of service. When the statistics are adjusted to allow for this, the median salary of the French mother-tongue group is the highest by a slight amount. In contrast, managers of other mother tongues—the best-educated—drew the smallest salaries, 8 per cent lower than their colleagues.

B. Professionals

1. Engineers and scientists

Engineers and physical, chemical, and biological scientists are generally in short supply in French-

Table A-78. Education of Managers and Professionals

Percentage distribution of managers and professionals in the departmental Public Service, by level of education and mother tongue—Canada, 1965

	Managers			Engineers and scientists ¹			Non-scientific professionals ²		
	French	English	Other	French	English	Other	French	English	Other
No university education	73.3	71.4	38.4	48.6	24.9	17.2	53.4	61.5	33.7
Some university	8.3	11.0	24.5	4.2	4.7	2.9	8.8	10.8	11.3
Bachelor's degree ³	8.2	11.1	24.3	20.2	35.8	43.5	12.1	12.3	25.9
Higher degrees	10.2	6.5	12.8	27.0	34.6	36.4	25.7	15.4	29.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	264	1,521	91	95	1,230	197	200	1,041	168
Median years of schooling	11.4	11.5	12.4	12.6	15.7	16.2	12.1	12.2	14.7

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ Includes technicians in these disciplines.

² Includes lawyers, social scientists, physicians, and various other professional occupations.

³ Includes *baccalauréats ès arts*.

speaking Canada. Government nowadays employs large numbers of such personnel, and, as we have seen, in 1965 disproportionately few scientists in the federal Public Service were of French mother tongue. Moreover, their formal qualifications were significantly inferior to those of their colleagues, with a median of 12.6 years of schooling compared to medians of almost 15.7 years and 16.2 years for those of English and other mother tongues (Table A-78). Nearly half of the scientists of French mother tongue had never attended university, compared with 25 and 17 per cent of those of English and other mother tongues respectively. At the other end of the educational scale, 27 per cent had advanced degrees, significantly lower than the 35 and 36 per cent recorded for the other two groups.

The salaries of scientists of French mother tongue were smaller than those of their better-qualified colleagues and about the same as those of managers of French mother tongue. In contrast, the scientists of English and other mother tongues respectively earned 22 per cent and 27 per cent more (Table A-79). This distribution of income, with the best-qualified earning the most, contrasts sharply with that of the managers, where the other mother-tongue group—proportionately the smallest but with the highest level of education—received the smallest salaries.

2. Professionals other than engineers and scientists

This is a residual group which includes lawyers, physicians, social scientists, and a variety of other professional and quasi-professional occupations—accountants, social workers, nurses, computer programmers, draftsmen, etc. The educational background of this group was similar to that for managers. Those of French and English mother tongue in this group both had a median of about 12 years of schooling. The one significant difference is that almost 26 per cent of those of French mother tongue had higher degrees, compared with only 15 per cent of those of English mother tongue. At the other end of the scale, only 53 per cent of the former had never attended university, compared with 62 per cent of the latter. As in the other two occupational categories, the educational level of those of other mother tongues was the highest: they had a median of 14.7 years of schooling compared to medians of just over 12 years for the other two. Only 34 per cent had no university training, while 55 per cent had degrees (Table A-78). Here superior education was again reflected in salary levels, with those of other mother tongues earning a salary that averaged \$474 per annum higher than that for those of French mother tongue and nearly \$750 higher than that for those of English mother tongue (Table A-79).

Table A-79. Median Annual Salary

Median annual salary—actual and standardized for years of service—of employees in the departmental Public Service, by occupational category and mother tongue—Canada, 1965

	Median annual salary					
	Actual			Standardized		
	French	English	Other	French	English	Other
Managers	\$5,956	\$6,197	\$5,830	\$6,244	\$6,227	\$5,734
Professionals						
Engineers and scientists ¹	5,764	8,056	7,647	6,373	7,803	8,134
Non-scientific professions ²	6,000	5,694	6,495	5,896	5,624	6,370
Clerical workers	4,079	4,160	4,443	3,997	4,045	4,354
All other occupations	4,474	4,671	4,108	4,495	4,671	4,387

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

¹ Includes technicians in these disciplines.

² Includes lawyers, social scientists, physicians, and various other professional occupations.

A. The Canadian Provinces

The consequences to a bilingual society of its public service operating for the most part in a single language will become clearer if we look at the experience of some other administrations. In Canada, besides the federal Public Service, three other major public services—those of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec—provide a fair measure of two-language service to populations containing substantial official-language minorities. Yet their internal operations are largely unilingual. A glance at these administrations reveals two striking characteristics.

In the first place, the minority group is under-represented in the provincial public service in comparison with its position in the provincial population. The 1961 census showed that in Ontario 10 per cent of the population, but only 5 per cent of the public service, was of French origin; for New Brunswick the figures were about 39 and 21 per cent respectively. In Quebec, the population of British origin accounted for 11 per cent of the total, but public servants of British origin formed only 4 per cent of the provincial administration. Clearly, employment in the pro-

vincial public service is not as attractive to members of the minority group as it is to the majority.

Members of the minority group tend to cluster at the lower end of the salary scale and to be absent from the middle levels. For instance, in Quebec, 34 per cent of the male provincial public servants of English mother tongue and only 26 per cent of those of French mother tongue earned less than \$4,000 in 1965. At the middle level (incomes from \$4,000 to \$7,999) were 42 per cent of the former but 54 per cent of the latter. Members of the minority-language group followed the same pattern of income distribution in the Ontario administration, and for the most part in that of New Brunswick as well.

Those in the minority group at the low end of the salary spectrum have either unskilled labour positions or clerical positions where their language skills are a factor in their employment. Their chances of rising in the administration are poor, especially where, as in Ontario, their lack of education forms a barrier to advancement. While members of the minority are relatively poorly represented at the middle levels, this is not necessarily the case at more senior levels. In the Ontario administration, for example, 8 per cent of

¹ This appendix is based in the following research reports prepared for the R.C.B.&B.: Nancy Bryan, "Ethnic Participation and Language Use in the Public Service of Ontario"; G. Lapointe, "La fonction publique québécoise"; H. G. Thorburn, "Ethnic Participation and Language Use in the Public Service of New Brunswick"; J. Brazeau, "Essai sur la question linguistique en Belgique"; Centre de recherche et d'information socio-politiques, "Le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme en Belgique"; J. J. N. Cloete, "Bilingualism in the Public Sector in South Africa"; J. Meynaud, "Le problème des langues dans l'administration fédérale helvétique"; T. Miljan, "Bilingualism in Finland." Information on Ireland is based on material supplied by the government of Ireland.

the Anglophones earned salaries of over \$10,000 a year in 1965, but so did 6 per cent of the Francophones. However, high-salaried representatives of the minority occupy specialized positions; either their knowledge of languages is important, or their professional qualifications are not readily available elsewhere. They are not general-purpose administrators with prospects of moving from department to department as opportunity and challenge are presented. As a group they are quite distinct from those other members of the minority group at the lower levels.

There are four broad groups of employees in any public service. The great bulk of employees, solidly entrenched in jobs with average salaries, have little prospect of horizontal or vertical mobility. The upper-level generalists, who can move easily from one post to another and who can fill a wide variety of positions, occupy co-ordinating and directing roles in the services. Low-level manual and clerical employees (many female) tend to work for short periods in the service, to leave, and to re-enter. Specialized professionals at the upper levels have training and technical qualifications—rather than directing and co-ordinating abilities—that permit them to occupy senior positions.

On the basis of this four-group classification, the position of the minority ethnic and language groups in the provincial public services becomes clear. They tend to fill positions in the last two groups rather than in the first two: they occupy specialist rather than generalist positions. They are, in other words, out of the mainstream of normal public service career systems.

Up to this point, we have been talking in very general terms, and have thus done violence to several particularities of the provinces, especially those of New Brunswick. In this province's public service, for example, the proportion of the minority group in the administration is relatively large and there are greater opportunities for members of the minority to work in their own language. These two reasons are in fact interrelated: clearly, the more people in an institution able to speak a given language, the more it can be used. But also, the existence of predominantly Francophone populations in four of New Brunswick's 15 counties has meant that employees in the offices in these areas can operate in French except when communicating with Fredericton. Further, there is one small department which uses the minority

language more or less exclusively in its internal operations, thus permitting a Francophone to enter the lower levels of the department with the prospect of rising through the ranks while working only in his own language.

But the situations in Ontario and Quebec show that when a minority in the administration is small and has few chances to work in its own language, its members will be outside the mainstream of public service employment. At the same time, if members of a minority group are unable to work in their own language, they will not be attracted to public service careers in sufficient numbers to affect the internal unilingualism. A vicious circle is thus created—but one not peculiar to Canada. Other countries have been faced with it, but in two at least—Belgium and Ireland—the government has stepped in to break its operation by stipulating administrative areas in which the minority language is to be the obligatory language of work.

B. Belgium

In considering Canadian administrations, we have talked in terms of majority and minority. But in other countries, simple numerical strength, either in the population or the public service alone does not necessarily accord with the actual strength of a particular language—that is, the pressures favouring its use. A host of factors reflecting the psychological, social, historical, political, and economic positions of the language groups may work against the use of the majority language, instead of reinforcing its use, as in Canada. In Belgium, for example, there is a long tradition favouring the use of French in public service circles, despite the fact that the Francophone population is numerically smaller than the Dutch-speaking population. Bilingualism came to be associated with one group only—those speaking Dutch. The growing dissatisfaction with this situation resulted in the 1963 Civil Service Act (*Loi sur l'emploi des langues en matière administrative*), which seeks primarily to structure the public service so as to assure each language group of areas in which their mother tongue will be the language of work.

Except for members of a small bilingual section at the upper levels, each recruit enters the Belgian public service as a member of either the

French- or the Dutch-speaking personnel. The choice is determined, not by the individual's personal wishes, but by the language in which he pursued his studies. Personnel of the two language groups form, in effect, two distinct services: admission depends on the vacancies in the applicant's own group, and promotion is only within its ranks.

Where possible, an administrative unit is divided into two offices, one staffed by Dutch-speaking personnel using Dutch as their language of work, and the other by French-speaking personnel using French. This duplication can be applied at all levels, from the smallest of administrative units or to whole departments (such as the department of education and cultural affairs).

The regulations stipulating the number of positions to be filled from the French- and Dutch-speaking personnel in each agency are required by the law to take into account the relative importance of an agency—and all levels within it—to the French- and Dutch-speaking parts of the country. However, the 1,200 positions at or above the level of director must be divided equally between members of the two language groups.

These legislative measures, going to the very heart of the administrative structure, were designed to assure the equal use of the two languages. Even if one language had possessed greater actual strength, this was balanced, with the advent of universal suffrage, by the smaller number in the population having it as mother tongue.

C. Ireland

In Ireland, the disparity between the actual strength of the country's two languages—English and Gaelic—is far greater. The Irish government, in fact, had to start almost from nothing in its mission to develop the use of Gaelic within the public service. In 1963, the Commission on the Restoration of the Irish Language reported that 14 per cent of public servants were fluently bilingual in Gaelic and English, while a further 50 per cent were functionally so. However, while

it found some units where the main working language was Gaelic, less than one-half of 1 per cent of public servants were employed in them. As a means of promoting the use of Gaelic in the public service, the Commission viewed these unilingual units with favour and recommended that their number be increased from year to year. They believed that such a policy of gradual development would obviate most of the practical difficulties, and could result in Gaelic becoming the internal language of the service within a few years.

The policy of concentrating Gaelic-speaking public servants in Gaelic-language sections was accepted by the government and is already in full operation in some departments. In others a start has been made, usually by introducing a pilot section in the Establishment branch. Government directions to the departments emphasized that where possible the sections chosen for a change-over to Gaelic should be engaged in important and interesting work and should be so located as to provide an example to the rest of the department. In practice the nature of the work and the officers' interest in the Irish language were also taken into consideration.

D. Finland, Switzerland, and South Africa

In Finland, Switzerland, and South Africa, members of the official-language groups are fully integrated with the public service. Every position is theoretically open to all, and no attempt is made on the part of the authorities to concentrate the speakers of one language into particular divisions. Finland, however, has legislative provisions regulating the internal official language of governmental agencies.¹ In broadest terms, these require the use of the language of the district as the internal language in districts officially designated unilingual, and the language of the majority of the district when it is officially bilingual or contains communes of differing languages.

Although no regulations govern internal language use, public servants in Switzerland—at least, those of German and French mother tongue—and in South Africa have the opportunity to

¹ "The internal official language is the language used in the correspondence between different authorities, in accountancy and in the records and other documents that are not given to any private parties." V. Merikoski, "The Realization of the Equality of the National Languages in Finland," *Democracy in Finland* (Helsinki, 1960).

work in their own language. Some departments in South Africa have an informal practice of alternating each month between the use of Afrikaans and of English as their language of work; others finish work in the language in which it was originated. In both these countries, a large proportion of public servants are functionally bilingual and, as well, those of the minority language groups form a fairly substantial proportion (roughly 30 per cent) of the public service. However, as in Ireland, both these factors, even in combination, will not necessarily produce a situation in which the weaker language becomes a viable language of work.

Two stages of development may be discerned in the efforts of those governments who have sought to enable public servants of different

languages to work in their own language. First comes an attempt to extend the knowledge of the weaker language by means of language-training schemes, deliberate recruitment of bilingual personnel, or personnel from the weaker language group, and the like. But the traditional unilingualism of the public service works against the actual employment of the weaker language in the work situation: disuse threatens to undermine the newly developed language skills of the service. This leads to the second stage; the government steps in to require the use of the weaker language. Unilingual units (Ireland), division of functions into two unilingual work areas (Belgium), and internal official-language regulations based on language districting (Finland) have all been employed to this end.

Beattie, C., Déry, J., and Longstaff, S. A., BUREAUCRATIC CAREERS: ANGLOPHONES AND FRANCOPHONES IN THE CANADIAN PUBLIC SERVICE. This is a study of the career patterns, the social background, and reactions to the recent emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism among Anglophones and Francophones at mid-career in the middle levels of the federal Public Service. Data were provided by 296 long interviews conducted in 1965 in five departments, a representative cross-section of different types of departments: Secretary of State, Finance, Agriculture, Public Works, and National Revenue—Taxation division. Criteria established to select persons for interviewing were position (below the rank of deputy minister), age (between 25 and 45), salary (\$6,200 or higher), and location of employment (the national capital area). From all those eligible according to these criteria, 128 Francophones and 168 Anglophones were interviewed. The Anglophones were selected at random from each of the five departments according to different sampling rates; they were not all of English mother tongue or British origin but were regarded as members of the Anglo-Canadian community. Because of the low number of eligible Francophones, all had to be interviewed in four of the five departments; only in the department of the Secretary of State were there enough Francophone personnel to make a random selection necessary. Several months later, most of the original Anglophone respondents in four of the five departments were interviewed again by telephone and asked to answer questions about taking French courses.

The study reports on the structure of the federal administration, personal characteristics of the middle-level personnel (age, education, salary and social and geographic origins), work outside the Public Service, careers in the federal administration, and the individuals' responses and reactions to the "bilingual crisis" of the mid-1960's. The results were weighted according to the different sampling rates.

Benoit, H., Collin, M., Desjardins, C., and Lyman, P., LANGUAGE TRAINING—HULL. This study deals with the Anglophone officials who completed the first French course at the Public Service language-training centre in Hull in 1964. The goals of the study were to evaluate the course in terms of how effectively the trainees could communicate in French, to determine the extent to which what they learned in the course was useful in their work, and to record the opinions and assess the attitudes of trainees to the course and to language use in the federal Public Service. A questionnaire was prepared after consultation with the school directors, and all but one of the 32 trainees were interviewed. The questionnaire recorded each trainee's personal characteristics including age, province of origin, level of education, Public Service position, ethnic origin, and relations with Francophones; his marks in the course, ability after the course, the evaluation of the interviewer, use of French at work, and methods available to the individual for improving and maintaining his French (additional courses, radio, newspapers, etc.); and each trainee's reac-

tions, opinions, and attitudes towards the course and towards bilingualism in the federal administration.

Buchanan, J., and Collin, M., ANALYSE DU QUESTIONNAIRE AUX ÉTUDIANTS DE L'ÉCOLE DE LANGUES DE HULL. This study presents the results of a survey of 87 Anglophone officials who started learning French at the Public Service language-training school in Hull in September 1965. Three months after the conclusion of the 12-week, half-time course, 58 of the group took a test of their command of French (the other 29 had either taken assignments overseas or were continuing French classes at the school); at the same time they completed the questionnaire which is the basis of this study. Topics covered include formal criteria of selection of candidates and personal motivations for wanting language training, evaluation of the training received, attitudes towards learning French, the practical use of French at work, and attitudes towards bilingualism in the federal Public Service.

Chevalier, M., THE DYNAMICS OF ADAPTATION IN THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE. The purpose of this study was to examine the decision-making process of the Public Service in action and to assess the actual and potential ability of the Service to respond and adapt to the growing demands of "bilingualism and biculturalism." The data were collected by means of a series of discussions, group sessions, interviews, and other relations with 17 selected government departments and agencies in 1965-6. For periods of weeks or months, the Commission researchers examined the reactions of senior officials of various departments and agencies to the growing emphasis on language policies and equal participation; they also actively encouraged the higher officials to develop and pursue certain policies and then evaluated the outcome.

The study discusses the fundamental concept of bureaucracy, the central position of efficiency in government operations, and the processes involved in changing federal organizations to meet new problems.

Special aspects of administrative adaptation are considered in a series of appendices: an overall programme for change, the strategy of interest-based planning in public administration, and a new approach to bureaucratic change.

Coulombe, P., with the collaboration of **Courcelles, L.,** CARRIÈRE MILITAIRE ET DYNAMIQUE CULTURELLE. This study examines the participation of Francophones and Anglophones in the Canadian Forces according to rank, career path, service, and linguistic, cultural, and social characteristics at the time of entry. Data came from a questionnaire administered in June 1966 to 10,383 male members of the Forces. From each of the 24 categories established, subjects were chosen at random, except for very small categories which were retained in their entirety. The rate of response was 87 per cent. The results were weighted to account for the different sampling rates.

Forbell, H., and Gallant, B., ARMED FORCES HISTORIES. This study deals in turn with the Royal Canadian Navy, the Canadian Army, and the Royal Canadian Air Force. The history of each service up to the early 1950's is examined in terms of ethnic representation, language use, and cultural milieu. The sections on ethnic origin form the major part of the study and include for each service a general sketch of their historical development, particularly with regard to policies on recruitment and promotion.

Franks, C. E. S., BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN THE FEDERAL TREASURY BOARD. The Treasury Board became a department in October 1966 under the Government Organization Act, 1966, but its essential functions are unchanged since completion of this study, which deals with the presence of Francophone and Anglophone officials in the Treasury Board in 1965 and their knowledge and actual use of French and English. (An official was considered a Francophone if two of the three following criteria were French: mother tongue, language of pre-university schooling, and language of home life.) Data were provided from more than 40 informal interviews with senior officials of the Treasury Board's Secretariat, and with other senior public servants.

The study aims to describe how the Treasury Board affects the cultural character and linguistic practices of the federal Public Service; it offers reasons why the Treasury Board operates in the way it does, and evaluates those possible avenues of reform throughout the Public Service which lend themselves to centralized direction, particularly in those departments or groups of agencies that are typical of the administration.

The study deals with the organization, functions, and personnel policies of the Treasury Board; the place of the two languages within the Treasury Board and in its communications with all other agencies of government; language training and translation problems; the extent of Francophone participation in the largely Anglophone "inner circle" of the Public Service; and, finally, the general problems of bilingualism and equal status for the two cultures in the Public Service.

Heward, J., HISTORY OF BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN THE CANADIAN PUBLIC SERVICE. This study outlines the historical conflict between traditional ideas of efficiency and merit and the necessity of having equal representation of Francophones in the federal administration. It examines in particular the action taken by Ernest Lapointe, minister of Justice in the King government, and the work of the "Committee of Five" and the Jean Committee.

Jeannotte, A., and Taylor, H., SURVEY OF APPLICANTS TO THE 1964-65 UNIVERSITY PROGRAMMES OF THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION, prepared under the direction of Lloyd Stanford. This study examines the recruitment of university graduates to the federal Public Service. In 1964-5, the Civil Service Commission recruited graduates of Canadian universities through one central programme for Junior Executive and Foreign Service Officers (JEO-FSO programme) and three separate channels for the biological and physical sciences, the applied sciences, and the sociological and economic sciences (ST programmes). The study deals with the results of a survey questionnaire sent to a sample of 2,101 of the 3,343 applicants to the 1964-5 university recruitment programmes. The sample was drawn according to two criteria: the language used in the application form, which identified the Francophone and Anglophone applicants; and the stage reached in the programme. The sample included all 420 applicants who used the French-language form; among those who applied on the English-language form it included the 439 who ultimately accepted appointments through the Civil Service Commission and half of the other 2,484 applicants. The rates of response were 69.8 for Francophones and 63.9 for Anglophones. The study reports on the characteristics of applicants classed

according to mother tongue or linguistic group: their educational background, previous work experience, language ability, their interest in and reasons for applying for positions in the federal Public Service, their views of different methods of publicity, their experiences at the various stages of recruitment process—the objective test, the interview, the offer of employment—their reasons for accepting or refusing the offers. The results were weighted to account for the different sampling rates.

Johnstone, J. W. C., Klein, W., and Ledoux, D., PUBLIC SERVICE SURVEY. This large questionnaire survey of the federal Public Service reports on the participation of the French, English, and other mother-tongue groups, by department, geographic location, age, years of service, status, and function (education, occupational category, and salary). Socio-economic characteristics are compared in the light of occupational and educational levels, seniority, and geographic and job mobility. Language capacity and language use of each group are studied in themselves and in relation to other characteristics. The surveys of the departmental Public Service and the non-departmental agencies were conducted separately, although the results of the two studies may be readily compared.

The sample for the questionnaire survey of the departmental Public Service was drawn from a listing of 192,972 positions provided by the Civil Service Commission in September 1964; all those positions in the salary range with a maximum of \$10,000 or more were retained in the sample; the others were grouped according to department, income, and occupational classification, and for each group a sample of 1 in 26 was drawn. Of 11,814 questionnaires, 9,159 were returned for a response rate of 77.6 per cent. The results were weighted to account for the different sampling rates.

The non-departmental agencies or Crown corporations surveyed were the National Research Council, the RCMP (uniformed staff), Air Canada, the Bank of Canada, the National Film Board, the CBC, and the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. The samples were drawn from listings of positions provided by these agencies: all those positions in a salary range with a maximum of \$10,000 or more were retained in every sample; the others were grouped according to various

criteria (geographic location, occupation, or union affiliation) and between 10 and 25 per cent were included in one sample or the other. The real samples were 10,704 questionnaires sent and 7,956 usable questionnaires returned; the response rates varied between agencies, from 62.6 to 84.0 per cent.

Kelly, L. G., LANGUAGE TRAINING IN THE CIVIL SERVICE. This study evaluates the language-training system, after it had settled down to normal operation in 1965, from the point of view of an expert in linguistics. Data was provided by the Language Training Service of the Civil Service Commission. The study considers the strengths, weaknesses, motivations, and methods of the federal public servant as a language learner; the teachers, their qualifications, skills, experience and special training; the courses, selection, gradation, presentation, and repetition of material; the school organization, the sections for French and English courses, teachers' duties, working conditions, and maintenance of standards; and the place of language schools in a bilingual public service, with general considerations about language policy, working conditions, and leisure time in the federal Service, and retention of languages.

King, A. J. C., and Angi, C. E., by arrangement with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, LANGUAGE AND SECONDARY SCHOOL SUCCESS. This study analyzes the relation between the main language spoken in the home and withdrawal from school for 82,500 Ontario students enrolled in Grade IX in 1959. The students' home environments were classified as English-speaking, French-speaking, or "Other" (87, 6, and 7 per cent respectively). The data were drawn from the Carnegie Study Data Bank on the Identification and Utilization of Talent in High School and College, and included father's occupation, extent of parents' education, number of children in family, size and location of the municipality in which the child entered Grade IX, future educational plans of students, and teacher ratings, together with an extensive battery of aptitude and achievement tests. Six years of school-withdrawal information provided comparative retention figures, and five phases (corresponding to five school years) of multiple discriminant analysis were used to detect differential retention patterns among the three language groups.

Lalande, G., THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND BICULTURALISM: DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL AND LANGUAGE USE. This study examines the roles played by representatives of the two languages and cultures in the department of External Affairs. The first part examines the ethnic origin, language, and culture of Foreign Service Officers from 1945 to 1965, and the department's recruiting policy and its results. The training, functions, and promotion of Foreign Service Officers are discussed, and there is an examination of departmental élites from 1945 to 1965. The second part of the study measures the oral and written use of French in the department in Ottawa and at overseas missions, particularly the embassy in Paris. Documentary sources included the department's non-confidential papers, selected working papers of the Royal Commission on Government Organization, and the Public Archives of Canada, and were complemented by personal interviews with a sample of 24 Foreign Service Officers—about 25 per cent of the rsos—in September 1965.

LaRivière, J., LA TRADUCTION DANS LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE. This study examines the importance accorded to French and English in the federal Public Service, and the quality of the translation services supplied by the Translation Bureau.

The first part of the study was based on a questionnaire sent in 1965 to about 70 federal departments and agencies, including some Crown corporations. Each was asked to report on the relative importance of French and English in all the written and printed documents used to communicate within the department or agency, with other agencies of government, and with the public. The language ability of those public servants who deal directly with members of the public was assessed ("bilingual" was taken to mean having the ability to perform work in both languages), and information was sought on the language policies of different departments and agencies.

Interviews were the main source of data on the organization and function of the Translation Bureau. The chiefs of about 10 departmental divisions of the Bureau were questioned on the nature and volume of their work, recruitment of staff, dispatch of documents for translation, delays in translation, methods of evaluating the output and quality of the work, and the duties of translators. The study concludes with a survey of

translation services outside the Canadian federal government, particularly in Quebec and in the public services of bilingual countries.

Longstaff, F., STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE APPLICANTS AND THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH RECRUITING, a study prepared under the direction of Lloyd Stanford. This study summarizes in numerical terms the Civil Service Commission's recruitment programmes from 1962 to 1965. Applicants were grouped into three categories: university graduates who applied to the Junior Executive Officers-Foreign Service Officers (JEO-FSO) programme and those who applied to the scientific and technical classes (ST) programmes (described above in the Jeannotte-Taylor Study); and applicants with outside working experience after graduation (for this last category of recruits, the survey covered only the period from 1963 to 1965). All the data came from files and application forms of the Civil Service Commission. The sample for each programme included all Francophone applicants plus a quarter of the non-Francophones chosen at random. The main criterion for designating an applicant as Francophone or non-Francophone was the language of the application form and tests, but other criteria, such as residence, place of secondary education, and surname were taken into account.

JEO-FSO applicants were categorized only as Francophone or non-Francophone; recruits from the ST programmes and those from the work world were classified as Francophone, Anglophone, or "Other." The JEO-FSO sample was 733 Francophones and 1,173 non-Francophones; the ST sample was 354 Francophones and 596 Anglophones; the "Others" were redistributed in the Francophone or Anglophone groups according to the language of their university and their command of either English or French. The work world sample was 2,038 Francophones, 2,548 Anglophones, and 1,463 Other candidates.

The analysis indicates attrition rates for each type of candidate at four stages of the recruiting process: test, interview, offer of employment, and acceptance; and it presents details of the work experience, university background, and language abilities of the applicants. The results were weighted according to the different sampling rates.

Moscovitch, M., and Steiner, H., ATTITUDES AND INFLUENCE OF UNIVERSITY PERSONNEL ON CIVIL

SERVICE RECRUITING, prepared under the direction of Lloyd Stanford. This study, undertaken in 1966, describes the recruitment process at one major point of contact—the university campus. University staff members on 10 campuses were interviewed about their views on student attitudes towards the Public Service and its recruiting methods, and on a variety of other subjects. Opinions were canvassed from 34 arts professors, 26 science professors, and 16 placement or administrative officers; 47 were Anglophones and 29 were Francophones. The interviews probed attitudes towards "the B. and B. crisis" and examined the general relations between universities and the Public Service in French-speaking Canada and in the rest of the country.

Pichette, P., Moscovitch, M., and Pillarella, F., LES PROGRAMMES D'EMPLOIS D'ÉTÉ POUR ÉTUDIANTS UNIVERSITAIRES DANS LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE FÉDÉRALE, prepared under the direction of Lloyd Stanford. This study, undertaken in 1966, deals with two special systems under the joint jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission and various departments in Ottawa: the General Programme and the Special Programme. This report evaluates their role and their effectiveness as incentives to permanent recruitment into the Public Service.

The General Programme of summer employment had been in operation for several years before the survey. This report presents and evaluates the directives under which Civil Service Commission officials administered it, and the information available to students about jobs and to the officials about suitable positions in government departments. Interviews were conducted with the official in charge of the programme and with 18 students employed under it, seven of these being Francophones.

The Special Programme was created in 1964 in order to increase the recruitment of Francophone graduates and, in its second year, attracted 150 applicants for 45 positions. The report is based on interviews with the programme's administrators and Civil Service Commission documents concerning the evaluation of the programme by students who have held jobs under it.

For both the Special and the General Programmes the study presents the nature, size, and general aims of the programme; recruiting methods and efficiency; and the views of both

students and Ottawa officials. For purposes of comparison the study also gives a brief account of the summer job programme of the Canadian Institute of Public Administration.

Pitsiladis, P., BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN THE DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL REVENUE (TAXATION DIVISION). This study examines the organization of and participation in the department of National Revenue—Taxation division according to ethnic origin of its personnel, and career development within the division. The data were provided first by a review of published and unpublished material about the division; semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 senior departmental officials in Ottawa and 5 in Montreal in 1966.

The history of the department and the division, their structure, and personnel management policies and programmes are described. A separate section evaluates questions of language and culture, such as the proportion of Francophones at various levels in the department, policies and practices on the language of work within the department, the language of service to the public, and the attitudes and perceptions of the senior officials. A third section discusses prospects for future bilingual and bicultural adjustments within the division in terms of structural changes, manpower requirements, recruitment and career development programmes, remuneration, and the organization of change.

Porter, J. and Pineo, P. C., FRENCH-ENGLISH DIFFERENCES IN THE EVALUATION OF OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES, ETHNICITIES, AND RELIGIONS IN THE MONTREAL METROPOLITAN AREA. The main aim of this study was to discover the differences in how Francophones and Anglophones in Montreal view the occupational world and how they rate the prestige of a large number of different jobs and professions. Francophones and Anglophones in a sample of Montrealers were compared with each other and with a national sample of the Canadian adult population. The study draws on a large opinion survey made in 1965 by Canadian Facts Ltd.

In the national sample, there were 793 respondents, of which 89 were Montreal cases; to this number was added a special Montreal over-sample of 107 to make up a Montreal sub-sample of 196. That corresponded to a comple-

tion rate of 64 per cent of the cases originally contacted.

The ranking of occupations followed rules already tested at the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center. Respondents were asked to sort 204 occupational titles or job descriptions, 72 industries and corporations, 36 ethnic groups, and 21 religious affiliations in order of social standing. This was done by sorting cards, one for each name or description, onto a scale of nine classifications, from highest to lowest.

No classification of respondents as Francophone or Anglophone was made in advance of the interviews; instead, all respondents were allowed to classify themselves by choosing the language in which they preferred to be interviewed. All interviewers in Montreal and all interview materials (including, for example, the cards sorted by respondents) were bilingual; 142 interviews were conducted in French and 54 in English. Questions within the survey elicited other information, such as mother tongue, language used at home, language of best friends, preferred television channel, and so on. The study's classification of respondents as Francophone or Anglophone was quite consistent with these other alternative classifications.

Raynald, A., LA PROPRIÉTÉ DES ENTREPRISES AU QUÉBEC (preliminary version, 1967). The aim of this study was to examine private enterprises operating in Quebec according to the origin of their owners. For this purpose the owners were classified in three categories: Canadian Francophones, Canadian Anglophones, and foreigners. Then, 1961 census data was used to establish indices dividing the whole labour force of the private sector into three categories according to large industrial groups. Further data was obtained for the manufacturing sector on production, value added, number of employees (male and female), wages and salaries, and exports to other provinces and countries.

A. Sectors included in the study. The Standard Industrial Classifications (sic) of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics divides all sectors of activity into 12 large divisions. The study uses these divisions but excludes forestry; fisheries; hunting and fishing; and industry unspecified or undefined. The public administration division was treated

separately. In 1961, the divisions excluded from the study employed 5.3 per cent of the working force. The divisions included were subdivided into 56 industries (without taking subgroupings into account).

B. Identification of enterprises. Enterprises were classified according to ultimate ownership; i.e. the ownership of the parent company, in the case of associated companies. However, the data relate only to the establishments of those enterprises situated in Quebec.

The origin of ownership was established in two stages. First, the enterprises were classed as Canadian- or foreign-owned. They were considered foreign-owned if 50 per cent or more of the shares were held by people resident in other countries. Second, the Canadian-owned enterprises were classified as Francophone or Anglophone. To do this, the names of the members of boards of directors were examined; thus, an enterprise was considered Francophone if the majority of the names sounded French, and vice versa.

The agricultural and service sectors were treated differently; the owners of enterprises in these two sectors were classed only as Francophone or Anglophone. In the agricultural sector, farms were classed as Francophone if the "head of the farm" was of French origin; all others were classed as Anglophone. In the service sector, establishments were classed as Francophone if they used the French form for the annual DBS questionnaire, and as Anglophone if they used the English form.

C. Samples. In principle the study used a sample for each of the 56 industries. However, in 11 cases, it used a direct estimate of the number of employees in Francophone, Anglophone, and foreign-owned industries without resorting to the use of a sample, as the following table shows. The samples were not applied as such to all industries, because of their heterogeneity, and because of their bias in favour of the largest industries. Several hypotheses were considered, but the only one retained was that used in Chapter IV of this Book.

Number of Establishments in the Samples and Indices

Number of samples	Industry	Number of establishments in the final sample	Final sample of the number of establishments in the industry (%)	Output of establishments in the sample as a percentage of the establishment in each industry
1	Agriculture	912	0.95	1.02 ¹
1	Mines	106	15.8	87.22
24	Manufacturing	1,993	17.8	79.5 ³
2	Construction	322		20.84
<i>Transport and Communications</i>				
1	Air Transport	direct estimate		
1	Water transport	27	30.0	21.1 ⁵
1	Rail transport	direct estimate		
1	Truck transport	29	2.9	43.8 ⁵
1	Other transport	direct estimate		
1	Warehousing	10	47.6	33.9 ⁵
1	Radio and television	53	100.0	100.0 ⁵
1	Telephone and telegraph	direct estimate		
1	Postal service	direct estimate		
1	Other public services	direct estimate		
1	Wholesale trade	956	13.4	41.9 ⁶
1	Retail trade	1,112	2.4	26.4 ⁶
<i>Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate</i>				
1	Insurance	56 ⁸		69.4 ⁷
1	Banks and credit unions	3,013 ⁹	100.0	100.0 ¹⁰
1	Trust Companies	28 ⁸	100.0	100.0 ¹¹
3	Other financial institutions	1,727		
1	Recreation services	264	20.0	33.9 ⁵
1	Commercial services	154	20.1	20.5 ⁵
1	Personal services	1,797	20.0	17.8 ⁵
1	Hotels and restaurants	2,124	20.0	20.6 ⁵
1	Other services	424	20.0	12.7 ⁵
1	Teaching	direct estimate		
1	Health services	direct estimate		
1	Religious services	direct estimate		
1	Domestic services	direct estimate		
1	Public administration	direct estimate		
56	Total	15,107		

¹ Value of products sold.² Value added.³ Value of exports.⁴ Value of work done.⁵ Number of employees.⁶ Value of sales.⁷ Premiums collected in Quebec.⁸ Number of enterprises.⁹ Number of credit unions and *caisses populaires*, plus the number of branches of banks in Quebec.¹⁰ For the banks, assets attributable to operations in Quebec.¹¹ Gross income attributable to operations in Quebec.

D. Sources. The identification of enterprises according to the origin of their owners was established from the following sources:

1. Public sources, such as the publications of the *Financial Post—Directory of Directors; Survey of Industrials; Survey of Mines*; other well-known directories such as *Poor, Scott, Dunn and Bradstreet, The Canadian Trade Index, Who's Who in Canada*.

2. Individual files of CALURA—i.e. annual reports on the application of the law on the declarations of corporations and trade unions.

3. DBS data on Quebec establishments, except for that relating to exports to other provinces and countries, which was obtained from the Quebec Bureau of Statistics.

Raynauld A., Marion, G., and Béland, R., LA RÉPARTITION DES REVENUS SELON LES GROUPES ETHNIQUES AU CANADA (preliminary version, 1967). This study examines the income disparities between Canadians of different ethnic origins and considers several explanations that can be drawn from the available data.

The study is based on published and unpublished material drawn from the 1961 census; a 1 per cent sample of the labour force of each province was studied in detail as well as a 20 per cent sample of the labour forces (that is, complete census data on labour income) of the metropolitan census areas of Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto. For purposes of analysis, the study considers only the non-agricultural labour force, but it provides certain information on agricultural incomes.

The descriptive part of the study examines total income (except from agriculture), labour income, and investment income. However, labour income is examined in greatest detail. The six separate categories of ethnic origin included in this part (British, French, German, Italian, Ukrainian, and Jewish) make up 86.1 per cent of the male non-agricultural labour force; Canadians of all other origins are grouped into a single category—"Other." Statistics are broken down by province and by metropolitan census area. For certain data (investment income, for example), only three ethnic groups are considered: British, French, and Other.

The examination of the causes of the disparities was conducted in two distinct stages. The first

step was a detailed analysis according to occupation, industry, education, and age by ethnic category and by province and metropolitan census area. For this purpose, the average labour income of the male non-agricultural labour force was used. The method involved the appropriate classification of individuals according to each of the factors retained.

The second step consisted of systematic statistical analyses—the most important being a multiple regression analysis relating only to the Montreal metropolitan census area (in order to obtain a large enough number of observations). The analysis dealt with more than 100,000 male wage- and salary-earners and the operative variable was labour income (the "wage and salary" census category). Many explanatory variables were retained; the most important for this study was ethnic origin. Wage- and salary-earners were divided into nine groups—those of English-Scottish, French, Irish, German, Italian, Jewish, Northern European, Eastern European, and Other origins. The other variables used were under-employment (unemployment and rate of participation in the labour force), age, education, occupation, industry, period of immigration, and bilingualism.

The techniques employed allowed for the measurement of the relative importance of the various factors in the explanation of labour income disparities, both for the population as a whole and for each of the seven ethnic groups.

There were two other approaches to the explanation of income disparities: one of these measured the theoretical average income of a group when certain factors were standardized; there was also a multiple regression analysis with the operative variable being the average labour income in 57 Canadian cities.

The study concludes with the verification of a model establishing the importance of the mobility of capital and labour on income.

Stanford, L., RECRUITING IN THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE. This study, dealing with various aspects of the recruitment policy of the federal Public Service, is made up of a number of papers prepared by research teams working under the direction of Lloyd Stanford. Those which were used as reference material for this Book are listed in this appendix in alphabetical order under the name of the first author: **Jeannotte, A. and**

Taylor, H., SURVEY OF APPLICANTS TO THE 1964-1965 UNIVERSITY PROGRAMMES OF THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION; **Longstaff, F.**, STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE APPLICANTS AND THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH RECRUITING; **Moscovitch M. and Steiner, H.**, ATTITUDES AND INFLUENCE OF UNIVERSITY PERSONNEL ON CIVIL SERVICE RECRUITING; **Pichette, P.**, **Moscovitch, M.**, and **Pillarella, F.**, LES PROGRAMMES D'EMPLOIS D'ÉTÉ POUR ÉTUDIANTS UNIVERSITAIRES DANS LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE FÉDÉRALE; **Steiner, H. and Taylor, H.**, BILINGUAL POSTS AND THEIR INCUMBENTS; **Tétreau, B. and Steiner, H.**, THE ENTRANCE TEST AND SELECTION.

Steiner, H. and Taylor, H., BILINGUAL POSTS AND THEIR INCUMBENTS, prepared under the direction of Lloyd Stanford. This is a study of positions in the federal Public Service that came under the Civil Service Act at the time of the study and that were considered by the various departments and agencies in which they were located, or by the Civil Service Commission, to require a bilingual incumbent. At the beginning of 1966, questionnaires were distributed to 40 departments and agencies asking them to describe the bilingual posts under their control. The study dealt with nearly 16,000 bilingual posts or 8.9 per cent of the posts in the departments and agencies studied (excluding uniformed RCMP officers). The results were weighted to account for the different sampling rates. A sample was assembled consisting of all information forms on bilingual posts in departments or agencies that had returned 200 or fewer forms and of a random sample of 200 such forms where the number returned was more than 200.

The study reported on the distribution of bilingual posts in the federal Public Service and the characteristics of incumbents of these posts: their cultural background, language ability, education, occupation, seniority, place of work, and job mobility.

Taylor, H., THE OUTPUT OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES, 1962-65. This study enumerates all degrees and diplomas earned between 1962 and 1965 at 37 Canadian universities (and their affiliated colleges)—31 teaching only in English, four only in French, and two in both English and French—and eight types of small non-affiliated colleges. The data came from unpublished documents and tables prepared by the

Higher Education Section of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and provided no information about the number of Francophone students enrolled in English-language universities, and vice versa. Attainments were classified in four categories—diploma, bachelor's or first degree, master's degree or licence, and doctorate—and in 10 academic specializations—arts, social sciences, commerce, natural sciences, political science, history, economics, mathematics, languages, and others.

Tétreau, B. and Steiner, H., THE ENTRANCE TEST AND SELECTION, prepared under the direction of Lloyd Stanford. University graduates applying for the posts of Junior Executive Officer or Foreign Service Officer in the federal Public Service all write a standard general intelligence test. This study investigates two main questions: whether the tests and other selection procedures of the recruiting service take adequate account of the linguistic and cultural composition of the Canadian population; and on what cultural assumptions the test and selection procedures are verifiably based.

Initial data, gathered in 1966, were drawn from a variety of documents on the subject, the Civil Service Commission's own manuals, and the test itself. Hypotheses about the cultural assumptions implicit in the selection procedure were tested during semi-structured interviews with officials of the Civil Service Commission.

Thibault, A., L'ÉLITE UNIVERSITAIRE CANADIENNE-FRANÇAISE ET LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE FÉDÉRALE. This study presents the climate of opinion within which members of the Quebec Francophone university élite choose careers, and particularly their attitudes towards careers in the federal Public Service. In 1965, general discussions about careers were held by groups of Francophone final-year students at three universities—Montreal, Laval, and McGill—in a variety of specializations. For each discussion, the dean of the faculty convened students chosen according to academic excellence or participation in group activities; faculty intervention was avoided as much as possible once the topic had been launched in a very general way. There were five such discussion groups, with students in commerce and administration, the liberal professions (such as law), the pure sciences, the applied sciences, and

the social sciences; a total of 92 students participated: 34 from Laval, 44 from Montreal, and 14 from McGill. Besides these, two conferences were held among diversified groups of professors from the two large French-language universities, Montreal and Laval. Finally, for purposes of comparison, two discussions were held at the University of Toronto among arts and science students and among those in professional faculties such as law and medicine; 11 Anglophone students participated.

The first topic of the study is attitudes towards the idea of work in the federal Public Service. Then the study attempts to sum up the rationalizations and value-systems that affect plans for the future: the rewards of work, the ideal conception of work, comparisons of the federal and

Quebec public services, and all aspects of ethnicity in Canada.

Valiquet, L.-P., LANGUAGE TRAINING IN THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE. Data presented in this study include the types of methods of teaching and planning courses; selection of trainees; types of tests for measuring achievement and placing students; teachers' qualifications and experimental approaches in teaching; the role of research to improve teaching methods and the planning of new courses; and future problems to be solved. Information was obtained from the language training co-ordinator of the Civil Service Commission, by testing trainees, and by observing classes at work and examining the books and equipment used.

Report of the Royal Commission
on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
Volume 3^B

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism



To His Excellency
The Governor General in Council

We, the Commissioners appointed
as a Royal Commission, beg to submit
to your Excellency
Volume 3^B of our Final Report

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Jean-Louis Gagnon, Co-Chairman
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Book III of our *Report* is being published in two volumes: the first volume, numbered 3A, contains Parts 1 and 2; Parts 3 and 4 appear in this volume, 3B. Volume 3B contains not only a full table of contents for this volume, but also a resumé of the contents of Volume 3A.

Part 3 **The Private Sector** 443

Introduction to Part 3 445

- Heterogeneity of the private sector 445
- Role of Francophones and Anglophones in the private sector 445
- Focus of Part 3 446
- Plan of Part 3 446

Chapter XII **Participation and Language Use in the Private Sector** 447

- Francophone ownership 447
- Francophone occupational participation 447
- Quebec manufacturing firms 448

A **Participation** 448

- 1** **The general pattern** 448
 - Methodology 448
 - Participation and salary level 449
 - Participation related to nationality and language of owners 450
 - Francophone-owned firms 451
 - Canadian-owned firms with head offices in Quebec 451
 - Smaller firms 452
 - Summary 453
- 2** **Regional variations** 453
 - a) **Canada outside Quebec** 453
 - Atlantic provinces 453
 - Ontario 454
 - Western provinces 454
 - b) **Quebec outside Montreal** 454
 - Large corporations 454
 - Francophone-owned firms 455
 - Smaller firms 456
 - Francophones outside Quebec 456
 - Persistence of the patterns 456
 - c) **Montreal metropolitan area** 457
 - Large corporations 457
 - Francophone-owned firms 457
 - Smaller firms 458
 - Comparison with Quebec outside Montreal 458
 - Summary 458

- B The Place of French 458**
 - Methodology 458
 - 1 The general pattern 459
 - 2 Regional variations 460
 - a) Outside Quebec 460
 - Employees earning \$5,000 or more 460
 - b) Quebec outside Montreal 460
 - Language use 460
 - Francophone-owned firms 461
 - c) Montreal metropolitan area 461
 - Large corporations 461
 - Francophone-owned firms 462
 - Smaller firms 462
 - 3 Internal and external communication 462
 - a) Internal communication 462
 - Employee relations 463
 - Production 463
 - Engineering, research, and development 463
 - b) Printed documents 464
 - Widely circulated documents 464
 - Interoffice memoranda, shop drawings, and manuals 464
 - Smaller firms 465
 - c) External communication 465
 - Purchasing 465
 - Sales and marketing 466
 - Public relations 467
 - Relations with shareholders 467
- C Summary 468**
 - Participation 468
 - Language use 468

Chapter XIII Barriers to Equal Partnership in Business 471

- A Supply and Employment Patterns of University Graduates 471**
 - 1 Supply 471
 - Commerce and business administration 472
 - Science and engineering 472
 - Fields of specialization 473
 - 2 Employment patterns 474
 - Managers and administrators 474

- Engineers 474
- Scientists 475
- 3 Significance of supply and employment patterns 475
 - Contacts between industry and educational institutions 475
 - Usual explanations 475
 - Actual employment preferences 476
 - Francophone and Anglophone perceptions of opportunity 476
 - Advances in Quebec educational system 477
- B Corporate Policies on Bilingualism and Biculturalism 477
 - Traditional perceptions 477
 - Current perceptions of the issue 478
 - Difficulties of hiring and promoting Francophones 479
 - English still management's language of work 479
 - The real problem 479
- C Cultural Differences in the Work World 480
 - Cultural differences 480
 - Goals of business 480
 - Compatibility between work and other roles 480
 - Management styles 480
 - Implications 481
 - The Francophone dilemma 481
 - Differences in Francophones' and Anglophones' perceptions of the problem 482
 - Francophones' sense of alienation 482
 - Language and cultural differences and Francophone participation 482
- D Corporate Personnel Practices 482
 - 1 Recruitment 482
 - Language recruitments 482
 - Language use 483
 - University recruiting 483
 - Interpretation of recruitment data 484
 - 2 Training 484
 - Formal training 484
 - Language of instruction 485
 - Language training 485
 - Informal training 485
 - 3 Geographic mobility 487
 - Those earning \$5,000 or more 487
 - Engineers 487

- 4 Appraisal and promotion 488
 - Value of systematic promotion procedures 488
 - Company practice 489
 - Language used 489
 - Deficiencies 489
 - Conclusion 489

Chapter XIV Some Examples of Linguistic Policies in Business 491

- A Introduction 491
- B Recent Developments in Quebec 493
 - The role of government 493
 - Education 493
 - Labour unions 493
 - The nationalization of electricity 494
 - Para-governmental companies 494
 - The salient points: education and economic development 494
- C Hydro-Québec 494
 - 1 Hydro-Québec and the Quebec economy 495
 - Preferential purchasing as a policy 496
 - 2 Linguistic policies 496
 - The nationalization of electricity in 1963 497
 - 3 Linguistic Services 498
 - Results achieved through language courses 499
 - Francophones 499
 - Anglophones 499
 - 4 Relations with the public 500
 - Calls for tender 500
 - Drafts and estimates 501
 - 5 The Hydro-Québec Research Institute 501
 - Energy: requirement for technological development 501
 - 6 Conclusions 501
 - Qualified personnel: the "vicious circle" of supply and demand 502
- D Marine Industries Ltd. 503
 - Language of work 503
 - Language of service and its effects 503
 - Conclusion 505

E	Canadian National	505
	Language of service	505
	Language of work	507
	Language training	508
	Conclusion	509
F	Alcan	509
	Scope of the company's operations	509
	The problem of language use	510
	Classification of personnel according to language	511
	The Quebec plants	511
	French as the language of work in Quebec plants	512
	Head office	512
	Bilingualism	513
	Language courses and training	513
	Recruitment of university graduates	514
	Conclusion	514
G	General Observations and Conclusions	515
1	Objectives	515
2	The milieu	516
3	Marketing requirements	517
Chapter XV	Equal Partnership in the Private Sector	519
A	Introduction	519
	Language use and economic opportunity	519
	Effect of language-use pattern on the vigour of French	519
	Limitations of formal language rights	520
	The situation in Montreal	520
B	Equal Opportunity and Institutional Bilingualism	521
	Institutional bilingualism—the basis for equal opportunity	521
	The application of institutional bilingualism	522
	The companies	523
	The place of French in Quebec	524
	Outside Quebec	524
C	Policies and Programmes for Change	525
	Recommendation 42	525
	Recommendation 43	526
	Importance of government leadership and assistance	526
	Participation by universities and unions	526

	Recommendation 44	526
	New Brunswick	527
	Recommendation 45	529
	Ontario	529
	Recommendation 46	530
D	Recommendations to Industry	530
	Recommendation 47	530
	The target	531
	Need for phased planning	531
	Effect on management development	531
	An example	532
1	Recruitment	532
	Recommendation 48	533
	Recommendation 49	533
2	Employee training	533
	Recommendation 50	534
	Recommendation 51	534
3	Job transfers outside French-speaking regions	534
	Geographic mobility in the private sector	534
	Recommendation 52	535
4	Promotion	535
	Recommendation 53	536
	Recommendation 54	536
	Recommendation 55	536
5	Language training and translation	537
	Need for better programmes	537
	The corporate contribution	537
	Who should receive language training	537
	Acquired language skills must be used to be effective	538
	Need for co-operation among firms and governments	538
E	The Role of the Federal Government	538
	The federal government as purchaser	538
	Recommendation 56	539
	Recommendation 57	539
F	Conclusion	539
	Commitment to institutional bilingualism	540
	Role of government	540
	Quebec the focus but not the whole	540

Part 4	Conclusions	541
--------	-------------	-----

Chapter XVI	Towards Equal Partnership in the Work World	543
	Extent of Francophone disadvantage	543
	The basic change	544
	Related measures and their effects	544
	Limitations of policies	545
A	The Broader Economic and Social Context	545
	Variety of programmes required	546
	Three main types of policies	546
1	The supply of qualified Francophones	547
	Economic trends	547
	Education	547
	Increasing the number of Francophone managers and entrepreneurs	548
	Manpower retraining	550
	Immigration	550
2	Economic development	551
	Research	552
	Regional development programmes	552
	Investment	553
	A social accounting system	554
3	The urban situation	555
	Persistence of economic disparities	555
	Social policies in the urban context	555
B	The Agents of Change	556
	Need for co-operation	556
	The role of governments	556
	The role of the Quebec government	556
	The federal responsibility	557
	The goal	558
	Recommendations	559
	Dissenting Opinion	565
Appendix I	The Terms of Reference	571
Appendix VII (Cont'd.)	Descriptive Notes on R.C.B.&B. Studies Cited in Part 3	573

64	Language Group of Salaried Personnel Earning \$5,000 and Over	450
65	Ownership and Location of Manufacturing Firms	450
66	Francophone Salaried Personnel Earning \$5,000 and Over	452
67	Language Group of Salaried Personnel in Quebec outside Montreal	455
68	Language Group of Salaried Personnel in Montreal	457
69	Salaried Personnel in Bilingual Positions	459

Introduction to Book III

Part 1 **Socio-economic Status and Ethnic Origin**

Introduction to Part 1

Chapter I **Income**

Chapter II **Education**

Chapter III **Occupation**

Chapter IV **Ownership of Quebec Industry**

Chapter V **Factors Contributing to Socio-economic Disparities**

A **Analysis of Income Disparities**

1 **Factors affecting income**

2 **Relative weight of factors**

B **Dynamic considerations**

1 **Interrelation of factors**

2 **Economic development**

3 **The poverty cycle**

4 **Institutional factors**

Part 2 **The Federal Administration**

Introduction to Part 2

Chapter VI **The Federal Public Service: History of Language-Use Policy and Franco-phone Participation**

A **From Patronage to Merit: Confederation to the 1930's**

B **The Heightened Struggle: The 1930's On**

C Increasing Concern: The 1940's to 1960's

- 1 The Jean Committee
- 2 The Glassco Commission

D Conclusions**Chapter VII Language Use****A Government Policy on Language**

- 1 General Policy
- 2 Policy on language of service
- 3 Policy on language of work

B Language Capacity in the Public Service

- 1 Individual bilingualism
- 2 Changes in language ability

C Language Use in Practice

- 1 Language of service
- 2 Language of work

D Language Use in Three Selected Departments

- 1 The department of External Affairs
- 2 The department of National Revenue—Taxation Division
- 3 The Treasury Board
- 4 Prospects for institutional bilingualism in the three departments

E Existing Programmes for Bilingualism in the Public Service

- 1 Translation Bureau
- 2 Language training

F Conclusion**Chapter VIII The Public Service and the Universities: Recruitment and Orientation****A Language and Recruiting**

- B** Supply and Demand
- C** University Graduates and the Public Service
- D** Attitudes in Universities
- E** University Recruiting Programmes
- F** Summer Employment Programmes
- G** Summary

Chapter IX **Participation and Career Development**

- A** Measurement of Participation
 - 1** Geographic distribution
 - 2** Departmental distribution
 - 3** Principal factors of status
 - 4** Some related characteristics
 - 5** Summary
- B** Importance of Middle-level Public Servants
- C** Background Characteristics of Middle level Personnel
 - 1** Mother tongue, ethnic origin, and country of birth
 - 2** Geographic origin
 - 3** Social origin
 - 4** Education
 - 5** Previous work history
- D** Work, Community, and Commitment to the Public Service
 - 1** Reasons for joining
 - 2** The Public Service as a place of work
 - 3** Living in the federal capital
 - 4** Commitment to the Public Service

- E Careers in the Public Service**
 - 1 Career development
 - 2 Comparisons of middle-level Francophones' and Anglophones' careers
 - 3 Francophones' career advancement
 - 4 Entering the upper level
 - 5 The culture of the Public Service

Chapter X Towards Equal Partnership in the Public Service: Conclusions and Recommendations

- A The Challenge**
- B The Basic Proposal: French-language Units**
 - 1 The regional unit
 - 2 The headquarters unit
 - 3 The cluster
- C The Language Régime**
- D Second-Language Facilities: Training and Translation**
- E Staffing the System**
- F Administrative Structures for Adaptation to Equal Partnership**
- G The Process of Implementation**
- H Towards Equal Partnership**

Chapter XI Canadian Forces

- A Introduction**
- B Language Policies and Practices**
 - 1 Historical background
 - 2 Relations with the public
 - 3 Written language within the Forces

- 4 Effects of recent organizational changes
- 5 Language training
- 6 Military colleges
- 7 Education of children of Canadian Forces personnel
- C Participation and Career Patterns**
 - 1 Francophones and Anglophones
 - 2 Participation
 - 3 Career patterns
- D Language Capacity and Use**
 - 1 Language capacity and individual bilingualism
 - 2 Language use at work
 - 3 Language use outside the work situation
- E Officer Cadets**
- F Conclusions and Recommendations**
 - 1 Basic language rights and conditions of equality
 - 2 Creation of a functionally integrated French-language work milieu

Recommendations

- Appendix I The Terms of Reference**
- Appendix II Statement of the Right Hon. Lester B. Pearson Regarding Policy Respecting Bilingualism in the Public Service**
- Appendix III Tables**
- Appendix IV Participation in Federal Crown Corporations and Agencies**
- Appendix V Differences in Status within Managerial and Professional Occupations in the Federal Departmental Public Service**
- Appendix VI Other Public Services in Canada and Abroad**
- Appendix VII Descriptive Notes on R.C.B.&B, Studies Cited in Parts 1 and 2**

1006. Despite the importance of the federal government as an employer and despite the rapid increase in employment by provincial and municipal governments, the vast majority of employed Canadians work in the private sector. In this Part we shall examine the private sector in terms of bilingualism and biculturalism and make recommendations designed to create an equal partnership between the Francophones and Anglophones who work in this sector.

1007. The private sector is made up of a heterogeneous network of institutions, ranging in size from national and international corporations whose employees number in the tens of thousands to small proprietorships comprising only one or two persons. Some firms mobilize vast sums of capital and use sophisticated technologies to produce goods and services that are sold throughout the country and, indeed, throughout the world. Others require little capital, use simple technologies, and cater solely to the needs of their own communities. The former frequently seek the highly skilled managerial and technical talent they need on the national and international labour market; the latter usually rely on the local community to meet their more simple skill requirements.

Heterogeneity
of the private
sector

1008. Part 1 of this Book gave some indication of the role played by Canada's Francophones and Anglophones in the world of industry. For instance, we noted that, relative to their proportion in the total Canadian population, Canadians of French origin in all regions of the country participate less in the high-level occupational categories (particularly those of managers, professionals, and technical personnel) and more in the blue-collar and unskilled occupations. Those of French origin in the male labour force also have lower average levels of schooling than Canadians of British origin and proportionately fewer have completed secondary or university education.

Role of
Francophones
and Anglophones
in the private
sector

1009. We also discovered that the extent of Francophone ownership of industry in Quebec—where Francophones outnumber Anglophones four to one—is very weak and varies widely from one industrial sector to another. They predominate in small industries but have almost no ownership of the industries which require large investments and advanced techniques.

Focus of Part 3

1010. The analysis in Part 1 raises many questions, only some of which we can attempt to answer in this Part. Quite obviously, because of the size and diversity of the private sector, our research studies had to be selective. Our selection reflects our judgement as to where the problem is most acute and, consequently, where marked and immediate change is most vital. We chose to concentrate on the managerial and technical occupations and on the large manufacturing corporations, particularly those in Quebec.

1011. We chose to study the managerial and technical occupations because they are of growing importance in modern society; the forces of automation and technological change are reducing the proportion of the labour force in blue-collar jobs and increasing it in these categories. Furthermore, these are the occupations that lead to positions of influence in the economy. They are also precisely those occupations in which Francophones are most underrepresented at the present time. Therefore, we must determine the factors impeding Francophone participation in these occupations and seek ways of eliminating these barriers.

1012. Similar reasons led us to concentrate on large corporate enterprises rather than on small businesses. The former play a dominant role in the economy; the power of the men who run them extends far beyond the corporations themselves, and their policies and practices relating to the language of work have a widespread influence on the language patterns outside their walls. Moreover, these organizations provide the setting in which many of the new, highly rewarding occupations are practised.

1013. We have focussed on the situation in Quebec because it is the home of more than 80 per cent of Canada's French-speaking citizens. We have singled out Montreal for special attention because it is the largest metropolitan region and industrial centre in the province, and because 35 per cent of its residents are not French-speaking.

Plan of Part 3

1014. In Chapter XII, we examine the present degree of Francophone participation and the use of French in private manufacturing corporations with operations in Quebec. Chapter XIII deals with the factors contributing to the maintenance of this situation. Chapter XIV studies the place of French as a language of work in four large enterprises, and in Chapter XV we present our recommendations.

1015. Our research on the private sector was focussed on the larger corporate enterprises because they are playing an increasingly important role in the work world. They employ large numbers of people and, consciously or unconsciously, they have developed a corporate language policy. For these reasons their influence on language patterns extends well beyond their immediate sphere. Furthermore, many of the most skilled managers and scientific and technological experts—that is, those who have access to major sources of power in contemporary society—are employed by these same large corporations. It is important to discover the extent to which Francophones and Anglophones are found at the decision-making levels of these corporations, especially in Quebec.

1016. As we have seen in Part 1 of this Book, the ownership of Canadian industry by Francophones is almost completely restricted to Quebec, and within that province it is very unevenly distributed among the different branches of industry. Francophones are owners and proprietors in large proportions in agriculture and to a lesser degree in the service fields and retail trade. In wholesale trade they play a still smaller role, while in finance and manufacturing they account for about one-fourth of the total. Moreover, within manufacturing itself, the pattern of ownership is also uneven. In small-scale manufacturing, such as the production of wood products, Francophones predominate; but in fields requiring large capital investment and highly advanced technology, such as the manufacture of chemicals and petroleum products, they play virtually no role in ownership or control.

Francophone
ownership

1017. Francophone participation in high-level occupations reflects a similar pattern. The proportion of Canadians of French origin in the higher occupational groups (that is, managers, professionals, and tech-

Francophone
occupational
participation

nicians) is considerably less than their proportion in the total work force, while the proportion in lower-level occupations is correspondingly higher. Between 1941 and 1961, in the country as a whole they consistently lost ground. The disadvantaged occupational position of Canadians of French origin has its parallels in the areas of income and schooling.

1018. While the data on occupations and incomes are consistent with facts about ownership and control of industry, they need to be supplemented by more detailed information. It is important to know whether the Francophones in the high-level occupations are to be found chiefly in small or large corporations and, to the extent that they are employed in large firms, whether they appear at all levels in the organizations or are clustered in particular levels or occupations. Such knowledge would let us see to what degree Francophones are in a position of real influence in the work world and to what extent the French language is used as the language of work.

Quebec
manufacturing
firms

1019. To obtain such information we turned to the corporations themselves, particularly to those operating in Quebec. The focus of study is restricted to the manufacturing sector, the largest sector of industry in Quebec. In 1961 it employed almost 500,000 workers. It includes a substantial number of large firms and is a segment of industry where managerial competence and technical and scientific expertise are at a high level. Although the larger manufacturing firms may not be entirely representative of the rest of the work world, it is nonetheless likely that they reflect the way the rest of industry is moving.¹

A. Participation

1. The general pattern

Methodology

1020. The following data are based on a sample survey of large manufacturing corporations which have operations of significant size in Quebec or in adjacent areas where Francophones form a substantial

¹ The data we needed had never been collected, so the Commission launched a series of research studies which generated a large body of information bearing on the two central concerns of this chapter: the participation of Francophones and the use of the French language within manufacturing enterprises. From a substantial number of very large firms we were able to collect very detailed information; from a much larger number of smaller firms we collected a much narrower range of data. The rest of this chapter summarizes the results of our research. Ecole des hautes études commerciales and The Graduate School of Business of McGill University, "Corporate Policies and Practices with Respect to Bilingualism and Biculturalism/Politiques et pratiques du monde des affaires relativement au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

part of the population.¹ Many of the firms in the sample have operations elsewhere in Canada, and they were asked to report on these facilities as well. We were thus able to obtain both an accurate general picture of participation and language use within Quebec and an idea of the main characteristics of the situation in other provinces. However, the data drawn from our geographically biased sample cannot provide an accurate picture of the Canadian industrial scene as a whole.²

1021. The findings of the survey confirmed the widely held impression that Francophone participation in large Canadian industrial firms is much weaker than that of Anglophones. In the sample, Francophones comprised approximately 45 per cent of the employees earning less than \$5,000 a year and only 31 per cent of the personnel earning more than \$5,000; Anglophones formed 55 per cent of the former category and 69 per cent of the latter. This comparison does not bring out the major difference between the Francophone and Anglophone positions, which appears only when the variations by salary level are examined.

1022. The proportion of Francophones declined as the salary level rose in the large manufacturing corporations (Table 64). Francophone personnel were always an absolute minority at the higher salary levels; they constituted about 36 per cent of the total at the levels just above \$5,000, and only about 15 per cent at the top levels. The *total* work force of the large corporations in the sample was approximately 43 per cent Francophone. Thus, participation by Francophones was not only somewhat below average in the group earning from \$5,000 to \$6,499 but very low at the higher salary levels, particularly among those earning \$12,000 or more per year.

Participation
and salary level

¹ The survey covered 41 large manufacturing firms of which 36 made available the necessary data on salaried personnel earning \$5,000 or more. For the criteria employed in drawing up the sample, see R. N. Morrison, "Corporate Policies and Practices of Large Manufacturing Firms," in *ibid.* See also Appendix VII.

² Most of the large firms in our sample had establishments in English-speaking regions of the country, which naturally reduces the proportion of Francophones among their total numbers of employees. This fact is clear when one observes that of the 19,888 employees earning salaries of \$5,000 or more in the 36 firms in our sample, 7,933—40 per cent—were working in establishments outside Quebec. The distribution of employees was as follows:

	Number	%
Quebec outside Montreal	4,342	21.8
Montreal metropolitan census area	7,613	38.3
Ontario	5,413	27.2
Western provinces	1,966	9.9
Atlantic provinces	554	2.8
Total	19,888	100.0

Table 64. Language Group of Salaried Personnel Earning \$5,000 and Over

Percentage distribution within salary levels of salaried personnel in 36 large manufacturing firms, by language group¹—Canada, 1964

Salary level	Number	Language group		
		Francophones	Anglophones	Total
\$ 5,000– 6,499	7,862	36	64	100
6,500– 7,999	5,344	35	65	100
8,000– 9,999	3,448	25	75	100
10,000–11,999	1,368	19	81	100
12,000–14,999	994	15	85	100
15,000 and over	872	15	85	100
All salary levels	19,888	31	69	100

Source: Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms."

¹ The language group was determined on the basis of mother tongue, or the official language of greatest fluency if the mother tongue was neither French nor English.

Participation
related to
nationality
and language
of owners

1023. The 36 corporations surveyed can be divided into five groups according to the nationality and language of the owners (Table 65). Only 17 per cent were owned by Canadian Francophones. This low proportion parallels the pattern of ownership reported in Chapter IV.

Table 65. Ownership and Location of Manufacturing Firms

Numerical distribution of 36 large manufacturing firms, by nationality and language group of their owners, and by the location of head office—Canada, 1964

Language group and nationality	Location of head office		
	Quebec	Elsewhere in Canada	Total
French			
Canadian	6	0	6
Foreign	3	0	3
English			
Canadian	12	4	16
United Kingdom	4	0	4
United States	5	2	7
Total	30	6	36

Source: Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms."

1024. There is also a noteworthy difference in the size of the firms owned by the two language groups. The nine Francophone-owned corporations employed an average of about 91 employees earning salaries of \$5,000 or more a year. By contrast, the Anglophone-owned firms averaged 706 salaried employees at this level. The firms owned by Canadian or foreign Francophones were much smaller than the other firms in the sample.

1025. Firms with different types of ownership had very different proportions of Francophones among their staff earning salaries of \$5,000 or more. In those firms with headquarters in Quebec and whose owners were Canadian Francophones, 78 per cent of the salaried personnel were Francophones. Next came the firms owned by foreign Francophone interests, 62 per cent of whose salaried personnel were Francophones. In the Anglophone-owned firms with headquarters in Quebec, both those owned by citizens of the United Kingdom and those owned by Canadians, 35 per cent of the salaried staff were Francophones, but in those owned by Americans, only 23 per cent were Francophones. The Anglophone-owned firms with headquarters outside Quebec had lower proportions of salaried Francophones: 22 per cent in the Canadian-owned firms, and 15 per cent in the American-owned firms were Francophones. However, in actual numbers, the Anglophone-owned firms employed more Francophones earning salaries of \$5,000 or more than did the Francophone-owned firms.

1026. Clearly, the Francophone-owned firms employed a very small segment of the total number of employees earning more than \$5,000—815 out of 19,888, or 4 per cent. The Francophones they employed accounted for only 3 per cent of this total and for about 10 per cent of the 6,100 Francophones in the sample. These Francophone salaried personnel were working to an overwhelming degree in the corporations owned by Anglophones.

Francophone-
owned firms

1027. The nine Francophone-owned firms tended strongly to employ only Francophone salaried personnel at these levels. Anglophone personnel within them were few and were employed almost entirely in sales work. By contrast, the corporations owned by Anglophones tended to employ higher salaried personnel of both language backgrounds and to employ them in a greater variety of functions and activities. The Francophone-owned corporations thus had a much more homogeneous work force than the other firms.

1028. The differences in the composition of the work force earning \$5,000 or more in corporations owned by Francophones and Anglophones can be seen vividly if we limit our comparison to Canadian-owned firms with head offices in Quebec (Table 66). In firms owned by French-speaking Canadians, Francophones constituted an overwhelming

Canadian-owned
firms with head
offices in Quebec

majority (except in the group earning salaries of \$10,000 to \$11,999, who were almost all sales personnel). In the firms owned by Canadian Anglophones, Francophone salaried personnel were in the minority at all levels. In both types of firms—as indeed for all types in the sample—the participation of Francophone salaried personnel was less at the upper than at the lower end of the income ladder. In the sample as a whole, although there were anomalies in the distribution in the firms owned by Canadian Francophones, the low participation of Francophones at the middle and upper levels was clear, the proportion of Francophones among those earning from \$10,000 to \$11,999 being less than half that at the \$5,000 to \$6,499 level.

Table 66. Francophone Salaried Personnel Earning \$5,000 and Over
Percentage of Francophone salaried personnel in 18 large Canadian-owned manufacturing firms with head offices in Quebec, by salary level—1964

Salary level	In 6 firms owned by Canadian Francophones		In 12 firms owned by Canadian Anglophones	
	Number	%	Number	%
\$ 5,000- 6,499	260	95	3,415	38
6,500- 7,999	104	63	2,581	44
8,000- 9,999	75	71	1,662	33
10,000-11,999	61	46	611	20
12,000-14,999	38	68	487	15
15,000 and over	35	80	451	12
Total	573	78	9,207	35

Source: Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms."

Smaller firms

1029. A second survey¹ of manufacturing, designed to supplement the findings on the large firms, sought somewhat less detailed information on the policies and practices of 358 firms with head offices in Quebec and Ontario and employing from 50 to 1,500 workers. These firms employed an average of 200 workers each, and there was little difference between the two provinces in this respect. In absolute terms, these 358 firms together employed roughly half as many as the 36 large firms combined; in language of ownership, and proportion of Francophone and Anglophone employees, the patterns in general resembled those of the large firms.

¹ R. N. Morrison, "Small Firms Employing between 50 and 1,500 People in Quebec and Ontario," in the study cited above.

1030. This brief overview of the situation in manufacturing firms yields the following conclusions. The presence of Canadian Francophones in the ownership and control of large manufacturing firms was extremely meagre. Within such firms, Francophones formed a minority of those earning salaries of more than \$5,000¹ (Francophone-owned firms excepted). Most Francophone salaried personnel at these levels in large manufacturing enterprises worked in firms under the control of Anglophones. In all such manufacturing firms, the proportion of Francophones tended to decline as salary level increased.

Summary

2. Regional variations

1031. The patterns of deployment of the two language groups in Quebec manufacturing differed notably according to whether a firm's operations were carried on only within the province or in other parts of Canada as well. Also, the patterns in areas of Francophone concentration outside Quebec appeared to differ from those inside the province. Within Quebec there were again notable differences between Montreal and the rest of the province.

1032. These three geographic areas—Canada outside Quebec, Quebec outside Montreal, and the Montreal metropolitan census area itself—are in one sense three distinctive language regions. In the part of Quebec lying outside Montreal, those of French mother tongue formed 92 per cent of the male labour force in 1961. In Canada outside Quebec, they made up 7 per cent. In the Atlantic provinces and Ontario, the proportion of those of French mother tongue was slightly higher—13 per cent in the Atlantic provinces and 7 per cent in Ontario. In the Montreal metropolitan census area, the percentages were 62 for those of French mother tongue and 38 for those of English and other mother tongues.

a) Canada outside Quebec

1033. The general pattern of Francophone disadvantage is now familiar: in income, occupation, schooling, and position in the large corporations, Francophones rank low. This is not simply a factor of minority status, for the disadvantages of Francophone workers outside Quebec stand in sharp contrast to the place of Anglophone workers in Quebec.

1034. In the Atlantic provinces, where a small fragment of the work force in our sample was located, roughly 13 per cent of all employees in the large manufacturing firms surveyed were Francophones, and the

Atlantic provinces

¹ It must be remembered that these observations are based on a sample of enterprises containing several with establishments outside Quebec (see note to § 1020).

proportion decreased as salary level increased: they formed 10 per cent at the lower salary levels, less among personnel at the middle salary levels, and were virtually absent at the highest income level. Slight as such participation was, in the medium-sized firms the proportion was still lower—7 per cent.

Ontario 1035. In Ontario the proportion of all Francophones employed in the sample firms was lower again: about 5 per cent. Those earning from \$5,000 to \$6,499 made up about 4 per cent of the total at this salary level, while at the topmost levels Francophone participation was around 3 per cent.

Western provinces 1036. In the western provinces, Francophones made up less than 1 per cent of all employees in the large manufacturing firms, although their share of the positions with salaries of over \$5,000 a year—2 per cent—was somewhat higher. Among the smaller firms, the percentage of Francophones at all levels was as low as in the large companies—about 1 per cent.

1037. In all establishments located outside Quebec, then, the participation of Francophones was very slight. It was most substantial in those areas in New Brunswick and Ontario where Francophones form a sizable part of the population. In such areas, however, their proportion was noticeably higher in the group earning less than \$5,000. In the mainly Anglophone areas, the few Francophone employees on staff were more evenly distributed throughout the different wage and salary levels.

b) Quebec outside Montreal

Large corporations 1038. Of the total male labour force in Quebec outside the Montreal metropolitan census area, almost 92 per cent were of French mother tongue. In the large corporations surveyed in this region, 86 per cent of the employees earning less than \$5,000 and 85 per cent of all salaried workers were Francophones. Among the smaller firms the numerical predominance of Francophones was even more marked: the percentages of Francophones among wage-earners and all employees were 95 and 93 respectively. Roughly 90 per cent of employees in our samples of manufacturing firms in Quebec outside Montreal were of French mother tongue. However, the small Anglophone group was highly concentrated at the opposite end of the salary spectrum from the Francophone minority in manufacturing plants outside Quebec.

1039. The highly advantaged position of Anglophones in the large manufacturing firms in Quebec outside Montreal can be summarized briefly: although only 15 per cent of all employees were Anglophones, they comprised some 30 per cent of those earning more than \$5,000.

Moreover, they made up 61 per cent of those earning from \$10,000 to \$14,999, and 77 per cent of those in the highest income range (Table 67).

Table 67. Language Group of Salaried Personnel in Quebec outside Montreal

Percentage distribution within salary levels of salaried personnel in 31 large manufacturing firms, by language group¹ — Quebec (excluding Montreal), 1964

Salary level	Number	Language group		Total
		Francophones	Anglophones	
\$ 5,000– 6,499	1,704	82	18	100
6,500– 7,999	1,309	76	24	100
8,000– 9,999	773	61	39	100
10,000–11,999	266	42	58	100
12,000–14,999	158	35	67	100
15,000 and over	132	23	77	100
All salary levels	4,342	70	30	100

Source: Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms."

¹ The language group was determined on the basis of mother tongue, or the official language of greatest fluency if the mother tongue was neither French nor English.

1040. The striking advantages of Anglophones were inversely reflected in the proportion of Francophone managers in the higher salary brackets, which was almost halved every time the salary level went up \$5,000: Francophones constituted approximately 80 per cent of those earning \$5,000 to \$9,999, 40 per cent of those earning \$10,000 to \$14,999, and 20 per cent of those earning \$15,000 and over.

1041. As noted above, there was a sharp distinction in the employment of Francophones at the higher salaried level between the large manufacturing firms owned by Francophone interests and those owned by Anglophone groups. In the firms owned by Canadian and foreign Francophones, 97 per cent of those earning salaries of \$5,000 or more were Francophones. However, as in the whole group of Francophone-owned firms, the number of personnel employed by these firms was only a small fraction of the total employment by sample firms in Quebec outside Montreal. As a result, Anglophones predominated in the positions of influence in the large Quebec manufacturing concerns outside Montreal, despite the offsetting situation in the Francophone-owned firms.

Francophone-owned firms

Smaller firms

1042. In the smaller firms, the Anglophone employees did not enjoy as great an advantage. This reflects the very high proportion of smaller firms in the region which were both owned by Francophones and staffed for the most part with Francophone managers at all levels of responsibility. Even so, in these firms, Anglophones were proportionally three times more numerous among salaried personnel than among wage-earners.

Francophones
outside Quebec

1043. The true extent of the Anglophone advantage in Quebec industry outside Montreal is very clear when contrasted with the position of Francophones outside Quebec. Approximately 30 per cent of all personnel earning more than \$5,000 in the sample of large manufacturing companies in Quebec outside Montreal were Anglophones, a proportion which was over four times that of Anglophones in the male labour force of the areas. By contrast, less than 4 per cent of the personnel at the same levels outside Quebec were Francophones—a little more than half the proportion of Francophones in the non-Quebec male labour force. Whereas the proportion of Anglophones at the higher salary levels in Quebec outside Montreal increased as the salary levels rose, the proportion of Francophones outside Quebec slightly declined at the higher salary levels. Thus, in terms of concentration in the command posts of Canadian manufacturing industry, the Anglophone presence was overwhelming, even in the regions where they were very much in the minority.

Persistence of
the patterns

1044. As these patterns of participation indicate, firms relied heavily on the local labour market for blue-collar employees but very little for higher managerial and professional staff. This situation reflects the circumstances at the founding of many big operations in Quebec.¹ Many of these firms brought with them their own skilled craftsmen as well as foremen, engineers, and managers. They relied on the local community only for blue-collar workers, some clerical help, and a few more highly paid people to perform roles as intermediaries between the plant management and the Francophone workers and community.

1045. Some changes have occurred, but strong traces of the old pattern still remain. The fact that 79 per cent² of personnel at salary levels from \$5,000 to \$7,999 were Francophones suggests that there has been both a sizable movement of Francophone blue-collar workers into supervisory and lower managerial positions and an increasing reliance on Francophones in the "relations" functions. However, there appears to have been little increase in the Francophone proportion of administrative and professional employees.

¹ See E. C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (Chicago, 1943).

² This percentage applies to the large corporations in Quebec outside Montreal; the corresponding figure for Quebec as a whole is 59 per cent.

c) Montreal metropolitan area

1046. In 1961 there were some 337,000 men of French mother tongue in the labour force of the Montreal metropolitan census area. They represented 62 per cent of the male labour force in the Montreal metropolitan census area; the other 38 per cent was split between those of English mother tongue (23 per cent) and those of other mother tongues (15 per cent). Montreal is a great mixer of peoples and languages, but numerically the two charter groups and the two official languages still predominate. Table 68 shows the relative position of Francophones and Anglophones in the Montreal operations of 36 large manufacturing corporations.

Table 68. Language Group of Salaried Personnel in Montreal

Percentage distribution within salary levels of salaried personnel in 36 large manufacturing firms, by language group¹—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1964

Salary level	Number	Language group		
		Francophones	Anglophones	Total
\$ 5,000- 6,499	2,655	49	51	100
6,500- 7,999	1,946	41	59	100
8,000- 9,999	1,337	27	73	100
10,000-11,999	593	23	77	100
12,000-14,999	557	17	83	100
15,000 and over	525	17	83	100
All salary levels	7,613	37	63	100

Source: Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms."
¹ The language group was determined on the basis of mother tongue, or the official language of greatest fluency if the mother tongue was neither French nor English.

1047. Francophones accounted for 60 per cent of total employment in the sample, almost exactly their proportion in the Montreal male labour force as a whole. But only 37 per cent of the personnel earning \$5,000 or more were Francophones. At the level just above \$5,000 they constituted slightly less than half the total; at the highest level their participation shrank to 17 per cent.

1048. Once again, the firms owned by Francophones followed a different pattern. In those owned by Canadian Francophones, Anglophones accounted for only 5 per cent of the personnel earning \$5,000 or more, and were mainly spread through the middle management echelons. The firms owned by foreign Francophones interests, on the other hand, employed a larger proportion of Anglophones—about

Large corporations

Francophone-owned firms

29 per cent—whose greatest concentration occurred at the higher salary levels and who, for the most part, held jobs in marketing.

Smaller firms

1049. In the smaller firms, the greater extent of Francophone ownership and the almost exclusive employment of Francophones produced an overall distribution more favourable to French-speaking personnel. Francophones formed 73 per cent of the wage-earners and 51 per cent of the salaried personnel.

Comparison
with Quebec
outside
Montreal

1050. Compared with the rest of Quebec, Montreal has greater linguistic heterogeneity. In the large Montreal corporations, the proportions of Francophones earning less than \$5,000 and more than \$5,000 were lower by 20 and 34 points respectively. In other words, for employees of the large corporations, Montreal was a much more Anglophone milieu. The difference between Montreal and the rest of Quebec was most acute in the lower salary ranks. The proportion of Francophone employees at the \$5,000 to \$6,499 level dropped from 82 per cent outside Montreal to 49 per cent within the metropolitan area, while among those earning \$15,000 and over it fell only from 23 to 17 per cent.

1051. Despite this situation, Francophone participation in the Montreal manufacturing industry remained far above that in the rest of Canada. To this extent the pattern in the bilingual metropolis still strongly reflected the French character of Quebec.

Summary

1052. Obviously, the participation of Francophones and Anglophones in the Canadian manufacturing industry was influenced by regional factors. Outside Quebec, few Francophones were present and they followed one of two participation patterns. In areas of Francophone concentration, there was a larger proportion of Francophone employees earning less than \$5,000 than those earning more than that amount; in Anglophone areas, the extremely rare Francophone employees were spread throughout the different wage and salary levels. In Quebec outside Montreal, Francophones were an overwhelming majority of the salaried employees, and the few Anglophones were concentrated in the higher positions. Montreal was something of a half-way stage, the proportion of Francophone and Anglophone employees being more nearly equal. Yet here, as elsewhere in the country, Anglophone predominance at the upper levels was clear.

B. The Place of French

Methodology

1053. It is difficult to measure the actual use of languages in the day-to-day activities of firms. For the large firms we have data on the number and function of specific positions designated as requiring a

bilingual incumbent, on the language of work within specific work units,¹ and on the language of memos and other documents. The less-detailed questionnaire for smaller firms solicited information on the proportion of Francophone and Anglophone employees with bilingual ability, on the use of spoken and written French in various fields of work within the firm, and on the relative importance of the ability to speak French or English in various levels and divisions within the enterprise.

1. The general pattern

1054. The general situation is well illustrated in the large corporations by the distribution of Francophone and Anglophone personnel earning \$5,000 or more between posts that call for bilingualism and those without such a requirement (Table 69). In general, bilingualism was demanded of most Francophones but not of most Anglophones. Throughout his career, the probability of an Anglophone finding himself in a bilingual post was roughly one in seven, while for a Francophone the probability was seven out of eight. There are regional variations in this pattern; obviously, a firm's language practices are affected by the languages spoken in the area where it is situated.

Table 69. Salaried Personnel in Bilingual Positions

Percentage of Francophone and Anglophone salaried personnel occupying positions requiring bilingual ability in 36 large manufacturing firms—Canada, 1964

Salary level	Francophones		Anglophones	
	Number	%	Number	%
\$ 5,000– 6,499	2,830	68	5,032	8
6,500– 7,999	1,870	81	3,474	12
8,000– 9,999	862	88	2,586	13
10,000–11,999	260	82	1,108	15
12,000–14,999	149	87	845	15
15,000 and over	131	88	741	15
All salary levels	6,102	76	13,786	11

Source: Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms."

¹ The term "work unit" refers to departments or divisions within each firm defined both on a regional and a functional basis. For instance, a firm that operates manufacturing plants and sales offices in both Montreal and Toronto would be classified as having four separate "work units." Clearly, work units may vary greatly in terms of size. See description of Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms," in Appendix VII.

2. Regional variations

a) Outside Quebec

1055. Considering the small extent of participation by Francophones in business outside Quebec, it is not surprising that French had a very restricted use as a language of work. According to our survey of large corporations, some 97 per cent of work areas outside Quebec operated totally in English. The only places where French was used to any noticeable extent were those few areas where it is the language of the local population and therefore of the blue-collar workers.

Employees
earning \$5,000
or more

1056. Among the employees earning more than \$5,000, the use of French was extremely limited. In the operations of the large corporations outside Quebec, fewer than 2 per cent of the Anglophone managers were required by their job specifications to speak French. In the smaller firms as well, only a very small proportion needed to be bilingual. Those Francophones in this group—2 to 4 per cent of the total—were almost all bilingual. For them the opportunity to use French at work was the exception rather than the rule and in most respects, including language of work, they were interchangeable with their Anglophone counterparts.

b) Quebec outside Montreal

1057. In 1961 those of French mother tongue constituted less than 7 per cent of the male labour force in Canada outside Quebec, but 77 per cent within the province. Thus, the position of French in that province might reasonably be expected to have been the exact opposite to the position of English in the rest of Canada. This, however, was far from the case, even in the areas outside Montreal, where the population was 92 per cent of French mother tongue.

1058. However, French was widely used among the employees earning less than \$5,000; most spoke only French at work, and relatively few were bilingual. Also, compared with the rest of Canada, a much higher proportion of employees in this region who earned \$5,000 or more were Francophones. Twice the proportion of work areas operated in French at this level outside Montreal as in the Montreal area. More Anglophones earning \$5,000 or more—59 per cent of them—than in any other region were required to be able to speak French.

Language use

1059. Yet English is still used extensively among those earning \$5,000 or more. Except for the two lowest salary brackets in that range, well over 96 per cent of the Francophones occupied posts for which one requirement was a knowledge of English. Though the Anglophone salaried employees in this region were as a group the most bilingual of any

in Canada, some 41 per cent of them were still not required to use French on the job.

1060. Nonetheless, there was a high incidence of bilingualism in this region. It is not surprising to find that the proportion of Anglophones earning more than \$5,000 who must function bilingually was between three and four times as high as anywhere else, even Montreal; but it was less expected that the same proportion of Francophones as in Montreal functioned bilingually. Finally, 70 per cent of the work units operated in both languages, compared with 54 per cent in the metropolis.

1061. The practices of the Francophone firms provide an interesting perspective on the question of language use in Quebec outside Montreal. At the lowest salary level above \$5,000, only 19 per cent of the posts held by Francophones carried a bilingual requirement. As the salary level rose, however, the ability to speak both languages rapidly became a prerequisite attached to the majority of posts. Over 90 per cent of the positions in the \$8,000 to \$9,999 range and 100 per cent of those carrying salaries of over \$12,000 had a bilingual requirement. Even though their fellow employees were predominantly of French mother tongue, the Francophones at the middle and top levels in Quebec outside Montreal had, almost to a man, to possess the ability to speak English.

Francophone-owned firms

1062. The language predicament of a Francophone working outside Quebec thus bears little resemblance to the situation of his Anglophone counterpart working in Quebec outside Montreal. First, at all levels in the overall sample of firms, a Francophone employed outside Quebec had few colleagues of his own mother tongue, since less than 4 per cent of those earning more than \$5,000 outside Quebec were Francophones. Second, almost none of the Anglophones were capable of speaking French, so a Francophone had little choice but to work in English. An Anglophone in Quebec outside Montreal faced no comparable hardship: depending on his salary level, from one to four out of five of his colleagues were Anglophones. Among his Francophone colleagues, 80 per cent were capable of speaking English, so the Anglophone could be sure of a comprehending audience when speaking his own language.

c) Montreal metropolitan area..

1063. High-salaried employees in the manufacturing industry in Montreal worked in English to a great extent. Over 60 per cent of all those earning \$5,000 or more in our sample were Anglophones, and only 14 per cent of these people were required to speak French in their jobs. Among the Francophones, 78 per cent had to be able to speak English. Moreover, 36 per cent of the work units in Montreal func-

Large corporations

tioned in English alone—more than three times the proportion in Quebec outside Montreal, and more than three times the percentage functioning in French alone in Montreal.

1064. Although the proportion of work units operating in English alone seems large in relation to the situation outside Montreal, the majority—55 per cent—of all work units were bilingual. Unfortunately, there is no way of determining from our data the relative use of the two languages within these “bilingual” units. It may vary from an equal use of both languages to a very infrequent use of one or the other. As in all other regions of Canada, the proportion of Francophones required to be bilingual increased at the higher salary levels.

Francophone-
owned firms

1065. As in Quebec outside Montreal, there was a high bilingual requirement for posts within firms owned by Francophones in the metropolitan area. At the \$5,000 to \$6,499 salary level, 67 per cent of the positions held by Francophones required ability in both languages. Above this level, 93 per cent of the jobs had such a specification. Thus, for all except the lowest salary levels, most higher-level Francophone employees had to be bilingual, regardless of whether they worked as a minority group within Anglophone-owned firms or as a homogeneous majority within the companies owned by Francophones.

Smaller firms

1066. The smaller businesses in our sample required the use of English almost, but not quite, as much as the giant corporations: 79 per cent of salaried Francophones had to be able to speak English, but only 23 per cent of their Anglophone counterparts held jobs requiring a knowledge of French.

1067. These figures on Montreal and the rest of Quebec leave no doubt that English was the language of business communication in the middle and higher echelons of the Quebec manufacturing industry.

3. Internal and external communication

1068. The extent to which each official language was used varied in different fields of work as well as according to the level in the hierarchy. The language of oral communication frequently was not that of written communication. Printed material circulated inside and outside the firm might be linguistically adapted in several ways.

a) Internal communication

1069. Since clear and rapid communication is necessary for efficient operation, ways of communicating vital information have been devised in those firms with staff of both language groups. Most firms have found that special translation facilities are too costly and too slow to be

practical in the daily exchange of orders and information. The solution adopted has been to place a formal or informal bilingual requirement on those positions where communication between Anglophones and Francophones is a major part of the duties.

1070. This is demonstrated by the job requirements and the characteristics of personnel in the employee relations function. In the large manufacturing corporations, proportionately more employee relations officers were Francophones than in most other groups. Moreover, Anglophones holding these posts were more often required to be bilingual than Anglophones performing other functions. An illustration of this pattern is provided by the corporations owned by Canadian Anglophones and having their headquarters in Quebec. In their operations in Quebec outside Montreal, the vast majority (86 per cent) of employee relations officers were Francophones. Of the small group of Anglophones in this field, 92 per cent were required to be able to speak French. This group of firms has gone further than others in its adaptation, but the same tendencies were manifested to a lesser degree by most firms.

Employee
relations

1071. Nevertheless, for the sample as a whole, a large number of the employee relations personnel were unilingual Anglophones, especially in the more senior posts. This is of particular significance in such a sensitive field, where clear communication with the workers and their union representatives is of utmost importance.

1072. If communication between language groups is important in the employee relations field, it is even more so in plant operations. Those engaged in production work formed the largest group of employees earning \$5,000 or more in our sample. In Quebec, both within and outside Montreal, there were proportionately more Francophones in these positions than in other types of work. There was also a bilingual requirement on more production jobs held by Anglophones than in most other fields of work. The smaller firms as well as the large corporations followed these patterns.

Production

1073. As with the employee relations officers, there was a discrepancy between the extent of bilingualism expected of Anglophone and Francophone personnel in production positions. A majority of the Anglophones were not required to be bilingual, so the burden of language adaptation was on Francophone blue-collar workers.

1074. Of all the fields of activity represented within the large firms, the field of engineering, research, and development was—with the exception of top management—the one where the Francophone presence and the use of French were most attenuated. In the entire sample, only 22 per cent of the personnel in this area of work were Francophones. Less than 10 per cent of the Anglophone engineers, scientists,

Engineering,
research, and
development

and technicians occupied posts with a bilingual requirement. However, for Francophones as well as Anglophones, bilingual ability was not as important here as in other fields. Although the majority of Francophones were required to know English, a higher proportion than elsewhere were permitted to function only in French. The fact that they work with things and mathematical symbols rather than words allows them a greater latitude to work in their mother tongue.

b) Printed documents

Widely
circulated
documents

1075. We can obtain a measure of language adaptation in the area of internal communication by comparing the availability of documents in French with the proportion of Francophone employees in each region. In these terms, French was used more than might be expected throughout Canada in such printed material as application forms (20 per cent), booklets describing employee benefits (27 per cent), benefit certificates (37 per cent), and employee newspapers (20 per cent). Within Quebec, these items—as well as such documents as copies of union contracts, notices, safety and direction signs, and identification cards and badges—were provided either in French alone or in French and English by the large majority of companies.

1076. Most of these documents can be printed and distributed in large quantities, and revisions are likely to be infrequent. Because they are usually short, it is a relatively easy matter to have them translated or prepared separately in French. The language adjustments on these documents have a considerable usefulness and probably an even greater symbolic importance.

Interoffice
memoranda,
shop drawings,
and manuals

1077. However, the efforts towards language adaptation of other classes of printed and written materials are less impressive. Such documents as interoffice memoranda, shop drawings, and training and instruction manuals are undoubtedly of much greater importance in the day-to-day conduct of work. These items are usually reproduced in small quantities and are speedily circulated and revised. Moreover, because they are technical and managerial communications, they are likely to be drafted in English by Anglophones.

1078. Outside Quebec, the use of English in such documents was almost universal: only two large firms in the entire sample, for instance, had bilingual instruction manuals for use across Canada. When the figures for Quebec were included the picture improved somewhat, but 17 per cent of the firms still reported the exclusive use of English in training manuals, 26 per cent in instruction manuals, 48 per cent in interoffice memoranda, and 72 per cent in shop drawings. That the Francophone labour force should be forced to rely on an English-

language version of so many of these documents—the mastery of which is vital to the acquisition of skills and job competence—is a clear illustration of the disadvantaged position of Francophones in the work world.

1079. Although our data on them are less detailed, we noted that the smaller firms in Quebec outside Montreal displayed a relatively high use of French in internal communications; the overall average is undoubtedly raised by the large number of Francophone-owned enterprises. Approximately four-fifths of the oral communication and three-quarters of the written communication were carried on in French. The greatest use of French occurred among the labour force, the next among office employees, and the least (by a slight degree) in the top ranks. As in the large corporations, French was used more frequently by those working in the personnel, industrial relations, and production fields than by those in other areas.

Smaller firms

c) *External communication*

1080. Another important aspect of the language of work in business, an aspect affected by a quite different set of forces, is external communication between companies and shareholders, suppliers, customers, the local community, the various levels of government, and other individuals and agencies. The external patterns of language use are influenced by the nature of the product manufactured, for this determines who are the suppliers and customers. In our sample, the patterns of language use in firms manufacturing consumer goods were quite different from those in firms manufacturing industrial supplies.

1081. In purchasing, two main factors shape the patterns of language use. Many firms in Quebec reported that they made it a policy to buy locally and in such contacts to use French as much as possible. Yet the great majority of the suppliers of raw materials are firms owned by Anglophones, so English is still used more often. French was used in purchasing by only 17 per cent of the large firms in our sample. The dependence on English-speaking sources for industrial supplies is also demonstrated by the fact that all the Francophone-owned firms in the sample of large corporations—irrespective of the location of their purchasing offices—regarded purchasing as a function requiring an ability to speak English.

Purchasing

1082. Only two of the Anglophone-owned firms with purchasing offices outside Quebec regarded French-language ability as either a necessity or a significant advantage for their purchasing staff. On printed forms relating to purchasing, only English was used by most corporations outside Quebec. The smaller firms followed a similar pattern.

Sales and
marketing

1083. Of the large corporations with purchasing offices in Quebec, 72 per cent of those outside Montreal—but only 50 per cent of those within the metropolitan area—saw a purchasing manager who speaks French as either a necessity or a significant advantage. Throughout the province, between 59 and 68 per cent of the firms used only English for order forms, conditions of purchase forms, and specifications.

1084. The use of French in sales and marketing exceeded its use in purchasing. Within Quebec, 57 per cent of the sales personnel employed by the large corporations in the sample (90 per cent of the Francophones and 20 per cent of the Anglophones) were required to be bilingual. However, in marketing, the nature of the product is a decisive determinant of language use. Industrial goods are most frequently sold to Anglophone customers because they are often exported to firms outside the province and also because, within the province, most industrial concerns are owned by Anglophones. Consumer goods, on the other hand, are sold much more frequently in French, largely because their markets are more highly concentrated within Quebec.

1085. The companies owned by Francophones were concentrated most heavily in the consumer goods field, with their markets largely localized in Quebec. The tendency to use French in marketing, already strong because the staff is almost exclusively Francophone, was thus reinforced. However, there was considerable emphasis on bilingualism because of the need to communicate with the sizable English-speaking portion of the market.

1086. Companies located outside Quebec but selling in Montreal or the rest of Quebec adapted their language to that of the buyer—usually French for consumer goods and English for industrial goods. In companies operating in markets outside Quebec, the dominant language was English. However, the existence of some sensitivity to the language of Francophone customers outside Quebec was indicated by the fact that 10 per cent of the salesmen of large firms in Ontario and the Atlantic provinces were bilingual.

1087. Within Quebec, the split between manufacturers of consumer goods and manufacturers of industrial goods is reflected in their patterns of language use. The former hired many more Francophones for marketing functions. Among manufacturers of industrial goods, 27 per cent of the marketing units in Quebec operated completely in English, but only 9 per cent of those among manufacturers of consumer goods did so. Advertising procedures also reflected the split. Of the firms in the sample marketing consumer goods in Quebec, only 4 conceived their advertisements in English and translated them, 7 conceived them separately in each language, and 3 translated their French-language material

into English. Sellers of industrial goods were much less likely to use French. The manufacturers of consumer goods spent more per customer for advertising on the French-language market than on the English-language one.

1088. Purchasing, marketing, and sales are the fields in which the greatest volume of external communication takes place. However, there are other smaller but important fields of activity in which external relations are involved. Public relations is one such sensitive and strategic function. Here, the exigencies of maintaining good relations with a linguistically diverse public are strongly mirrored in the selection of employees. In the sample as a whole, Francophones enjoyed the highest concentration relative to Anglophones in this numerically small field: about 55 per cent of all specialists in public relations were Francophones. The majority of Anglophones in this field are unilingual, but the proportion who are bilingual is higher than the average for other functions. Fewer work units than in any other sphere of activities used English alone. In the image they seek to convey to the public, the firms in our sample are clearly aware of the need to adapt to a bilingual and bicultural community.

Public relations

1089. Like public relations, the matter of relations with shareholders perhaps reflects a greater concern with image than with the details of internal administration. Among the firms providing their shareholders with an annual report there were varying degrees of sensitivity to language differences. The annual report of 22 out of 35 firms was available either in separate French and English versions or in a combined, bilingual edition. Twelve firms published their annual report only in English and one Francophone-owned firm published its report only in French. The practice of publishing only in English was most prevalent among American-owned companies. French was considerably less likely to be used in annual meetings and on share certificates than in annual reports.

Relations with shareholders

1090. One recurrent theme in the study of large corporations is that firms in the sample actually showed a greater use of French in external communication than market factors alone would compel. This appears to indicate a general desire to present a more "French" image in Quebec. Social and political pressures do seem to have been effective in increasing the use of French in recent years. For example, firms dealing with the Quebec government cited a new insistence by its agencies as a persuasive influence in changing their language patterns. Greater care was now exercised to submit bids and conduct correspondence in French and to use Francophone personnel in their relations with the government.

C. Summary

1091. The foregoing figures demonstrate vividly the extent to which Anglophones have been the active element and Francophones the passive in the founding of the manufacturing industry in Canada. The ventures of Francophones as entrepreneurs and managers of firms outside Quebec have been very rare in comparison with the inroads made by Anglophones in the exploitation and development of the resources in regions originally settled and inhabited by Francophones. Unfortunately, we have no more detailed data on the participation of Francophones and the use of the French language in industry outside Quebec. The materials that have been presented, however, do provide a generally accurate description of the situation. The picture they reveal is a dark one from the standpoint of equal partnership. Clearly Francophones in these regions did not enjoy anything close to an equal partnership in private work institutions in terms of being able to work in their own language and cultural milieu, or in terms of proportional representation at the higher levels.

Participation

1092. Within Quebec the situation was much more complex. Contrary to some popular myths, Francophones did have a substantial numerical presence at the managerial level in large manufacturing corporations, although considerably below their proportion in the total population of the province. Yet these bald figures tell little about the real situation of Francophone participation and French-language use in the world of business in Quebec. Although Francophones constituted 55 per cent of all personnel earning salaries of \$5,000 to \$9,999, they formed only 23 per cent of those earning \$10,000 or more. They enjoyed their highest proportional concentration in the fields of work that required bilingual ability in order to perform a liaison function between an Anglophone higher management and a Francophone work force and public.

1093. By far the largest group of Francophones earning \$5,000 or more was concentrated at the lower levels in the production or manufacturing divisions of the large corporations. This strongly suggests that most of them occupied supervisory posts in the manufacturing plants, having worked their way up from blue-collar jobs. The Francophone managers with university degrees in our sample were heavily concentrated in the "relations" functions, and the Anglophones were more likely to be in the administrative and technical divisions that offer better prospects for long-term advancement to the executive levels.

Language use

1094. This description of the distribution of Francophones among the corporate jobs gives some notion of the inequality of partnership that presently prevails. But, by itself, it underestimates the gravity of the

situation. In terms of the opportunity to express themselves, to learn and to develop within a setting where the linguistic and cultural idiom is accepted and understood, Francophones are seriously handicapped. Roughly 90 per cent of the Francophones earning \$5,000 or more in our sample worked in companies owned or controlled by Anglophones. Within these companies, 86 per cent of those with salaries of \$10,000 or more were Anglophones. Of these, only 18 per cent were in positions that had a bilingual requirement. English was overwhelmingly the language of work at the top levels. The relatively few Francophones at this level must work within a predominantly English-speaking milieu but, more important, the many Francophones at the lower levels are also forced to use English as their language of work. The meetings, conferences, telephone conversations, and written reports and memoranda were predominantly in English.

1095. No one would deny that the exigencies of operating in the North American world of business and technology exert strong pressures on companies to use English extensively in their external communications. But this does not mean that they need use it exclusively as the language of work. The fact that unilingual Anglophones predominate at the higher levels in the firms in our sample produces what could be termed "arbitrary" pressures to its use beyond those exerted by the business environment. There are many units in these firms where French could easily become the language of daily work, were it not for the necessity of communicating in English with officers and units that do not have a bilingual capacity.

1096. In our view, the present situation is highly unjust. These arrangements constitute major difficulties for Francophone employees; they have far-reaching implications with respect to work performance, career advancement, and retention of linguistic and cultural identity.

1097. At the managerial and professional levels in the large manufacturing corporations in Quebec, there is a generally low level of Francophone participation and very limited use of the French language. This situation is reflected in the rest of the Canadian manufacturing industry and in other industries where large Anglophone-controlled corporations predominate. Several factors have helped to produce and maintain this situation. Among them are the policies and practices of Anglophone-controlled firms and their managers, as well as the institutions, qualifications, and habits of thought of Francophone Canadians. Each set of factors influences the other, and the present situation is a product of their interplay in the past. If this situation is to be corrected, both groups will have to make changes in their policies and practices.

A. Supply and Employment Patterns of University Graduates

1. Supply

1098. Post-secondary education is now a virtual prerequisite for entry into most professional and administrative careers in large organizations. The role of Canadian universities and other institutions of higher learning as sources of qualified personnel is clearly important to any assessment of the chances for Francophones to increase their numbers in high-level positions. There is a marked lack of good comparable data (particularly of comparison over time¹) and no full-scale study has been carried out on the preparation for the work world received by

¹ The substantial structural differences between post-secondary education in Quebec and the rest of Canada, and the scope of recent changes, further complicate the comparison.

Francophones and Anglophones in their institutions of higher education. However, some basic observations can be made.

1099. As we saw in Part 1, 13 per cent of those of British origin in the non-agricultural male labour force of Canada in 1961, compared with 6 per cent of those of French origin, had attended university. With the exception of those of Italian origin, the French had the lowest rate of university attendance among the six ethnic groups we considered.¹ Compared with the English-language schools, the French-language institutions granted a considerably higher proportion of all their degrees in the arts and social sciences and a much lower proportion in the natural sciences and engineering. Relatively fewer Francophones had either the level or the kind of educational qualifications required for managerial and professional functions in modern industry. This is particularly true for those disciplines geared to provide entry to business careers—commerce and business administration, and the sciences and engineering.

Commerce
and business
administration

1100. Slightly more than 50 per cent of the commerce and administration graduates of Canadian universities working in Quebec in 1964 received their degrees from French-language institutions.² This proportion is low, considering the large Francophone majority in the Quebec population. However, this disparity seems to be in the process of disappearing, since the proportion of Francophone commerce graduates has been increasing over the last few years. Between 1962 and 1965, French-language institutions accounted for slightly under one-third of the Canadian total of 5,456 bachelors and masters degrees in commerce. In Quebec, commerce degrees granted by the Universities of Laval, Montreal, and Sherbrooke outnumbered those granted by McGill, Sir George Williams, and Bishops universities by 1,556 to 833.³

Science and
engineering

1101. Graduates in science and engineering are in even higher demand than commerce graduates. However, the supply of newly qualified Francophone scientists and engineers in the labour market in 1961 was much lower than that of commerce graduates. According to the 1961 census, only 33 per cent of the engineers practising in Quebec, and 38 per cent of those in scientific occupations, were of French origin.⁴ According to a 1964 study on membership in the Quebec Cor-

¹ See Table 6 in Volume 3A.

² See article by Bertin Nadeau, "Inventaire des Canadiens français aptes à occuper un poste de cadre administratif," in "Facteurs explicatifs," edited by Roger Charbonneau, a part of the study conducted for the R.C.B.&B. by a group of researchers of l'École des hautes études commerciales and the Graduate School of Business of McGill University, "Corporate Policies and Practices with Respect to Bilingualism and Biculturalism/Politiques et pratiques du monde des affaires relativement au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme."

³ Herbert Taylor, "The Output of Canadian Universities and Colleges, 1962-65," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

⁴ Cited by Nadeau in Charbonneau "Facteurs explicatifs."

poration of Engineers, the proportion of Francophone engineers was greater than that indicated by the census;¹ according to another study conducted in 1963 by the department of Labour, the proportion of Francophone scientists was found to be lower.²

1102. Although the proportion of engineering degrees granted by the French-language universities has increased dramatically over the last 30 years, especially in the 1960's,³ these institutions still place much less emphasis on science and engineering than the English-language universities. Of all degrees in science and engineering awarded by Canadian universities from 1962 to 1965, only 15 per cent of the bachelors degrees, 13 per cent of the masters and licentiates, and 6 per cent of the doctorates (3,989 out of 27,716 degrees) were granted by French-language universities.⁴

1103. There were major differences in the fields of specialization chosen by engineers and scientists of the two language groups. Among the engineers practising in Quebec in 1963, graduates from Francophone universities were particularly concentrated in civil engineering, with a proportion of 47 per cent in the province. But less than 20 per cent of the electrical, mechanical, metallurgical, and chemical engineers were Francophones. Apart from civil engineering, they participated most strongly in geological and mining engineering.⁵

Fields of
specialization

1104. Francophone participation in some specialties has increased substantially since 1945. Civil engineering has always been the mainstay of Francophones, and their share in this group has not grown radically; however, dramatic gains have been registered in most other specialties. In electrical engineering, the Francophone proportion among the young graduates working in Quebec in 1963 was nearly triple the proportion among those with 11 to 20 years' experience. (The creation of Hydro-Québec was probably an added stimulus to this development.) In chemical and metallurgical engineering, the proportion of young graduates was double. Of course, the original size of the French-speaking corps in these fields was quite small.

1105. Among the scientists, too, participation of Francophones and Anglophones varied in the different fields of specialization. Francophone participation was by far the strongest in the field of biology: 70 per cent of the biology graduates working in Quebec in 1963 were graduates of French-language universities, double their proportion in

¹ *Ibid.*
² *Ibid.*
³ R. N. Morrison, "Corporate Policies and Practices of Large Manufacturing Firms," in HEC and McGill, "Corporate Policies and Practices."
⁴ See Table 43 in Volume 3A.
⁵ Study by the federal department of Labour cited by Nadeau in Charbonneau "Facteurs explicatifs."

any other field. Their proportion was 31 per cent in chemistry, 37 per cent in geology, and 26 per cent in mathematics and physics.

2. *Employment patterns*

1106. Although the more limited supply of Francophone candidates qualified for industrial careers has undoubtedly been a factor in the lower participation by Francophones in the higher levels of industry, their patterns of employment have compounded the situation. Even among candidates with the educational qualifications suited to careers in industrial management, there appear to be substantial differences between Francophones and Anglophones as to where they actually choose, or are chosen, to work.

Managers and
administrators

1107. For instance, in 1964, commerce graduates of McGill were employed in industry to a greater extent than graduates of the *École des hautes études commerciales*. The latter, particularly those with a licentiate rather than a bachelor degree in commerce, were much more likely to be employed in chartered accountancy firms and in government service.¹

1108. The membership list of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Quebec showed a similar pattern of employment. More than 90 per cent of the chartered accountants employed by the provincial and municipal government were Francophones; in industry and commerce less than 40 per cent were Francophones. Among both commerce graduates and chartered accountants, however, there was a trend among the younger Francophones towards greater participation in the private sector. Even so, Anglophones still outnumbered Francophones to a considerable extent among the younger employees.

Engineers

1109. The proportion of Francophone engineers working in private industry in 1963 was similarly low; only 25 per cent of Francophone engineers, compared with 70 per cent of Anglophone engineers, were employed in this sector.² This situation was partly due to the Francophone concentration in civil engineering, a field less likely to lead to a career in industry. On the other hand, the proportion of non-salaried Francophone engineers—those working on their own or in partnerships—was well above the proportion of non-salaried Anglophone engineers (19 per cent compared with 12 per cent). Indeed, almost half of all the non-salaried practitioners in Quebec were Francophones, and a much larger proportion of Francophone than Anglophone engineers was publicly employed (over 33 per cent compared with 7 per cent).

¹ Nadeau in Charbonneau, "Facteurs explicatifs."

² Study by the federal department of Labour cited by Nadeau in Charbonneau "Facteurs explicatifs."

1110. Of course, this is a changing picture. In recent years, substantial gains in Francophone participation have occurred in private industry. The Francophone proportion of recent engineering entrants to industry is more than three times their proportion among those who entered the labour market before 1941. Another notable increase has occurred among the public utilities since the Hydro-Québec consolidation in 1962.

1111. The pattern of employment of science graduates from Francophone universities among industrial sectors has many of the same features as that of Francophone engineers. Among scientists employed by provincial and municipal governments, 85 per cent were Francophones. Their proportion was much lower in teaching (43 per cent), the federal government (39 per cent), and non-salaried professional services (32 per cent). Like the engineers, they had low proportions in the large mining and manufacturing sectors (14 per cent) and in construction, transportation, and communications (13 per cent).

Scientists

3. *Significance of supply and employment patterns*

1112. While our data are admittedly fragmentary, they do reveal a pattern of action that includes elements of both choice and necessity. The figures themselves can be summarized briefly: fewer Francophones than Anglophones go to university; those that do so show a different pattern of concentration in the various fields of study, and after graduation they exhibit a different pattern of occupational practice. As a result, proportionately fewer Francophones than Anglophones enter the professional and managerial functions in large private corporations.

1113. The links between industry and the universities are much looser for French-language than for English-language institutions. The graduates of the English-language universities now occupy most of the top places in industry, and these close contacts ensure that the curricula are continually adapted to the current needs of industry. A different sector of the work world has been served by the French-language institutions: their graduates are less prominent in the major industrial enterprises, but are concentrated instead in the clergy, the liberal professions, small enterprise, and public service. Therefore, the contacts between the French-language universities and the economy mainly concern the needs of these sectors. Thus, the concentration on these fields and the relative isolation from the world of big business are perpetuated.

Contacts between industry and educational institutions

1114. This pattern is often thought to be the result of completely free choice on the part of Francophone students and educators. It is alleged that there is a strong component in the culture of French-speaking

Usual explanations

Canada that place a low value on the materialism of science and industry, and this has led Francophone educators and students to eschew these fields in favour of the liberal arts, the traditional professions, public service, and the smaller enterprises. While there are elements of truth in these explanations, they overlook important aspects of social reality.

Actual employ-
ment preferences

1115. A recent study indicates that, when asked to rank occupations according to their social standing, both Francophones and Anglophones in fact rated highly the occupation of general manager of a manufacturing plant.¹ Another study showed that despite the actual differences in their patterns of employment, both Francophone and Anglophone engineers strongly preferred to work for private industry. However, in Montreal, while 52 per cent of the Anglophones preferred large corporations and 42 per cent chose small enterprises and consulting firms, the Francophones reversed the order, 31 per cent choosing large corporations and 62 per cent the smaller firms.² But more Francophones and fewer Anglophones employed in large corporations expressed a preference for that milieu. At any rate, the data indicated an increasing desire on the part of Francophones to move into what was to them a new field.

Francophone and
Anglophone
perceptions of
opportunity

1116. Student choice and university capacity are inextricably tied to the character of demand from the economy and the perceptions of job opportunity which spring from it; and there is compelling evidence that Francophone and Anglophone students have quite different perceptions of the opportunities available to them. A study conducted by the department of Manpower and Immigration in 1965 on the career decisions of Canadian youth disclosed a particular sense of uncertainty on the part of Francophone secondary students about their job futures.³ In Quebec, 32 per cent of the Francophone students but only 16 per cent of the Anglophones reported they were "quite worried about where to look and what to do to find a job." For New Brunswick, the corresponding figures were 39 per cent and 18 per cent. In Quebec, 48 per cent of the Francophones and 17 per cent of the Anglophones were "quite worried about finding a job I like," compared with 44 per cent and 22 per cent in New Brunswick.

1117. The disjuncture which they felt between education and the work world was also clearly demonstrated by the students' replies. In

¹ John Porter and Peter C. Pineo, "French-English Differences in the Evaluation of Occupations, Industries, Ethnicities, and Religions in the Montreal Metropolitan Area," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

² Jacques Dofny, "Les ingénieurs canadiens-anglais et canadiens-français à Montréal," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

³ Raymond Breton and John C. MacDonald, *Career Decisions of Canadian Youth: A Compilation of Basic Data*, I (Ottawa, 1967), Tables 145-7.

Quebec, 36 per cent of the Francophones and 18 per cent of the Anglophones expressed worry about “getting a job for which I have been trained.”

1118. Clearly, Francophone students perceive definite obstacles to obtaining the necessary training for, and making a smooth transition to, the modern work world. These perceptions relate both to deficiencies in university facilities and curricula and to real obstacles to employment in such predominantly Anglophone work institutions as the federal Public Service and the large private corporations. Obviously, if equal partnership is to mean anything, these obstacles must be removed. Ways must be found to build more bridges between French-language educational institutions and the important sectors of a modern economy. The need for such links is important in the fields of public and business administration but particularly urgent in the sphere of science and engineering where the deficiencies of the French-language universities are especially pronounced.

1119. Since the Parent Commission presented its report, the government of Quebec has made great efforts to improve its educational system and bring it into line with the demands of modern society. More students now have the opportunity to reach university, and the French-language universities themselves are expanding their programmes in the industrially oriented fields. There is also evidence that new links are being forged between post-secondary institutions and industry. Perhaps the most significant development is the creation of the Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel (CEGEPS)—institutions designed to provide new routes to university and to offer technical training related to the needs of modern industry. These developments are gradually breaking through the traditional relative isolation of the French-language educational institutions from the world of industry.

1120. Although Francophone students now have more real equality of opportunity to prepare themselves for careers in the private sector, they still perceive barriers to obtaining satisfactory employment. Access to education is of limited significance unless there is also free access to suitable employment afterwards. The practices of enterprises must be examined in order to isolate the real and perceived barriers to Francophone participation.

Advances in
Quebec edu-
cational system

B. Corporate Policies on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

1121. Most of the largest firms in Quebec and in bilingual districts elsewhere were founded by Anglophones who hired Anglophone managers to run them. The Anglophone element in management traditionally extended right down to the foreman level, and the language of

Traditional
perceptions

management was English. Even many of the Francophone blue-collar workers needed some facility in English in order to communicate with their supervisors. In those companies where the workers were represented by a union, English was the language of industrial relations even when the Francophones far outnumbered the Anglophones. In most instances, this was not just a display of authority; it was a necessity occasioned by the management representatives' inability to speak French. Behind these language practices was the assumption that English was and would remain the language of work at the management level: there was little thought of ever having to change, for there seemed to be no compelling reasons to do so.

1122. Similar assumptions underlay staffing decisions. Firms usually had a ready supply of Anglophone candidates who had the sort of credentials that were familiar and had worked out well in the past. It was natural to draw on this source of personnel and, in times of surplus supply and in the absence of social and political pressures to the contrary, there seemed no reason to change this smoothly working system.

1123. Thus, many companies which did not actually discriminate against Francophone candidates did little to seek them out. When a Francophone was considered for management, a list of prerequisites confronted him. First, he had to be fluent in English. Second, because his academic credentials were likely to be unfamiliar to his employers, he might be expected to have proved himself in some other way. Third, he would have to get along with his colleagues, to know the prevailing way of doing things, to be at ease in the Anglophone mode of expression. As these qualifications were hard to acquire, the number of candidates who received consideration was correspondingly limited.

1124. In other instances, hiring practices were less innocent. Clearly, active discrimination did exist in some companies. However, the climate of thought must be taken into consideration. Widespread acceptance of the principle that discrimination is abhorrent in the work world is of relatively recent origin. Moreover, in the past, many more enterprises tended to be family-owned and family-run. Criteria based on family and similar connections were openly used in the selection process. Today, although some of the largest firms are still family-owned, rational selection procedures have largely replaced the informal, personal approach.

1125. The ferment in French-speaking Canadian society, especially in Quebec, has in recent years brought strong attacks on the policies and practices of the Anglophone companies, and the Quebec government has been reconsidering its way of doing business with these firms. The increasing demand for qualified personnel has stimulated many firms to begin actively recruiting Francophones. We found that the

executives of many of the larger firms have begun to view bilingualism and biculturalism in a new and concerned light.

1126. Personal interviews conducted with senior managers showed that there has been a major change in attitude in relation to the employment and retention of Francophones. Most executives stated that their companies were now acutely aware of the shortage of Francophones in the administrative and technical ranks of middle and top management and that they were going out of their way to hire, retain, and promote qualified Francophones. However, the executives felt that these efforts were often frustrated because qualified Francophones were not available in the numbers required. The competition from other employers, especially the government of Quebec, also made it difficult to retain good management prospects and, because many Francophones were reluctant to accept transfers to locations outside Quebec, efforts to develop them for top management positions were hampered.¹

Difficulties of hiring and promoting Francophones

1127. Although the executives' views on recruitment and promotion have substantially changed, those on the language of work have not gone so far. There is still a prevalent belief that English must remain the language of work in the executive, administrative, and technical ranks and that consequently, fluent English is a prerequisite for employment. The scarcity of qualified Francophones is always taken to mean a scarcity of qualified Francophones who are also proficient in English.

English still management's language of work

1128. As we have seen, the burden of learning and using the second language falls most heavily on the Francophones. It still seems to be implicitly assumed that, if Anglophone managers learn and use French, the benefits are primarily the abstract and symbolic ones of goodwill or *bonne entente*, while, if Francophone managers learn English, the benefits are instrumental, practical, and vital to the work process. This attitude reflects the executives' view that, because of the pressures of the North American business environment, English will probably remain the predominant language of work in Quebec.

1129. Many executives of the large corporations simply did not see that the conditions under which they expected Francophones to work were in themselves a deterrent to the hiring and retention of Francophones. Because few Anglophone executives had ever had to work in a second language, they failed to grasp the extent of the difficulties involved. Moreover, they showed little understanding of the impact of cultural differences—of the fact that Francophones might possess values, expectations, and ways of doing things that would affect their reactions and performance in the work setting.

The real problem

¹ R. N. Morrison, "Corporate Policies and Management Attitudes," in HEC and McGill, "Corporate Policies and Practices."

C. Cultural Differences in the Work World

Cultural differences

1130. When members of a work team have a similar cultural background, they bring to the work setting a more or less coherent set of values, concepts, expectations, and reactions that gives the organization a distinctive cultural tone. The prevailing tone is generally set by those at the senior levels. When individuals from different cultural backgrounds come together within the same organization, there are likely to be barriers to communication above and beyond those of language springing from these differences.

1131. We have already examined the effect of cultural differences on Francophone participation in the federal Public Service and the Canadian Forces. The same differences apply in private industry, and an examination of these differences sheds new light on the question of obstacles to the fuller participation of Francophones in the private sector. A survey¹ showed that there are significant differences between Francophones and Anglophones.

Goals of business

1132. Present and prospective businessmen might be expected to be in agreement on the most important goals of business organizations, but even on this basic issue there was a small but consistent difference of opinion between Francophones and Anglophones. The Anglophone responses were, on the average, more attuned to strictly economic goals than those of the Francophones, which tended to be tempered with non-economic considerations.²

Compatibility between work and other roles

1133. Clear and consistent differences were also apparent in the degree of conflict the respondents experienced between their present or prospective roles in the work world and their roles as husbands, fathers, and citizens. Regardless of whether they worked in a Francophone or an Anglophone company, a big firm or a small one, Francophones tended to feel a greater incompatibility than Anglophones between these two major areas of their lives.

Management styles

1134. The study examined attitudes towards the exercise of authority and the techniques of supervision. The standard against which the attitudes of Francophone and Anglophone managers were measured was that endorsed by many American and Canadian experts on management and administration—the “team” approach to management as opposed to a more authoritarian approach. Here again, there were

¹ G. A. Auclair and W. H. Read, “A Cross-cultural Study of Industrial Leadership,” a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. by arrangement with the Institut de psychologie de l’Université de Montréal and The Graduate School of Business of McGill University.

² Examples of the strictly economic goals were extending the company’s share of the market, raising production levels, and making a good profit. The “non-economic” goals included provision of good working conditions, participation in the development of social, educational, and religious institutions, and reduction of unemployment.

significant group differences. Anglophones more often advocated the delegation of work and the involvement of subordinates in decision-making, while Francophones favoured a closer surveillance of the work of their subordinates. On the whole, Anglophones seemed to endorse a more open managerial climate, in which mutual advice and criticism are sought, tendered, and accepted with impersonal equanimity; Francophones tended to endorse a more leader-centred approach, in which responsibility and criticism are taken on a more personal basis.

1135. The extent of the difference between Francophones and Anglophones varied substantially according to their level in the organizational hierarchy. Differences in attitude were more pronounced at the lower management level than at the middle and higher levels. Indeed, the Francophones at the lower management level were so different that they seemed to be something of an isolated group on the management team.

1136. These differences have far-reaching implications. Although they relate to attitudes and not to observed behaviour, they are bound to affect the way each group responds in the work setting, and they compound the difficulty of communication posed by language differences. For the Francophones who work in Anglophone corporations, the implications are similar to those related to working in a second language. The cultural tone of management is that of the dominant Anglophone group. Much of the communication between busy managers relies on a shorthand form of oral and written communication based on a tacit sharing of beliefs, ideas, and ways of operating. To the extent that Francophones do not share fully in this web of understandings, they will be at a disadvantage in the communication process. This is bound to hinder their work effectiveness and the evaluation that their superiors place on them.

Implications

1137. Cultural differences also affect the integration of Francophones into informal groups at work, since people make friends most easily with others who share the same beliefs, customs, and language. Informal groups are of considerable significance in big organizations; many important decisions are made in this context, and a junior manager can extend his knowledge of the company and his job through these unofficial channels. A Francophone who does not have full access to these groups, because of linguistic and cultural factors, suffers a real deprivation both in his personal relations with fellow employees and in acquiring valuable knowledge and contacts relevant to the work process. A young Francophone who intends to embark on a career in private industry thus finds himself in a dilemma which Anglophones do not have to face: he feels that he must choose between achieving success in his career and endangering his linguistic and cultural identity.

The Francophone ,
dilemma

Differences in Francophones' and Anglophones' perceptions of the problem

1138. In general, the Anglophone managers tended to see the problems of Francophones primarily in terms of language. The majority of Anglophone managers endorsed the statement that "The more a French Canadian gets ahead in a big English Canadian company, the more he loses his language." The Francophones were much more aware of the cultural dimension: half the Francophone managers agreed that "The French Canadians who have succeeded in large companies are more English than French," but one quarter of the Anglophones agreed with the statement. The differences were even more pronounced on the statement that "Most French Canadians who have obtained several promotions in large English Canadian companies have to protect English Canadian interests at the expense of those of French Canadians." Over 45 per cent of the Francophones, but less than 15 per cent of the Anglophones, expressed agreement with this viewpoint.

Francophones' sense of alienation

1139. The last finding indicates the deep sense of alienation that many Francophones feel when they go to work for Anglophone corporations. A wholehearted commitment to the goals of the organization and the prevailing *modus operandi* is possible for many Francophones only at the risk of feeling that they have "sold out" their individual identity and collective responsibility for the society and culture in which they were born. Although these feelings may diminish with the passage of time, they are unlikely to disappear entirely.

Language and cultural differences and Francophone participation

1140. Clearly, both language differences and cultural differences have far-reaching implications for the participation of Francophones in large business enterprises. They have discouraged participation in the past and, despite changes, continue to do so now. The hardships—the Francophones' sense of alienation, their difficulties in communication, and their inability to work as effectively as they might—cannot be removed by making minor adjustments to the existing situation. Francophones must be able to work and evolve in settings more closely attuned to their own cultural milieu.

D. Corporate Personnel Practices¹

1. Recruitment

Language requirements

1141. Many companies are now making it a policy to hire more Francophones than ever before. However, candidates for white-collar jobs are still usually required to have a certain degree of fluency in English. In the large manufacturing firms which answered our question-

¹ Unless otherwise noted, the figures in this section are based on Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms," in HEC and McGill, "Corporate Policies and Practices." It must be remembered that the data refer only to practices during the 12 months ending June 30, 1964.

naire on recruiting policy, almost 70 per cent of the Francophones hired at salaries of from \$5,000 to \$9,999 during 1963-4 had to have a knowledge of English. The firms owned by Francophones, which hired relatively few people, placed an even greater insistence on the ability to speak English.

1142. The language requirements for managers were higher than those for engineers. For management positions in the manufacturing, marketing, and employee relations functions, the firms imposed a bilingual requirement on almost 90 per cent of their new Francophone employees. In the manufacturing function, 100 per cent of the Francophones hired at salaries of \$6,500 or more had to be able to speak English. In employee relations, over 90 per cent at all salary levels required a knowledge of English. In contrast, less than 60 per cent of the Francophone engineers and scientists hired at salaries below \$10,000 a year had to be able to speak English. This bilingual requirement was 20 to 30 percentage points lower than that for Francophone engineers and scientists already on staff.

1143. All but one company in our sample did make French-language application forms available. Although these forms applied more to the hiring of blue-collar than salaried employees, it is reasonable to assume that French was also used extensively by the recruiting teams when approaching Francophone white-collar prospects.

Language use

1144. Until recently, the big companies have relied heavily on the graduates of English-language universities and on immigrants for the vast majority of their highly educated recruits but, at the time of our survey, their recruiting teams definitely were not overlooking the French-language institutions.¹ They paid on average twice as many visits to French-language universities as to the English-language institutions. However, in relation to the number of graduates available in 1963-4 from each group of universities, the recruiting efforts at the French-language universities were disproportionately large only for science and engineering graduates. For commerce graduates, in fact, the ratio of visits per graduate was higher for the Quebec English-language institutions than for the French-language universities.

University recruiting

1145. The results of these visits in terms of the number of job offers made and the number of people hired is an entirely different matter. Of the total of 277 graduates in commerce and engineering hired, 24 per cent were from French-language universities and 75 per cent from English-language universities. Nearly two-thirds of all those hired were from English-language universities outside Quebec. Generally

¹ The following data must be treated with caution, since less than half the firms in our sample reported that they sent recruiting teams to the universities at all, and we do not know the recruiting methods of the others.

Interpretation
of recruitment
data

speaking, supply of and demand for managerial prospects and for scientific and engineering prospects appeared to be somewhat different. The proportionately greater demand from Quebec industry for engineers was reflected both in the numbers hired outside Quebec and in the fact that the firms had relaxed their bilingual requirements in order to hire more engineers from the French-language universities.

1146. It is difficult to generalize from these data because of the small sample and the short time period involved. They reflect recruitment in only two categories of recent university graduates rather than total hiring and, since they deal with French- and English-language universities rather than individuals, they do not take into account the fact that some of those hired from each group of universities may be of the other linguistic community.¹ However, one thing is clear: the proportion of Francophones among recent recruits was much below the proportion of Francophones in the population of Quebec. It was even 10 points or more below the proportion of Francophones at the lower salary levels already on staff in these companies. Clearly, some intervening factor, such as language difficulty or Francophone reluctance to join the Anglophone corporations, is hindering the development of Francophone participation in private industry.

2. *Training*

Formal
training

1147. Rapid changes in technology and the need to develop managerial and supervisory skills make it necessary for both companies and their employees to devote a great deal of expense and energy to further education. Thirty-two of the large firms in the sample were engaged in one way or another in further education. Of these, 24 conducted courses within the firm and also offered assistance to employees taking evening and extension courses at universities, technical schools, and other institutions. Nearly 100,000 man-days per year were being spent by employees taking courses inside and outside their companies.

1148. In training given within the companies, Anglophones spent a slightly greater number of man-days taking courses in management and supervisory techniques than Francophones (6,362 man-days as compared with 5,892). However, as only about one-quarter of the total salaried personnel in our sample were Francophones, it is clear that a relatively greater emphasis was being devoted to French-speaking employees.

1149. In the functions of marketing, and finance and accounting, the proportional split of man-days spent in training was more nearly equal

¹ Although only 24 per cent of university graduates hired in the year preceding July 1964 were from French-language institutions, 33 per cent of all those hired were Francophones

to the proportion of each language group currently employed in these functions. There was a high proportion of Francophones among those taking courses in process operation and other technical fields. Such courses are mainly conducted for skilled and semi-skilled workers, who in Quebec are mostly Francophones.

1150. Francophones were instructed in the English language in nearly all course areas, except for training in supervisory techniques and process operation, where the proportion of man-days spent taking courses given in French was much greater. In marketing and in finance and accounting, nearly all instruction was given in English.

Language of instruction

1151. The proportion of man-days spent on courses taken outside the companies by Francophones (40 per cent) was significantly greater than their proportion in total salaried employment (25 per cent). No data on the language of instruction were available.

1152. If a Francophone has either little or no knowledge of English, he will face difficulties in working in most units in most of the companies in our sample, where English is the language of work. In the French-owned companies, of course, this is not likely to be true.

Language training

1153. Many companies are trying to overcome the language problems of recent recruits—as well as that of older employees—by offering language training themselves, or by subsidizing it. Although this practice was for the most part very recent, language training has become a substantial item in the training budgets of many firms. The 32 firms in our sample that offered any kind of training or assistance had spent a total of \$239,700 on language training over the 12-month period prior to the survey. This was almost one-quarter of the total spent on training courses of all kinds.

1154. However less than one-quarter of the man-days spent on language training involved Francophones learning English. By far the larger absolute effort was made to teach French to Anglophones. Yet a different picture emerges if the number of persons involved is considered: there were more Francophones taking English courses.

1155. A new employee also receives informal training from his more experienced colleagues. Much of this training is carried on the context of friendly informal relationships among small groups of associates. This type of relationship occurs more easily among people who share linguistic and cultural backgrounds than among those from different backgrounds. Previously we have noted that a large majority of employees earning \$5,000 or more in the Quebec industries in our sample were Anglophones. Therefore, simply in terms of the number of his colleagues with whom he shared language and culture, a Franco-phone recruit was at a disadvantage.

Informal training

1156. However, the heaviest concentrations of Francophones occurred at the lower salary levels, where most new management employees start. In Quebec outside Montreal, three-quarters of those earning less than \$10,000 a year were Francophones. In the Montreal area itself, 45 per cent in this salary range were Francophones. In aggregate terms, it would appear that a newly hired Francophone at this level would have adequate opportunity for making contact with people of his own language and cultural background.

1157. Yet, with the larger proportion of Anglophones in the higher ranks, a Francophone recruit would seem to have less opportunity to make such contacts with his superiors. Superior-subordinate social contacts frequently play a large part in career advancement; they can offer a means of gaining valuable knowledge about company policies and techniques, and they can also give a subordinate an opportunity to demonstrate his capacity and bring himself to the notice of those who make promotion decisions.

1158. The advice and consideration of more senior colleagues may be valuable, for instance, when a decision is made about the division of the company in which a new recruit is to work. Some areas are recognized to be more conducive to later career advancement than others. Where there is some choice in the matter of initial placement within the firm, a new recruit could well use the advice of knowledgeable colleagues. Although our data on this point were far from conclusive, recent Francophone entrants to the work world appeared to be placed more often than Anglophones in functional areas less favourable to future advancement.¹

1159. Training, both formal and informal, is obviously of key importance in the development of an individual's career. At present, the amount of formal training given to Francophones seems to be proportionate to their numbers but, if Francophone participation at the upper echelons is to be increased, it may be necessary to assign to them a more than proportionate share of the training budget. While training will help ease the progress of a Francophone in an Anglophone corporation, it cannot overcome the difficulties raised by cultural differences, and, when the dominant cultural tone is Anglophone, the informal socialization of Francophones will be impeded. These last two points suggest that effective training and development for Francophones will take place only when their work settings enable them to function as Francophones, instead of—as is so frequently the case now—requiring them to operate as quasi-Anglophones.

¹ See § 1093.

3. *Geographic mobility*

1160. The process of preparation for advancement frequently entails working at several different plants or offices within a company's operations. Geographic movement is explicitly built into a career development programme, and promotions themselves frequently involve transfers. Vacancies arise haphazardly at various locations and an employee must be prepared to move to take advantage of them, or to wait for a vacancy in the area where he wants to work.

1161. In our sample of large firms, Francophones were not nearly as mobile as Anglophones. Francophones constituted 31 per cent of those earning \$5,000 or more, but made only 23 per cent of all the moves by sample members between different regions. Moreover, 86 per cent of their moves were within Quebec, compared with 38 per cent of the moves of Anglophone personnel. The mobility rates of employees in the firms owned by Francophones were the lowest of any in the sample. Such firms, of course, were smaller in size and simply did not have as many branch plants, especially outside Quebec.

Those earning
\$ 5,000 or more

1162. There were some exceptions to this general trend. At the middle levels, Francophones appeared to be slightly more mobile than Anglophones, although most of the mobility was within Quebec. There also seemed to be a large generational difference in willingness to move.¹ Young Francophones were much more willing to relocate than their elders and equally or more willing than the Anglophones.

1163. On the whole, however, Francophones were less mobile than Anglophones. Their reluctance to move is readily understandable when a transfer is to a location outside Quebec where the necessity to work in English is even stronger than in Quebec. Perhaps more important, because of the lack of a French-speaking community and French-language schools and facilities, such moves will probably inflict hardships on employees' families, and their opposition to the move may well be decisive. Many of the companies surveyed claimed that in the light of this imputed reluctance among their Francophone employees, they were less often asked to move. While this displays a sensitivity to the employees' feelings, it may mean a reduced opportunity for Francophones to take advantage of higher paying vacancies that arise in different regions or to acquire the broad experience obtained by working in different plants. Thus their advancement within the organization will be less rapid and will result in the salary disparities already noted.

1164. Like the Francophone personnel earning \$5,000 or more in manufacturing firms, Francophone engineers have moved much less often than their Anglophone counterparts. A large proportion of the

Engineers

¹ Auclair and Read, "A Cross-cultural Study of Industrial Leadership."

latter working in Quebec were migrants, who had received their education in other parts of Canada and outside the country. In Montreal, more than 65 per cent of the Anglophone engineers were born outside Quebec and over half were educated outside the province. As well, a larger proportion (65 per cent) of the Anglophones than of the Francophones (41 per cent) over 40 years of age had worked in more than three different companies.¹

1165. The geographic mobility of Francophone engineers in large manufacturing corporations varied according to the kind of work they were doing. The mobility of those in the fields of engineering and research and development was considerably higher than for those in two other major functions—marketing and manufacturing.² Among the Francophone engineers, there was also a strong age difference in the willingness to move. Those under 40 displayed a much greater acceptance of mobility—almost as much as their Anglophone fellows—than their Francophone seniors. However, compared with the Anglophones, both the older and younger Francophones much more frequently foresaw objections from their wives at the prospect of moving.³

1166. Quite naturally, the Francophones' reluctance to move was closely tied to their perceptions of where they had the best chance to succeed. Although 80 per cent of the Francophone engineers in our Montreal sample thought Quebec offered them the best opportunities, only 9 per cent of the Anglophones agreed with them; almost half the Anglophone engineers named the United States instead. There are indications that the situation is changing, but the evidence is consistent in showing a lower mobility rate and a lesser willingness to move on the part of Francophone engineers and their wives. If they work for a large corporation, the consequence of this difference is the same as for the managers—a slower rate of promotion. For those who work in small firms or Francophone-owned institutions, this effect, though not as pronounced, is still at work.

4. *Appraisal and promotion*

Value of systematic promotion procedures

1167. Systematic promotion procedures usually work to eliminate discrimination at the subjective, personal level. Linked with a manpower inventory and a regular performance appraisal, they form an integral part of the best modern management development plans. Ideally, such procedures ensure that all qualified candidates are considered and that they are objectively assessed solely on the basis of clearly understood

¹ Dofny, "Les ingénieurs."

² Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms."

³ Dofny, "Les ingénieurs."

criteria of merit. Therefore, it might be expected that, the more such systematization exists, the less promotion procedures can be used to explain the lower proportion of Francophones in the higher salary brackets.

1168. The large manufacturing firms of our sample are quite progressive in using systematic procedures. Almost all the firms in our sample reported that they always considered more than one candidate when a vacancy arose. More than 80 per cent availed themselves of a job analysis system whereby the duties attached to a particular job and the qualifications of its incumbent are clearly set forth. An almost identical proportion used a systematic or periodic appraisal of job performance, generally involving a standardized appraisal interview.

Company
practice

1169. For job analyses, approximately 60 per cent of the firms used English only; the rest used either both languages or French only. To the extent that job descriptions were used mainly by the personnel staff rather than by the employees themselves, such practices did not influence the latter's chances. To the minor extent that they were for the information of the employees, the limited use of French might lessen the chances of Francophones.

Language
used

1170. A more important issue is the language of the performance appraisal interviews. Two-thirds of the firms reported that they made language adjustments in those instances where the appraiser and the employee were of differing mother tongues, so there does seem to be a reasonable allowance for language differences on this important matter.

1171. The use of systematic techniques does not in itself guarantee that Francophones have an equal opportunity of advancement. Despite the impartiality of such procedures, existing institutional arrangements are such that when judgements are made on past work performance, the whole series of linguistic and cultural handicaps facing Francophones comes into play to prejudice their chances of promotion. Francophones working in their second language are compared with Anglophones working in their first. The former are judged by how well they fit into the firm's way of doing things—when their own cultural upbringing may incline them towards a different approach—and by their ability to mix and communicate with Anglophone colleagues and superiors. Anglophone candidates do not face similar demands to overcome cultural barriers. Then again, factors such as the reluctance of some Francophones to take advantage of rewarding job openings in areas outside Quebec, and the lack of French-language management-training courses, may reduce the Francophones' chances for promotion.

Deficiencies

1172. We must conclude that, in the struggle up the corporate ladder, the present work system in the large corporations gives Anglophones a built-in advantage over their Francophone colleagues, which systematic

Conclusion

promotion procedures may accentuate. To achieve real equality of opportunity, the system as a whole needs to be changed in a rational and systematic manner. Unfortunately, although top-level executives in large corporations are now directing much more attention to the recruitment and training of Francophones than ever before, the implications of equal opportunity for both cultures in the work world have yet to be fully perceived and the process of providing for the "French fact" remains mainly piecemeal and pragmatic.

A. Introduction

1173. The problem of socio-economic relations between Francophones and Anglophones exists throughout Canada, but it is particularly acute in Quebec. This province has the greatest number of institutions ripe for a policy of economic regeneration and development, and it is here that the principle of equality of opportunity in the work world for Francophones and Anglophones would appear to be most fully attainable.

1174. In the preceding chapters we have painted a rather cheerless picture of the place of Francophones in the upper echelons of the private sector—both in Quebec and throughout Canada—and of the position of French as a language of work. Competence in English is essential for most managerial positions, and Francophone aspirants must often become anglicized to some degree in order to obtain such positions. Young Francophone university graduates tend to turn away from private enterprise and gravitate towards the public sector or small enterprises where they can carry on most of their activities in their own language. In Quebec, the limited participation of Francophones and the almost total absence of the French language in key areas of the private sector are highly detrimental to the entire cultural life of Francophone Canadians.

1175. However, we must consider whether these conditions do in fact fully reflect the present situation. For example, if the administration of large enterprises in the private sector is closed to Francophones, must we draw the conclusion that the same applies to all economic activity in Quebec? Since the manufacturing industry is not the whole

economy, are there sectors where Francophones may expect advancement and participation in important decisions, using their own language? Are there cases where big industrial enterprises have made serious efforts to correct the situation described in the preceding chapters?

1176. In replying to these questions, we should not restrict ourselves to the static situation we have already described; we should rather look at an evolving situation and examine the dynamic aspects of socio-economic reality in Quebec, because new developments are taking shape, certain areas of growth are emerging, and new opportunities are opening.

1177. It is the effect of these new forces in Quebec that we shall attempt to bring to light—forces that are strong enough to provide ways for Francophones and the French language to play increasingly important roles in the work world. Thus, these forces may contribute to the achievement of equality between Canada's two languages and cultures. We shall not attempt to take a complete inventory, but rather to examine certain particular examples which seem to us to be significant.

1178. First, let us consider one very important fact: Quebec has all the necessary manpower to effect the desirable transformations. The 1961 census shows that 83 per cent of the Canadian population of French mother tongue lives in Quebec, as well as 77 per cent of the male labour force of French origin, and 80 per cent of the male professionals, administrators, scientists, and technicians of French origin.

1179. Our inquiry focusses first on Hydro-Québec, where all personnel, including the highest executives, may now pursue their careers in French; we shall see how French has come to be the language of work at all levels. We shall next examine the changes in language use which have taken place in Marine Industries Ltd. Finally, we shall turn to the Anglophone sector, in an effort to estimate the possibilities for change, with particular reference to two well-known companies, Canadian National and Alcan.

1180. We are not suggesting models to be followed or rejected, but rather presenting cases where efforts have been made to remedy the very serious problems studied in the preceding chapters. Many types of experiments have been tried in enterprises which have different natures, roles, and past histories. We shall try to discover the methods by which, in varying degrees, it has been possible for French to become a language of work.¹

¹ On this subject, the July 1968 issue of *Industrial Relations*, devoted to the question of the language of work in Quebec industry, provides most interesting reading.

B. Recent Developments in Quebec

1181. Over the past ten years or so, Quebec has undergone sweeping changes in its political, economic, and social life—the “quiet revolution,” as it has been called. This phenomenon has been an all-encompassing one, but we shall mention only some of its more pertinent aspects.

1182. The Quebec civil service has become more important and has attracted new men to its ranks. It is now a genuine, modern administration; the demands of good management have been recognized and modern techniques have been adapted and put into practice. The vocabulary of administration and the attitudes of civil servants have changed radically. The very importance of the tasks to be accomplished, the weight of responsibility, the considerable increase in the resources of the public purse all seem to have created a new climate of confidence, energy, and authority. Is this phenomenon the result of a quickened collective self-awareness, or a fresh perception of today's realities? We cannot tell, but one thing is clear: the Francophones of Quebec have asserted themselves and have acquired a deeper awareness of their own identity.

The role of
government

1183. The changes that have taken place in Quebec society over the same period have led to a revision of priorities in public expenditure. Education has been placed at the head of the list. In 1964, the provincial government and municipalities spent the equivalent of more than 7 per cent of the personal income of the population on education, compared with 4 per cent in 1954. In 10 years, per capita expenditure on education tripled, while personal income only doubled. This effort is not unique to Quebec; it is apparent throughout North America, but for Quebec it has very special significance. In the early 1960's, while it was revamping and modernizing its educational system, the province had also to undertake ambitious projects in other sectors and to make efforts to overcome a definite lag in development. Today, a radical transformation is under way at all educational levels, and more and more of the recommendations of the Parent report are being put into practice.

Education

1184. Labour unions, too, have undergone changes. Here, as elsewhere, a number of new endeavours have sometimes had to be launched concurrently. In addition, the redefinition—at times tempestuous—of the role and status of workers has been punctuated by many conflicts in the public as well as the private sector; these developments have made their mark, to varying degrees, on the entire society. In almost every walk of life, Quebecers have begun to question their traditional social structures.

Labour unions

The nationaliza-
tion of electricity

1185. In such a climate, the nationalization of electricity became a symbol of emancipation. It is not surprising, therefore, that its principal outcome—at least, as we see it—should be the adoption of French as the language of work. This is in fact the first time in Quebec that a major industry has succeeded in surmounting the inherent difficulties of the language question in the North American context.

Para-
governmental
companies

1186. The creation of a number of para-governmental companies has followed on the heels of the nationalization of electricity. In the eyes of the Quebec government, these companies constitute indispensable instruments of transformation. This is the case with the General Investment Corporation of Quebec, founded in 1962 and designed to promote the amalgamation of existing firms and the establishment of new enterprises in Quebec. This corporation has acquired direct participation in a number of enterprises, among them Marine Industries Ltd., to which we shall return later.

1187. The Quebec Deposit and Investment Fund was created principally to provide a reservoir of investment capital; it was planned that this organism should accumulate assets of more than \$2 billion over ten years.¹ In 1965, the government created SOQUEM (Société québécoise d'exploration minière), designed to contribute to the development of Quebec's mineral resources. In 1968, through SIDBEC (Sidérurgie du Québec), the government undertook to invest \$60 million at the rate of \$12 million a year for five years. A portion of this large investment made it possible for SIDBEC to acquire the assets of DOSCO (Dominion Steel and Coal Company Ltd.).

The salient
points: education
and economic
development

1188. There have been two main features in Quebec's evolution over the past few years: the effort expended on education and the importance attached to economic development. As far as education is concerned, the essential machinery is already in place; in the field of economic development, the instruments of public intervention that we have described have only recently been established, and their impact is still difficult to evaluate.

C. Hydro-Québec

1189. A more detailed study of Hydro-Québec will give us a better understanding of the challenge that Francophone Canadians are determined to meet in matters that relate to language of work.

1190. For the first time, the Anglophone minority of Quebec is finding itself in a situation similar to that of Francophone minorities

¹ \$2,400,000,000 by 1976, according to *Le régime de rentes du Québec: analyse actuarielle* (March 1965).

in other provinces : Hydro-Québec uses French as its language of work,¹ just as Ontario Hydro uses English. We shall return to the question of language use in Canadian publicly owned corporations.

1191. Hydro-Québec is a public corporation with complete administrative and budgetary autonomy. It submits its budget for approval by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council so that the government may foresee the loans that it will guarantee. Furthermore, the public may follow its activities through a standing committee of the National Assembly.

1. Hydro-Québec and the Quebec economy

1192. Because of its size, Hydro-Québec is a major factor in the economy of Quebec. In 1967, its assets were \$3,182 million and its sales \$366 million² (41.2 billion kilowatt-hours). Its annual investments represent between 6 and 7 per cent of all new investment—both public and private—in Quebec, and its capital expenditures about a third of all sums invested in public utilities. These proportions are likely to be maintained, since Hydro-Québec's investments are tied to a demand for power that doubles every 10 years.

1193. Hydro-Québec has about 11,000 regular employees; in 1967, nearly 6,000 men were also at work on its construction projects and the company payroll amounted to \$150 million.³ This represents a significant contribution to Quebec's economy in employment and income, particularly as its power network extends to the furthest corners of the province. Hydro-Québec also contributes to the general economic expansion of the province, in its roles of supplier and consumer with respect to industry.

1194. The prices of electricity in Quebec and in Ontario are almost identical. Quebec can attract new industries, but only if it offers them attractive production costs and prices. Where necessary, Hydro-Québec helps to apply the policies of decentralization recommended by the various levels of government; it can facilitate the establishment of enterprises where the cost of electric power is an important factor in the calculation of return on investment. Its policies have already proven

¹ Except that, in its relations with the public, Hydro-Québec complies with the requirements of its customers.

² For comparison, Ontario Hydro in 1967 had assets of \$3,320 million and sales of \$369.3 million (49.8 billion kilowatt-hours). Hydro-Québec and Ontario Hydro serve areas of comparable size, but the latter's 2,240,000 consumers (individuals, companies, and municipalities) are more concentrated than are Hydro-Québec's 1,646,300 consumers.

³ Hydro-Québec, *Annual Report 1967*.

Preferential
purchasing as
a policy

beneficial in the operations of Cegelec Canada Ltée., Brown-Boveri (Canada) Ltd., and Domtar Ltd. in northern Quebec.

1195. Hydro-Québec's purchasing policy appears to be similar to that of Ontario Hydro; preference is given to suppliers within the province, as long as the price differential does not exceed 10 per cent. Hydro-Québec therefore makes it possible for some industries to maintain—and others to acquire, where justified—a production capacity comparable to that of industries in other parts of Canada and abroad. However, the possibilities of this preferential policy are soon exhausted: in 1966, a third of Hydro-Quebec's supplies came from other provinces; when it can find no supplier in Quebec or elsewhere in Canada, the company calls for tenders from abroad.

2. *Linguistic policies*¹

1196. We shall now examine the changes that have taken place at Hydro-Québec since the first steps towards nationalization in the industry in 1944, when Montreal Light, Heat and Power, and Beauharnois Electric were amalgamated to form the nucleus of Hydro-Québec. Management and technical personnel of these two companies were mostly Anglophones, and English was their language of work. There was no change following nationalization.

1197. It would not have been easy to have it otherwise; the recruitment of Francophone technicians and administrators posed difficult problems, for the graduates of Quebec universities were almost all generalists, particularly in engineering. At the time of Hydro-Québec's creation, however, Laval University was founding the first electrical engineering centre where the instruction would be given in French, in the hope of meeting the needs of Francophone students. The creation of a publicly owned enterprise like Hydro-Québec greatly increased the number of positions of interest to Francophones and stimulated the training of specialists in French-language institutions of higher learning. During the 1950's, as Hydro-Québec grew and turned to new areas of development—the construction of power dams and transmission lines—the use of French spread within the company; when there were new positions to be filled, preference was given to Francophone applicants.

1198. These new positions subsequently came to have major importance, for they were in areas of activity where vigorous expansion was taking place. But despite the increase in the number of Francophone employees, and although they were soon to be in the majority,

¹ We have drawn our information on this subject from "La communication linguistique à l'Hydro-Québec," a study prepared by Jacques Brazeau and Jacques Dofny and submitted to Hydro-Québec in May 1964.

English maintained its privileged position at Hydro-Québec, particularly at the higher levels, because of tradition, the unilingualism of some Anglophone managers, and the bilingualism of the Francophone employees.

1199. The linguistic problem became critical in 1963, with the nationalization of four more companies where English was the language of work: Shawinigan Water and Power, Southern Canada Power, Gatineau Power, and Northern Quebec Power. In these newly absorbed companies the pattern was a well-known one: an increasingly large portion of executive positions occupied by Anglophones and a concentration of Francophones in sales and development, where contact with the public or with labour required a knowledge of French. In the other companies nationalized at this time—Compagnie de pouvoir du Bas St-Laurent, Compagnie électrique du Saguenay, and Quebec Power—management was largely Francophone and French was the predominating language.

The
nationalization
of electricity
in 1963

1200. At the time of its greatest technical accomplishments and the complete reorganization of its administrative structures,¹ Hydro-Québec brought about really radical changes in its language régime. The building of the Manicouagan-Outardes complex presented a challenge that was both technical and linguistic. Manic 5 is the world's biggest multiple-arch power dam and one of the great technical achievements of our age in the hydro-electric field. It was also the scene of the most striking linguistic transformation. In addition, Hydro-Québec worked out a solution to the problem of power transmission that has put the company in the forefront in this field; its 735,000-volt transmission line was the first of such high tension and capacity designed and built for commercial use.

1201. Because the company's operations and the territory to be covered were so extensive, there were serious problems of internal communication. Whether or not the majority of the personnel was Francophone, English was the principal language of work for the newly integrated companies. A number of changes were initiated and French became the language for accounting and group discussion. However, because of the complexity of the language situation, Hydro-Québec commissioned a study on language use in its various departments.² As a result of the company's previous experiences and in the light of the conclusions drawn from the study, the adoption of French as the language of work appeared to be the best solution.

¹ Twelve private companies and some 50 power co-operatives had to be brought under one administrative roof, with integration of all their collective agreements and pension plans, re-adaptation of the distribution and supply network, and standardization of rates.

² Brazeau and Dofny, "La communication linguistique à l'Hydro-Québec."

1202. Two principal factors would account for the speed and efficiency with which the linguistic changes were implemented: the level at which the decision was made and the strategic nature of the sectors in which the change took place. The increasing use of French by management at Hydro-Québec set in motion a sweeping chain reaction. Before the 1963 nationalization, pressure for the change had come most of all from the lower levels; the Francophones, being concentrated in development and sales, were isolated from head office. After 1963, however, pressures also came from the higher echelons, and a kind of osmotic process developed. The use of French by the new management encouraged its habitual use by Francophones as a language of work throughout the organization, although up to that time this practice had not been common. French became the language of contact with personnel, of the house organ *Entre Nous*, and of almost all other publications for the use of personnel. Since 1968, all management personnel and 95 per cent of the employees have been speaking French at work and that language has been used exclusively at business meetings and for internal correspondence.¹

1203. However, the change has been most striking in the technological field. The predominance of English as a vehicle of communication in industry and technology is a well-recognized phenomenon, and in a North American milieu it might well have seemed impossible to make French the language of work in these fields of endeavour. Yet it was the construction of the Manicouagan-Outardes complex that really set the changes in motion in 1963. Those in charge of the project succeeded in altering work habits through their own consistent example. Teams of engineers formed voluntarily to find translations for technical terms. Hydro-Québec workmen and foremen began, for the first time, to write their reports in French, with the help of French manuals and glossaries. Words like *blondin*, *bâtardeau*, and *fardier*² came to be everyday terms; thus it was proven on a grand scale that it was possible to use French for technological discussion.

3. Linguistic services

1204. Along with the efforts of the engineers, translation and linguistic research departments helped to build up a French administrative and technical vocabulary. In the head-office personnel department there is now a staff of ten at work on manuals. This staff is responsible for coordinating and revising the writing, translation, and adaptation of ad-

¹ Mr. Robert Boyd, General Manager of Hydro-Québec, on a Radio-Canada television programme on October 9, 1968.

² Cableway, coffer dam, and truck.

ministrative and technical texts for management personnel. It thus provides administrators, engineers, technicians, and the rest of the personnel with indispensable aids for an improvement in the standard of both spoken and written French. The public relations department also has a section working on language matters, writing and translating texts intended for the public.

1205. In the beginning, these linguistic services were concerned mainly with translation, but now an increasing amount of material is being written in French. It has gradually become apparent that it is more economic and effective to adapt French manuals, booklets, and forms than to translate American or Canadian documents written in English.

1206. Hydro-Québec has also set up a programme of language instruction for all employees, but particularly for Anglophones. The *Voix et images de France* method has been adopted. With a few exceptions, all Anglophone management personnel are taking these courses. According to our information, meetings now take place in French without difficulty; however, some Anglophones still write their reports in English.

1207. Hydro-Québec has given us the following data about their language and translation courses. From 1963 to the end of June 1968, 731 employees took language courses—English or French—or translation courses, either at Hydro-Québec itself or at other language schools. These courses have cost the company \$180,817 in direct outlay and \$304,470 in employee time, or a total of \$465,287. The average cost of the courses has been heavy: \$650 per person.

1208. Hydro-Québec is satisfied that these language courses have produced the anticipated results. The reasons for this success appear to be, on the one hand, the element of personal motivation of the individual employees—that is, the necessity of using the language in their work—and, on the other hand, the fact that they are working for an enterprise where they can make use of what they have learned each day.

Results achieved
through language
courses

1209. Even though the language of work is French, a knowledge of English is still considered important; almost as many English courses as French courses are taken by employees. Indeed, they are just as necessary, for some engineers have problems in producing drafts and estimates in English when customers require them.

Francophones

1210. There are still a few predominantly English-speaking sectors of the company, particularly in western Quebec. In 1965, for example, 90 and 37 per cent respectively of the upper- and middle-management echelons of the old Gatineau Power Company were Anglophones. Most

Anglophones

of these were unilingual, and the personnel—Francophones and Anglophones alike—customarily worked in English. The circumstances that have made French the language of work in other areas do not exist to the same extent in this part of Quebec. The administrative personnel therefore requested an increase in the French courses offered, in spite of their geographic remoteness from head office, so that the mobility of employees within the company would not be compromised; some administrative employees were afraid that their lack of French might jeopardize their chances for advancement.¹ The request was granted at once and, since 1965, 37 employees at the managerial level in the Gatineau region have taken intensive courses, studying 28 hours a week for 30 weeks.

1211. Finally, we note that Anglophone university graduates do not seem to be attracted to careers with Hydro-Québec, even though the company provides French courses at its own expense. This is probably due to the same factors that discourage Francophone graduates from seeking employment in most of the major enterprises in Quebec: the necessity of adapting at the same time to a new occupation and a new language of work, as well as concern over the opportunities for promotion.

4. Relations with the public

1212. In its relations with the public, Hydro-Québec must take account of North American technology, to which it is closely bound. In this domain, economic and technical imperatives seemed at first to block any efforts to use French as a language of work.

1213. Relations with the public fall into two distinct categories: relations with customers and relations with suppliers. In sales, it is the language of the customer, whether individual or commercial, that determines the language to be used.

Calls for tender

1214. On the other hand, as a buyer, Hydro-Québec sets its own policy when dealing with its suppliers. In the Quebec market, it calls for tenders in French; for other markets it prepares them in both languages. When it uses French, it includes an English version of its specifications in order to accustom the supplier to the corresponding French terms. Since the adoption of this practice, suppliers have been more inclined to make use of the French terms.

¹ It would seem that this fear is justified, judging from the following statement: "It is obvious... that a thorough knowledge of the French language is essential for efficient conduct of business within Hydro-Québec and its affiliates. It is also obvious that it would not be possible for anyone who is not familiar with French to receive promotions that his other abilities might entitle him to." Address delivered on April 28, 1965, to the Canadian Industrial Relations Research Institute by Roger Chartier, personnel director of Hydro-Québec.

1215. Furthermore, Hydro-Québec has initiated the practice of requiring bilingual drafts and estimates; the French version has priority over the English and is considered the official one. This is one of the important fields in which Hydro-Québec has established an official language policy. A number of companies—Northern Electric, for example—have begun to adapt themselves to this requirement, but in order to do so they must not only establish translation departments but also obtain the services of Francophone technicians. In general, the measures adopted by Hydro-Québec have made possible an increase in the use of French in Quebec's economic life.

Drafts and estimates

5. *The Hydro-Québec Research Institute*

1216. The demand for electricity increases between 7 and 8 per cent per year; considering the present and foreseeable cost of electricity as well as the problem of transmission over great distances, all the possibilities for profitable hydro-electric development will have been exhausted by 1985. Hydro-Québec has therefore turned to thermal energy. It has built a thermal power station at Tracy, and has begun the construction of a nuclear power plant at Gentilly, in co-operation with Atomic Energy of Canada and with financial assistance from the federal government. The company has also decided to build its own centre of electrical research and experimentation, at an initial cost of \$30 million; in 10 years this sum will probably have to be doubled. The Institute will be devoted to pure and applied research on transmission and conversion of energy. It will be the only Canadian centre almost exclusively servicing the industry. Most of its fields of research, however, such as its work on the fuel cell,¹ are of worldwide interest.

Energy:
requirement for
technological
development

1217. The Research Institute will be completed in 1971 and will employ about 200 researchers of all languages and origins. In co-operation with universities, it will contribute to the training of highly qualified technicians and scientists, and will offer them attractive careers. The internal language of work will be French; for relations with the public, the language of the customer will be used.

6. *Conclusions*

1218. The radical change in the use of language at Hydro-Québec is a special case. It could not be extended to all major enterprises in Quebec, since conditions differ greatly from one to another. We may nevertheless learn some useful lessons from Hydro-Québec's experience. What impresses us most forcibly is the striking change in attitudes to language since the nationalization in 1963.

¹ The fuel cell will make possible great reductions in the cost of transmitting energy.

1219. The Brazeau-Dofny study noted the scepticism prevailing at Hydro-Québec at the time with regard to the official adoption of French as the language of work at all levels of the company. The preponderance of English in the technical, commercial, and administrative sectors in North America seemed to present an insurmountable obstacle. Particular concern was voiced over the necessity of communicating with the surrounding Anglophone world. In such a context, the adoption of French as a language of work seemed unrealistic, and there was fear that this might turn Hydro-Québec into an enclave.

1220. But the use of French as a language of work has succeeded, and the early fears have proved unfounded. We have reason, therefore, to wonder whether perhaps the use of English had been traditionally maintained only because company executives were unilingual Anglophones, and whether the real needs of the situation had simply been overshadowed by the sheer weight of tradition and historical circumstance.

1221. It was the vitality of the relationship between superiors and subordinates above all that assured the success of Hydro-Québec's linguistic reorganization. When the top management of an enterprise breaks away from certain established practices, employees may be disposed to accept the change; but to be fully effective, a break with the past needs methodical and sustained effort, as well as concrete measures for carrying it out. In Hydro-Québec's case the challenge was a formidable one; originality and inventiveness were essential, as well as the outlay of considerable resources on what, in North America, was a new technical language.

Qualified
personnel: the
"vicious circle"
of supply and
demand

1222. The story of Hydro-Québec shows how closely supply and demand of qualified personnel are related. Custom in recruiting and language of work seem to have contributed as much as technical training—or the lack of it—to the division of work between the two linguistic groups. Francophones did not occupy key positions, but this was not necessarily because of a lack of technical and administrative training. If they were not trained differently in their professional schools, it was also because of the paucity of opportunities open to them.¹

1223. For the time being, Hydro-Québec is a unique example. In other enterprises, past experience and efforts have been attended by different circumstances. Hydro-Québec leads the way because it embarked on new paths and has shown them to be practical and capable of producing results. This is perhaps its most important contribution to the field of language and culture which interests us.

¹ Brazeau and Dofny, "La communication linguistique à l'Hydro-Québec," 13.

D. Marine Industries Ltd.

1224. Marine Industries Ltd. is a manufacturing enterprise which was taken over by the General Investment Corporation of Quebec in 1965. Marine Industries itself controls two other companies, Forano Ltd. and Volcano Ltée.¹ Its head office is in Montreal and it has shops and shipyards at Sorel-Tracy and Paspébiac.

1225. The Marine Industries group employs some 4,500 people, including 200 engineers, technicians, and draftsmen. Its sales increased from \$53 million in 1965 to \$67 million in 1966, and to \$79 million in 1967. In sales volume, the group ranks 77th among the 100 largest Canadian enterprises.

1226. Our examination will focus mainly on the shops and shipyards at Sorel, where operations have been diversified over the last few years; the company has added the manufacture of railway cars, turbines, and alternators to its shipbuilding operations. It is also engaged in the refloating of ships. Its fleet of draggers is the biggest in Canada.

1227. Before the General Investment Corporation took control of Marine Industries Ltd. in 1965, the enterprise was owned by a Canadian Francophone family, but the administration's language of work was mainly English, particularly for accounting, minutes, memoranda, and meetings of the executive committee and the board of directors. English was also the language of work for engineers and technicians. French was used more often by the workmen; since the shipyard was at Sorel, in a French-speaking region, the labourers were almost all Francophones. The situation followed the widespread pattern of industrial life in Quebec, as we saw it in Chapter XII.

Language
of work

1228. With the change in management, French has become the language of work for the general management and executives of the enterprise. Without any precise directives on language policy, management extended the use of French to its relations with employees. The same phenomenon occurred as at Hydro-Québec: the new management's attitude led the Francophones to begin using French as a matter of course; the Anglophones too began to realize the usefulness of knowing the language or learning it. Thus, French has become the principal language of the company's administration (including accounting).

1229. However, the situation is different in production and technology. In these fields, the language of work is that of the customer, who in this sense is in command of the language situation. This is

Language
of service
and its
effects

¹ The head office of Volcano Ltée is in Montreal, its plant is at Saint-Hyacinthe, and it has sales offices in Toronto and Quebec. The head office and plant of Forano Ltd. are in Plessisville, and the company has sales offices in Halifax, Toronto, North Bay, Vancouver, Plessisville, and Montreal.

particularly clear when tenders are called for very complex projects. In such a situation the whole world of technology and commerce has a strong impact on the language of work even within the enterprise. The "technical and economic imperatives" are unmistakably at work in such cases, and work executed for a New York, Halifax, or Vancouver customer forces technical personnel to use English even in the plant.

1230. There is at least one area of work where this impact is favourable to French. Marine Industries Ltd. is one of the top-ranking companies in the world for the fabrication of turbines and alternators, and Hydro-Québec—one of its most important clients—prepares its drafts and estimates and its calls for tender in French. This makes it possible for production and technical work on hydro-electric equipment to be done in French. The use of French in this field is encouraged by the fact that the company manufactures Alsthorn alternators and Neyrpic turbines under licence from French companies; since the technical documentation is in French, it follows that the language of work is French.

1231. On the other hand, Marine Industries has received a \$25-million order for five sets of generators for the powerhouse at Churchill Falls. The units will be fabricated under French licence but, since the customer is Anglophone, it appears that the language of work for engineers, technicians, and draftsmen will be English. In this sector the majority of the management personnel are Francophones; all are bilingual except for a few Europeans (French and Swiss) who speak only French.

1232. A number of federal government departments—National Defence, Transport, and Public Works—are also important customers of Marine Industries. The company has never received calls for tender or specifications from them in both languages; everything is in English. Communication with these departments is carried on exclusively in English, "because the correspondents with whom the company deals are Anglophone and seem to be unable to understand or express themselves in French."¹ This suggests that federal departments are considered to be Anglophone customers and, here again, the language of the customers is imposed on the company's technicians.²

¹ Letter to the R.C.B. & B. from M. Gérard Filion, president of Marine Industries Ltd., June 5, 1968.

² In the dredging division, for example, all business with the National Harbours Board and the department of Transport is conducted in English. Communications with the department of Public Works can be in either language, but are most often in English. In the railway-car division, all communications with Canadian National are in English. We shall later deal more fully with the federal government's influence on language use within enterprises.

1233. A knowledge of French is considered essential for all management personnel, but not for technicians; it is among the technicians, moreover—particularly those involved in shipbuilding—that the greatest number of Anglophones are to be found. All the Francophone executives are bilingual, but some Anglophone executives cannot speak French.

1234. The situation at Marine Industries Ltd. shows the extent of the customer's influence on the language of work in an enterprise. Due to the attitude of top management, it has been relatively easy to make French the language of administration, but it has been more difficult to do so in the technical divisions. The language used by customers in their calls for tender and in drafts and estimates determines the language of work for the technical divisions of the enterprise.

Conclusion

1235. Since Marine Industries' most important customers are the federal government, CN, and Hydro-Québec, it would not be as difficult as one might think to give French a larger place within the company. We have seen that Hydro-Québec already exerts a decisive influence in this respect. If federal government departments and agencies used French in their commercial and technical dealings with Francophone enterprises like Marine Industries Ltd., they too would contribute to the creation of the genuine equality that we would like to see the French language acquire. As it is, the federal government, in using mostly English, in effect imposes the use of that language within Francophone enterprises.

E. Canadian National

1236. Canadian National is perhaps Canada's best-known enterprise. Its operations are pan-Canadian in every sense and virtually all Canadians are aware of its vital role in Canadian history. Because of this role, and because it is government-owned, it is an important Canadian symbol and should therefore reflect certain realities of Canadian life. Canadian National's management—no doubt conscious of these responsibilities—has attacked the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism directly and on several fronts. Unlike Hydro-Québec and Marine Industries, it has done so on the basis of very explicit policy directives.

1237. In April 1966, for example, a bulletin¹ entitled "System Objectives and Policies Relating to the Use of the English and French Languages" was issued to form part of CN's policy manual, issued to

Language of
service

¹ *Management Guide Bulletin 1930*, April 27, 1966.

all officers and available to all employees. It sets out objectives and policies for dealing with the public, including suppliers and public bodies. Throughout Quebec and in other sections of Canada where French is the mother tongue of a significant proportion of the customers of Canadian National, all services are to be readily available in both French and English. In pursuit of this objective, the directive requires that in the localities or services concerned, CN offices and facilities be staffed "as quickly as practical" with sufficient personnel qualified to deal with the public in either language; signs, notices, promotional and informational material, and publications and forms for public use are to be in either language or both "as appropriate"; customers writing to CN in either language are to receive a reply in the same language; and correspondence initiated by the company is to be in the mother tongue of, or the language normally used by, the addressee where it is known or can be readily ascertained. In addition, CN policy requires that signs for the direction and guidance of the travelling public in railway stations and hotels in all principal cities across Canada shall be in both French and English "within a reasonable time." The company has established a "policy committee on bilingualism" of very senior officers who meet twice a month and review progress on implementation. This committee also formulates recommendations to the president.

1238. In March 1968,¹ such a policy review led the president to direct that steps be "immediately" taken to instruct passenger-train and station personnel that the use of both English and French is mandatory in making announcements and when addressing customers throughout Quebec and in certain other specified areas. Prospective trainmen and employees who deal directly with the public were to be advised that their seniority rights would depend on their bilingual capacity, which was henceforth to be considered as one of the important factors in selection, depending on their location and type of employment.

1239. A special group has been set up to study the problem of passenger trains and stations. The most difficult aspect of the problem involves the position of the unions on seniority rights; the company maintains that it must do everything possible to facilitate the use of both languages before asking the unions to waive vested seniority rights where bilingual qualifications are not met. A further difficulty is presented by the seniority rule that lay-offs follow inverse seniority; as a result, newly hired bilingual personnel are the first to go when reductions in the work force take place.

¹ Letter dated March 13, 1968, from the president to all vice-presidents and heads of departments.

Language
of work

1240. The policy objective with respect to bilingual signs has recently been extended¹ to cover signs in the principal stations in Canada down to divisional and junction points “whether the signs need replacing or not.” French is to be the prevailing language in Quebec and anywhere else where Francophones form more than 50 per cent of the population.

1241. The bulletin of April 1966 also deals with internal communications. It explicitly states that in Quebec and other sections of Canada where the use of the French language is substantial, CN’s purpose is to facilitate and encourage the use of French as an oral and written language of work. In the localities concerned, signs, notices, rules, regulations, instructional material, and publications and forms for the information or use of CN personnel are to be in either language or both “as appropriate”; internal correspondence and narrative reports may be written in the employee’s mother tongue; “as quickly as practicable” it should be made possible for a Francophone employee to deal with at least some of his superiors in his mother tongue. Furthermore, CN states its intention to provide language instruction and adequate translation services, so that employees can increase their proficiency in the other official language as required by their present or prospective positions.

1242. The company is also studying the concept of unilingual French-language units. It has been examining the lateral and vertical interrelations of its structural units within Quebec as far as language use is concerned. The explorations have yielded very useful data, but no policy has yet been formulated with regard to the implementation of the concept. The data indicate that, because the *Uniform Code of Operating Rules for Canadian Railways*—the railwayman’s bible—is in English, there are deep-seated difficulties in making French the language of work. Accordingly, CN has invested a great deal of time and money in translating this manual into French and has recently received the approval of the Canadian Transport Commission to use the French translation. The results of this step cannot yet be estimated, but it clearly represents one of CN’s gestures towards a solution to a widespread difficulty—the lack of a technical vocabulary. To help solve the broader problem of the technical vocabulary, arising from the practice of Francophone management personnel working in English, and the corresponding difficulty of adjusting themselves to working in French, CN has set up a linguistic-services unit incorporating the translation section and the language-training service. Several manuals dealing with French vocabulary on such subjects as freight equipment and passenger business have already been published.

¹ Letter from the executive assistant to the president to the chairman of the policy committee, dated March 14, 1968.

1243. The CN studies also revealed an interesting and somewhat unexpected result: many of the employees surveyed felt that the most important factor encouraging the more extended use of French at the working level was not the need to follow "company policy" but rather the expectation arising from the general trend in Quebec towards the greater use of French at work.

1244. The company has devoted considerable attention to bilingualism at supervisory and senior administrative levels. Its efforts have involved increasing the proportion of bilingual officers for each department; broadening the base of bilingual personnel—principally Francophones—at the bottom of the management pyramid, through university recruitment; promotion and rotation of bilingual personnel to give them experience in different areas of work; language training combined with rotation; and the recruitment of senior specialists who are bilingual.¹ These efforts to establish guidelines or goals at the senior levels are made "with the full realization that it will be many years before the objectives set down can be achieved." Francophones are gradually filling more management positions, and their advancement rate is quite high—two years is an average time in a particular position before promotion. Some Francophones are employed in professions, such as law and medicine, where a much slower rate of mobility is expected. However, management personnel realize that it will be several years before there is more than a small proportion of new bilingual personnel who have acquired the management skills and knowledge required to qualify for top posts. Certainly, in spite of all these strong and widespread efforts, the predominant language of work at Canadian National in the senior administrative levels at the Montreal head office and elsewhere is still English.

Language
training

1245. As a part of its language policy, Canadian National has established a full-scale internal language-training programme.² A systematic programme of French-language training was initiated in 1963. A 22-booth language laboratory was installed and two professional audio-visual experts were recruited; standards were set under the guidance of McGill University experts and the VIF method was adopted. Many adjustments have been made since that time; at present, four groups of 10 to 15 students are on course at any given time, and each group receives six hours of instruction per week for 40 weeks. It takes about 900 hours of instruction before a student can effectively participate in the activities of a French-speaking group; even then, he is far

¹ "C.N.R. Policy and Strategy Regarding Bilingualism at Supervisory and Senior Administrative Levels," April 30, 1968.

² Information on CN language training is drawn from a memorandum entitled "Canadian National Language Training Programme," prepared by Frédéric Phaneuf, chief of linguistic services, April 25, 1968.

from being perfectly bilingual. The Montreal Catholic School Commission has also collaborated in the programme by offering three 50-hour courses to CN employees. Other courses are offered by CN's language-training service for special categories of employees, such as train crew and those who deal with the public; a special vocabulary fitted to their needs is taught. On occasion a group of employees, including senior officers, takes intensive four-week courses at Laval University or elsewhere.

1246. Although CN offers a fully developed language-training programme, it suffers from the weakness of all such programmes: the lack of a practical follow-up programme for students who are not called upon or able to make intensive use of their new skills.

1247. Canadian National's method of attacking the bilingual question by the direct method of policy statements and directives invites comparison with the methods and results of those who have used different approaches to the problem. However, such a comparison is not entirely fair. Hydro-Québec and Marine Industries set out with a different basic objective—to make French the dominant language of work in the enterprise. Because of its pan-Canadian operation, CN has not, and never will, adopt such an objective. Its aim is rather to adapt itself to a bilingual operation, and the management has certainly demonstrated a serious and determined intention to achieve this aim. But if CN is to become a truly bilingual institution, rather than merely increase the number of its bilingual employees, we feel it should consider more fully the various categories of unilingual French-language work units—an area which the company has only begun to study. Such an effort could yield very promising results in view of CN's widespread operations in Quebec and because its head office is located in that province.

Conclusion

F. Alcan

1248. Alcan Aluminium Limited (formerly Aluminium Limited) is a Canadian holding company of international scope. It is at the head of the Alcan group, whose operations we shall describe briefly in order to clarify the framework within which we shall interpret its language policies and usage.

Scope of
the company's
operations

1249. Alcan Aluminium Limited was founded in 1928. It was the offspring of an American company which had built an aluminum smelter at Shawinigan in 1900, and a second at Arvida in 1926. The latter is today the biggest aluminum plant in the world. In 1968, the consolidated subsidiaries of the Alcan group had total gross assets of

\$3 billion and a work force of 61,000. They sold 1.2 million tons of primary and fabricated metal in more than 100 countries. The group has interests in 70 subsidiary and affiliated companies in more than 30 countries.

1250. This vast international complex is controlled from Canada, because the parent company, Alcan Aluminium Limited, has its head office in Montreal. Its principal plants are also located in Canada, as are most of the assets of the group. More than 60 per cent of its production of primary metal is Canadian. Its gross investments up to 1968 were \$1.3 billion in Canada, of which \$765 million were in Quebec, out of total investments of \$2.1 billion. The Canadian work force was 18,000, of which 12,200 were in Quebec. The Alcan group in Canada comprises some 20 companies; the Aluminum Company of Canada, Ltd., whose head office is also in Montreal, is the principal subsidiary. Its commercial and industrial operations are spread from British Columbia to Newfoundland. Its principal plants are at Arvida, Alma (the Isle-Maligne plant), Shawinigan, and Beauharnois, Quebec; at Kingston, Ontario; and at Vancouver and Kitimat, British Columbia. Our examination of the linguistic situation deals only with the operations of the Aluminum Company of Canada, Ltd. and its principal subsidiaries in Quebec.

1251. A company's products and markets in large measure determine its linguistic policies. We should note that, in terms of value, only one half of one per cent of the production of the Aluminum Company of Canada, Ltd. is sold directly to the public, compared with 81.5 per cent to manufacturing enterprises, 14.5 per cent to the construction industry, and 3.5 per cent to public agencies. Foreign customers buy about 85 per cent of its ingot production, with Quebec and the rest of Canada absorbing 6 and 9 per cent respectively. Finally, 15 per cent of the shareholders of Alcan Aluminium Limited are Quebec residents.

1252. Alcan, therefore, is made up of many companies and its roots in Quebec are deeply established. It also does business throughout the world, and its international character is becoming more and more pronounced.

The problem of
language use

1253. Language use poses a problem for almost all great enterprises today. A company communicates with its customers, its suppliers, and its shareholders; it has roots in a certain environment and maintains close relations with public authorities; and, of course, its employees communicate among themselves at work. All these elements must be linguistically homogeneous if language use within the enterprise is not to be called into question. Where they are not, the enterprise should adopt a policy with regard to the language of communi-

cation with the public and the language of work. It must satisfy the needs of its clientele, its employees, and the community in which it is located.

1254. Because Alcan has worldwide operations, all the major languages are in common use within the organization, but English is the language of communication with head office. Therefore, it is natural for the company's attitudes about language use to be very liberal, and for its linguistic policies to be very flexible. In fact, in both its international operations and those in Quebec and other parts of Canada, Alcan makes it a rule to leave the choice of language as much as possible to the people involved, whether they be suppliers, employees, or customers. This rule is a corollary of Alcan's more general principle of trying to adapt to and even identify with the many milieux in which it operates. Thus, Alcan both advocates and practises bilingualism in Canada, especially in Quebec, but there is no definite administrative code regulating the use of French or English and no compartmentalization according to department, locality, or any other type of division.

1255. As we shall see later, this general policy has made French the principal language of work in the Aluminum Company of Canada's plants in Quebec, but English remains the predominant language at the head office in Montreal.

1256. In an organization which leaves the choice of language essentially to personal preference, adaptation to the milieu and the dominant language of work depend in final analysis on a company's policies of recruitment and promotion; these in turn determine the respective proportions of Francophones and Anglophones among the personnel. To classify Alcan's personnel according to language group, we shall consider its Quebec plants and head office separately, as well as its departments and the levels of its hierarchy.

Classification
of personnel
according to
language

1257. In Alcan's Quebec plants, 95 per cent of the total personnel are Francophones; among those earning \$5,000 or more, the proportion falls to 80 per cent.¹ If this group is divided according to whether they earn under or over \$10,000, most of the Francophones fall into the first group and most of the Anglophones into the second: the percentages of Francophones in these two groups are respectively 82 and 35. These figures are partly due to the relative absence of Francophones in the technical departments, especially among the scientists at the Arvida research centre.²

The Quebec
plants

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, the following statistics are based on a study made in 1965.
² The Arvida research centre does not serve the Quebec plants alone; its laboratories serve the entire Alcan international group specializing in aluminum production. Consequently, researchers from many countries are at work there; a constant stream of foreign technicians comes on study missions or for training. It is therefore out of the question that French should be the only language of work at the Arvida research centre.

1258. However, Francophones participate fully in plant management. The manager at Arvida and two of his immediate assistants are Francophones. Five of the eight top positions at Alma, including that of the manager, are held by Francophones. The situation is similar in the other Quebec plants.¹

French as the
language of
work in
Quebec plants

1259. It is consistent with Alcan's linguistic policy that French should be the principal language of work in its Quebec plants. Directives and memoranda to employees are written in French; all printed matter (forms, brochures, and other company documents) is in French or in both languages; posters, traffic and other signs, company identity cards, and telephone directories are in French or in both languages; pay cheques and benefit certificates are in French or in English at the choice of the employee. Labour agreements are negotiated and written in French, the French version being official if there is also an English version.² Plant newspapers are in French only at Arvida, Alma (Isle-Maligne plant), Shawinigan, and Beauharnois. *Le Lingot*, a bi-weekly paper of some 16 pages published for the nine plants in the Saguenay-Lac Saint-Jean region, is in French, except for a few pages which are in English. Alcan hires a great many unilingual Francophones for its plants and requires Anglophones to have at least a receptive capacity in French. Even at the plant-management level, each employee must be free to use his own language.

1260. Of course, English is still used extensively in certain administrative and technical sectors, as well as in positions of authority. Although communication with workers, office employees, and foremen is in French, management personnel often use either language among themselves, depending on circumstances and the people involved. Communications with head office or departments of the group's enterprises outside Quebec are generally in English, and a number of maintenance manuals for equipment manufactured in other provinces or abroad have not yet been translated into French. However, on the whole, French is clearly the predominant language of work in Alcan's Quebec plants.

Head office

1261. The situation at the head office of the Aluminum Company of Canada, Ltd. in Montreal is almost the reverse of that in the company's Quebec plants, both in terms of the number of Francophones employed and in terms of the use of French. Only about 18 per cent of the personnel at head office are Francophones. Among salaried employees earning \$5,000 or more, the proportion of Francophones is only 12 per cent, divided almost equally between those earning less and more than \$10,000 (14 and 11 per cent respectively). As in most

¹ 1969 figures.

² Of the 24 collective agreements in force during 1969, 15 were written in French only and 9 in both languages.

enterprises, the Francophones are relatively well represented in public relations (40 per cent of those earning \$5,000 or more) and in personnel (27 per cent). On the other hand, there are not many in fabricating (4 per cent), in engineering and research (6 per cent), or in the sales and advertising departments (12 per cent). However, a third of the personnel in accounting and finance are Francophones.

1262. In such conditions, the situation of the French language at Alcan's head office cannot be a bright one, but it is better than the statistics might indicate. Indeed, many Anglophones have worked in the Quebec plants at some point in their careers and they often continue to deal with the Francophone plant personnel, with the result that a considerable number of the Anglophones at head office are bilingual. According to information gathered in 1968, 45 per cent of the management personnel in Montreal are bilingual, and the proportion is similar for the personnel as a whole, although the percentage varies from one department to another. It is as high as 70 per cent in the personnel, public relations, and advertising departments, and relatively low in the purchasing and technical departments.

1263. Furthermore, bilingualism is necessary at head office. Although English is the normal language of communication with the plants, directives and other more general texts are sent out from head office in both languages. Engineering drafts and estimates are prepared in English as a rule, but at Alma and at the subsidiary Saguenay Power Company Ltd., this is done in French. Labels on consumer products are almost always bilingual; manuals, technical pamphlets and catalogues, and price lists are distributed in both languages, as is the *Alcan News*. All news releases for the use of the "national" press appear in the two languages, but in Quebec, regional press releases are prepared only in French. Films commissioned by Alcan are generally produced in both languages. The annual report is published in both French and English versions, and share certificates are bilingual.

1264. The language of communication with public authorities is another element that should be emphasized. Generally speaking, the choice of language is left to the correspondent; with the Quebec government and publicly owned enterprises of the province, French is normally used; on the other hand, in communications with the federal government, only English is used.¹

1265. Although there is a great deal of bilingualism within the Alcan group's head office, the language of work is still English because of the strong predominance of Anglophone personnel.

1266. Alcan was among the first of the enterprises to show concern for the question of French as a language of work. No doubt this

Bilingualism

Language
courses and
training

¹ According to a 1965 study on official communications.

was largely because so many of its plants are in regions where Francophones are in the vast majority; some of these plants have been operating since the beginning of the century. Moreover, Alcan's efforts at broadening the use of French in industry spring from a well-established tradition. French courses for employees date back to 1938-9. (In 1943, the International Correspondence School courses followed by employees were translated, and permission was granted for examinations to be written in French.) From the point of view of language as well as the evolution of labour relations, perhaps more importance should be attached to the job-classification project done jointly over 10 years by Alcan and the CNTU (Confederation of National Trade Unions). This work, and a number of other projects of this type, have helped create and implant a French vocabulary in the aluminum industry. The company will soon publish a bilingual vocabulary of more than 10,000 terms relating to aluminum metallurgy and to such varied fields as accounting, labour relations, and safety.

1267. Alcan has two different ways of encouraging its personnel to study languages. Anglophones whose positions require competence in French are offered courses, given during working hours if necessary, at company expense. More than 200 head-office employees have taken these courses since 1963. The second plan is for the other employees; on request, Alcan pays half the cost of any French or English course taken at a recognized language school outside working hours. Since 1963, 200 head-office employees have taken French courses under this plan, as well as an undetermined number of both Francophone and Anglophone employees at other Alcan locations in Quebec.¹ At the Arvida plant there are three permanent and four part-time French teachers.

Recruitment of
university
graduates

1268. For many years, Alcan has been making concerted efforts to recruit graduates of the French-language universities of Quebec. Among the university graduates that it engages, some 30 per cent or about 15 each year—mainly in engineering, commerce, and science—come from French-language institutions. These graduates are not required to be competent in both languages, but they are strongly encouraged to learn English so their long-term chances for advancement will not be compromised.

Conclusion

1269. Alcan, as an enterprise of international scope, has considered it natural and worthwhile to adapt to the linguistic situation in Quebec. Since the employees of its plants are Francophone, the language of internal communication there is French; French is also

¹ These plans also apply to a variety of advanced courses and further training programmes, many of which are available in both French and English. Furthermore, Alcan supports a permanent management-training centre at Geneva—the Centre d'études industrielles—which is a bilingual institution.

the language of work in these plants; announcements and directives are in French as well as job descriptions and many technical manuals. The fact that most equipment-maintenance manuals are in English only is an anomaly. This situation, which may be ascribed to external factors, might have been corrected if Alcan had always required its suppliers to furnish French instruction pamphlets and manuals. The situation is different at head office, but then head office is a nerve centre with contacts in all parts of the world, and the influence of the local milieu is therefore less constricting.

1270. The Quebec government departments and agencies, in using French, encourage a greater use of the language at Alcan. On the other hand, the use of English by federal government departments and agencies tends to perpetuate the existing linguistic situation.

1271. The company's recruitment and training policies encourage the full participation of Francophones in plant management, as well as in certain management positions of the Alcan group itself, both in Canada and abroad. However, here again we find the usual situation, common to big Quebec enterprises: a concentration of Francophones in public relations and personnel work, and little use of French in the technical and scientific sectors.

1272. Alcan's policy is to encourage the use of French in Quebec, and consequently bilingualism, since communication with the rest of the world is in English. This policy works through individuals, rather than through administrative structures, and there is no formal set of rules for language use.

G. General Observations and Conclusions

1273. We have examined the linguistic policies and practices of four large enterprises in the hope of bringing to bear on our general appraisal both the example of concrete situations and awareness of the different circumstances affecting these situations. Our observations about linguistic problems and their possible solutions have three facets: objectives, the influence of the milieu, and marketing requirements.

I. Objectives

1274. Hydro-Québec and Marine Industries Ltd. have made French the principal language of work at all levels. These two companies have not felt obliged to protect the use of English through any special rules, since this is the predominant language in North America and will continue to be necessary within each enterprise. As far as they are con-

cerned, the solution to the linguistic problem has been simple and direct, if not radical.

1275. At Canadian National and Alcan, English is the dominant language in management circles; the objective of these companies is to become bilingual institutions. As we already know, a bilingual situation is much more difficult to establish and maintain than a unilingual one. Bilingualism presupposes a degree of balance, which is continually menaced by pressures in favour of one language or the other. Constant effort must be exerted to maintain it. On the other hand, from our study of the federal Public Service, we have seen that there is a major difference between the bilingualism of individuals within an institution and institutional bilingualism. The approaches will vary, therefore, depending on which of these objectives an enterprise may choose to pursue.

1276. In effect neither CN nor Alcan have adopted institutional bilingualism. At CN, which has a complex and detailed set of directives concerning language use, the choice of language of work is clearly not left to the employee. However, this is still not institutional bilingualism, because certain indispensable elements are missing—notably the principle of French-language units and the functional and career structures which would permit a Francophone to reach the highest positions without ever being handicapped by his language and culture. At Alcan, the emphasis is clearly on individual bilingualism. Language practices are not precisely defined and the linguistic situation evolves constantly according to circumstances. Linguistic balance—even more precarious than at CN—relies essentially on the energy and perseverance of the Francophones within the company. Individual bilingualism allows for great flexibility and may be appropriate for situations where the two languages have equally firm roots in reality but, where one language tends to predominate, the individuals involved must wage a day-to-day battle to maintain the balance. Under these conditions, the question of whether a qualified Francophone can have a normal career in French does not even arise. He can work in French, no doubt, but if he is not competent in English he will never reach top management positions. The Anglophones, on the other hand, can achieve these levels without being competent in French. The principle of equality is in this way not respected.

2. *The milieu*

1277. It would seem that the most powerful influence on linguistic policies has been the overall climate in Quebec since the early 1960's: a renewed surge of nationalistic self-assertion; a proliferation of the

instruments of governmental intervention; and changes and modernization of existing institutions. This sweeping drive for reform has induced the business community to revise its language policies and practices radically. This has been done at Canadian National, Hydro-Québec, and Marine Industries Ltd., for example, sometimes helped along by a certain amount of restructuring, as in the latter two. At Alcan the changes have been less apparent, partly because the company had adapted earlier to the Francophone milieu, but there too, in the past few years, the language problem has received greater attention than ever before.

3. Marketing requirements

1278. Our studies on the private sector have shown how strong a role the language of the customer plays in the linguistic conditions of an enterprise. In the large Francophone-owned enterprises we have chosen for study, for example, 96 per cent of the Francophone personnel earning \$8,000 and over per year required a command of English.¹ Since almost all their colleagues were Francophones, we must presume that this bilingualism was imposed from outside. The smaller Canadian Francophone enterprises studied sold 72 per cent of their production in Quebec, and yet used French in only 64 per cent of their correspondence with their customers.² It even appears these Francophone-owned enterprises often communicate with each other in English.

1279. If there were a tendency to use more French in business in Quebec, Francophone personnel would be able to use the language more often at work. However, the customer determines the language to be used by the supplier—who in turn is often the customer of a third enterprise; all are caught in a vicious circle, and the French language is usually the victim, except in retail business. A decision to use French at work on the part of a nucleus of large Francophone-owned enterprises—such as Hydro-Québec, the General Investment Corporation, Marine Industries Ltd., and SIDBEC—could break this circle and set off a vast chain reaction in other enterprises.

1280. The momentum this would produce would have even greater impact if federal government departments and agencies used French, for they are often major customers of the manufacturing industry and of social and financial services. It is quite possible that, with a change in linguistic conditions, we may see that the determinant role of the

¹ R. N. Morrison, "Corporate Policies and Practices of Large Manufacturing Firms" in HEC and McGill, "Corporate Policies and Practices."

² R. N. Morrison, "Small Firms Employing Between 50 and 1,500 People in Quebec and Ontario," in *ibid.*

customer's language—which today works so strongly in favour of English—has been, in final analysis, only a matter of tradition, if not the path of least resistance.

1281. In this respect, a remarkable fact is that the two publicly owned companies that we have studied—Hydro-Québec and Canadian National—have in some ways adopted more radical measures regarding language than the two private enterprises, Alcan and Marine Industries Ltd. The first two no doubt feel a greater sense of obligation to the milieu, while at the same time being less subject to the imperatives of the market place.

1282. In closing, we note a certain desire for change and adaptation to the French milieu in all enterprises. Such adaptation may take a variety of forms according to circumstances. The time has come to examine the means of achieving it. This will be the subject of the next chapter.

A. Introduction

1283. English is generally the language of work at the managerial and technical levels in the private sector in Canada, even in Quebec outside Montreal, where Francophones are strongly in the majority. Clearly, this situation frequently makes it difficult for Francophones to enter and advance in many of the most modern and rewarding positions of the work world. In the past, this barrier has undoubtedly contributed to income and occupational disparities; at present, it is a major impediment to a real equality of economic opportunity for Francophones and Anglophones.

Language use
and economic
opportunity

1284. The present patterns of language use also affect the vitality of the French language and culture in Canada. If a language is not used in modern economic and technological activities, it faces the risk of losing its dynamism and its usefulness. English has become the sole language of work of many Canadians of French mother tongue, and there is little long-term hope for the French language in Canada if it is used in the workplace only by blue-collar workers.

Effect of
language-
use pattern
on the
vigour of
French

1285. The conditions that will strengthen the French language and culture in Canada are to a large extent the same conditions that will provide real equality of economic opportunity for individual Francophones. Francophones must have the same opportunities as Anglophones to use their own language as their main language of work if they are to have the same chances for success in the work world. French must be used extensively in business management and technology in this country if it is to maintain itself fully in Canadian life.

Limitations of
formal
language rights

1286. In Book I we presented a blueprint for formal language rights in a truly bilingual and bicultural Canada. This blueprint was designed to entrench the rights of Francophones and Anglophones to be educated in and to receive service from governmental institutions in their own languages. Our recommendations concerning bilingual provinces and bilingual districts were designed to protect the language rights of Francophone and Anglophone minorities. Since then, Parliament has adopted the Official Languages Act and New Brunswick has declared itself officially bilingual. Other provinces have also taken concrete steps in this direction. But these laws and measures are not enough to create a truly equal partnership between the two language groups. These formal rights must be accompanied by measures altering the linguistic situation in the work world.

1287. There is little reason to suppose that the free play of economic forces will in itself bring about real equality of opportunity for Francophones or lead to a strengthening of their language and culture in Canada. Left to themselves, the current pressures are more likely to lead to the opposite result.

The situation
in Montreal

1288. The several dimensions of the problem are most clearly exemplified in Montreal—"the second largest French-speaking city in the world"—where 64 per cent of the metropolitan population is Francophone. Indeed, the Montreal metropolitan census area is the home of 27 per cent of the Francophones in Canada and of 32 per cent of those in Quebec. The industrial capacity of the province is also heavily concentrated in Montreal. But the city is much more than a provincial industrial centre; it is also a great international port, and a hub of nation-wide financial, commercial, and industrial activity. A large minority of its population is Anglophone and, for various historical reasons, English dominates the management of its major private economic institutions. Paradoxically, in the only Canadian industrial metropolis with a Francophone majority, located in the only province where Francophones predominate, the majority must learn and work in another language in order to take full part in the most important sectors of the economic life of the city and province. As the already great urbanization of Quebec continues, more and more Francophones are facing the problems posed by the dominance of English in the work world, despite the fact that their proportion in the population of Montreal has increased.¹

¹ In 1848, those of French origin formed 44 per cent of the population of the city of Montreal; in 1871, 53 per cent; and in 1961, 67 per cent. Similarly, on the island of Montreal their proportion rose from 60 per cent in 1871 to 64 per cent in 1951, declining slightly in 1961 to 62 per cent.

1289. The effects of immigration have accentuated the problems. As Canada's largest city, Montreal is a natural pole of attraction for immigrants to this country. Because of its Francophone majority, the city might be expected to provide the setting for a thriving Francophone immigrant community, but the evidence shows clearly that Montreal has not realized this role. Neither Canada nor Montreal itself has attracted large numbers of Francophone immigrants, and other groups settling in Montreal have tended to affiliate linguistically with the Anglophone community. The recent debate over language rights in education has demonstrated that even the Italian immigrants, who have the highest rate of French-language affiliation, are now showing a strong desire to have their children educated in English. Clearly, the dominance of English in economic life is the great predisposing factor in the language choices of immigrants.

1290. The situation in Montreal, unique as it is in certain respects, is indicative of the future of the French fact in Canada. In the broader context, the combined effects of such trends as the decline in the birth rate, the continuing urbanization of Francophones, and the dynamics of immigration give the issue of the language of work a compelling urgency. Some current developments in the work world offer the potential for greater use of the French language and increased participation for Francophones. However, unless these developments are co-ordinated and substantially extended in form and scale, they will not provide real equality of opportunity for Francophones nor will they support the continued vitality of the French language and culture. Failure to make the changes leading to these goals could have grave consequences for the future of the country.

B. Equal Opportunity and Institutional Bilingualism

1291. The achievement of equal opportunity in the private sector is a much more complex and difficult task than its achievement in the realms of education and government. We must begin by asking what sort of changes would be required to provide Canada's Francophone citizens with roughly the same measure of opportunity as Anglophones now have. The crux of the matter lies mainly in the character of institutions rather than in the capacities of individuals, and the creation of real equality of opportunity in the private sector depends primarily on the development of institutional bilingualism rather than on the learning of a second language by unprecedented numbers of individual Canadians.

Institutional
bilingualism—
the basis for
equal
opportunity

1292. The concept of institutional bilingualism does not require bilingualism of every employee within private enterprise. Nor does it imply that every company in Canada use French and English as languages of work. It would be pointless to propose, for instance, that local business in Calgary use French as a language of work, just as it would be to propose the use of English in similar circumstances in Rimouski. Even under the most favourable conditions of second-language learning in the future, many categories of enterprise in various regions of the country will retain their essentially unilingual character. From this standpoint, bilingualism in a bilingual country can be seen as two linked unilingualisms. However, certain key groups of institutions in some regions of the country will have to develop or expand a bilingual form of organization.

1293. Thus, when we speak of institutional bilingualism in the private sector, we have in mind something quite specific with respect to the organizational structure of business firms. Again, we do not mean that every employee in an institutionally bilingual company should be bilingual. Indeed, we are convinced that reforms built entirely around the notion of a progressive increase of individual bilingual capacity are misguided. In most places where this method has been tried, the main burden of learning and working in a second language still rests with the Francophones, while the Anglophones remain unilingual and English maintains its position as the predominant language of work. The essence of effective institutional bilingualism within an organization is, rather, that there be clearly demarcated units and career channels allowing both Francophone and Anglophone employees to follow careers in their own language. If it should be necessary for employees to use the second language, the burden should fall equally on the members of both groups. The present reality is far from this ideal.

The application
of institutional
bilingualism

1294. If an effectively bilingual private sector is to be achieved, the first priority for change is a vast expansion of work settings in which French is used as the language of work. This can be achieved in two ways: first, by ensuring the vigour and growth of those companies presently using French as the language of work at all levels and, second, by making further changes in the language and staffing practices of those where English currently holds a monopoly. The former group of companies is quite small in terms of employment and the measures to ensure their growth fall mainly within the realm of economic policy; therefore, we have concentrated our attention on the latter.

1295. As in our recommendations for the federal Public Service and the Canadian Forces, the key concept is that of the French-language unit. However, the exact form of the system of institutional bilingualism

may vary in different organizations according to such factors as the location of their plants and offices, the span of their markets, and the changing availability of technically and linguistically qualified personnel. In most cases, the skills of bilingual individuals will remain in high demand. The need for fast internal communication and for contact with the two language groups in the outside community will always be present. But a system of institutional bilingualism should keep the compulsions for working in a second language to a minimum.

1296. The ideal goal must be clearly distinguished from the more immediate objectives. The ultimate target must include equal opportunities for Francophones in institutionally bilingual work settings in various parts of Canada, and particularly in officially bilingual provinces and districts. This, in our opinion, represents the logical and moral conclusion of the concept of equal opportunity within a bilingual nation, and we shall suggest some first steps to be taken to realize the national dimensions of the plan. But prior consideration must be given to the areas where the problem is of present and pressing concern and where the potential for immediate change is greatest. The most significant of these areas is clearly the province of Quebec.

1297. In the General Introduction of our *Report* we discussed the place of Quebec in the creation of a true equal partnership in Canada:

Quebec constitutes an environment where the aspirations and the needs of four out of five Francophones in Canada can be satisfied. The mere fact of this concentration leads to a spontaneous French way of life and makes that way of life easier to organize. This is why we believe the place of the Québécois in the French fact in Canada will in practice have to be recognized much more than it is today; we are thinking particularly of the world of work, in the federal public sector and in the private sector.¹

1298. We have already recommended changes in federal Public Service operations in Quebec. We address ourselves here to the private companies that occupy a pivotal place in the economy of Quebec and that up to this point have used English as the principal language of management and technical operations. These include both the large manufacturing enterprises that are major employers of Francophone manpower and the important commercial and financial institutions. We believe that the present situation with respect to language use and Francophone participation in these organizations is no longer tolerable. These firms must now face up to the responsibilities they bear to the people, the language, and the culture of the communities in which they are situated and whose human and material resources they use.

The companies

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 89.

Their will to change, of which we have seen considerable evidence, must be given effective and concrete expression.

1299. The development of institutional bilingualism in the private sector will entail the establishment of many more French-language units at lower- and middle-management level and in support services. To facilitate this, all senior management positions in Quebec should ultimately be designated as bilingual posts. The existing situation, in which the vast majority of senior officers in large private industry are unilingual Anglophones, is clearly not compatible with the idea of equal partnership.

The place of
French in
Quebec

1300. French has a rightful place as the principal language of work within the major work institutions of a province whose population is 80 per cent Francophone. Equal opportunity cannot be achieved merely by sanctioning the use of French in such settings as the shop floor or the personnel or public relations departments. Opportunities must be opened to unilingual Francophones in the fields of engineering, research and development, finance and accounting, operations, and general management—in short, in all the fields providing access to the positions of real power and responsibility. Our basic proposal is flexible in that it allows for the use of English in business in Quebec, because of the national and international span of the operations of many establishments located in Quebec, and because of the substantial Anglophone minority in the province. But the overall effect of our recommendations should be the establishment of French as the principal language of work at all levels within the Quebec economy.

Outside Quebec

1301. However, there are three other important points in the plan, two relating to the situation of Francophones outside Quebec and one to the situation of Anglophones within the province. The first concerns companies with extensive operations inside Quebec but with head offices elsewhere in Canada. Consistent with our recommendations for the federal Public Service and the Canadian Forces, is our belief that these firms have an obligation to provide opportunities for careers in the French language throughout their operations. If the normal line of advancement takes an employee to such a head office, he should have the opportunity to follow this path and to work in his own language while doing so.

1302. We are calling for a commitment to institutional bilingualism, not only from Quebec-based industry but also from firms, based elsewhere in Canada, that have extensive facilities or markets in Quebec. These firms should develop a bilingual capacity in their Canadian head offices, in both written and oral communication. In addition, these firms will have to develop functionally integrated French-language units in their head offices.

1303. Our second point concerns the local operations of major firms in areas of Francophone concentration outside Quebec, most notably northern and eastern Ontario and northeastern New Brunswick. The rights of these minorities must be recognized not only in the courts, the schools, and the government service, but also in the work world. Provisions must therefore be made for the use of French in the major private work institutions in these regions.

1304. In keeping with the principles laid down in the first two Books of our *Report*, our recommendations are designed to ensure equal opportunities for members of both official-language minorities regardless of where they live. This of course implies that there must be work opportunities in English in those regions where Anglophones are in the minority. While it strains credulity to suggest that the status of English is in jeopardy in the private sector in Quebec at the present time, it is fitting to raise this possibility as a future development against which safeguards may be needed.

C. Policies and Programmes for Change

1305. The first requirement for action centres on the need for clear policy statements on equal opportunity and the language of work. The current situation is the result of decades of unplanned, piecemeal decisions. If this situation is to be effectively changed, all the parties concerned must work towards the same broad policy goals.

1306. We believe that Canada must commit herself to the principle of institutional bilingualism in the private as well as the public sector. A public policy must be adopted that puts forth a new conception of the responsibilities of private firms and of governments with regard to the provision of real equality of opportunity in the private sector. Therefore, we recommend that in the private sector in Quebec, governments and industry adopt the objective that French become the principal language of work at all levels, and that in pursuit of this objective the following principles be accepted: a) that French be the principal language of work in the major work institutions of the province; b) that, consequently, the majority of work units in such firms that until now have used English as the principal language of work in middle and upper levels become French-language units; and that such firms designate all management and senior positions as posts that require bilingual incumbents; c) that the majority of smaller or specialized firms should use French as their language of work, but that there should be a place for firms where the language of work is English, as there should be a place anywhere in Canada for such firms where the

Recommendation
42

language of work is French; and d) that the main language of work in activities related to operations outside the province remain the choice of the enterprise.

Recommendation
43

1307. We recommend that in the private sector throughout Canada, the Canadian head offices of firms with extensive markets or facilities inside Quebec develop appropriate bilingual capacities, including French-language units and bilingual senior executives.

Importance of
government
leadership and
assistance

1308. These policy objectives must be translated into effective programmes of change. We believe that individual firms should take part in designing these programmes and that their efforts should be co-ordinated by a permanent agency representing government, industry, labour, and the universities. The leadership and assistance of the federal government and the Quebec government are vital on a number of grounds. As the authorities with ultimate responsibility for the protection of the rights of Francophone and Anglophone citizens, they have a direct obligation to ensure equality of opportunity in the work world. The examples they set in their own administrations and their many dealings with private companies give them a strong indirect influence on the language patterns in the work world at large. Furthermore, the federal government and the government of Quebec have experience and facilities in such fields as language training and translation that could be of considerable practical assistance to industry during the process of adaptation. In the long run, government policies and programmes for education, manpower, and immigration will assure the success of the plan through their effect on the necessary supply of qualified personnel.

Participation
by universities
and unions

1309. Aside from industry and government, the agencies most directly implicated in the change process are the unions and universities. Better bridges must be built between the business world and the French-language universities, and it is crucial that these universities participate in the planning and implementation of the necessary changes. The participation of labour organizations is also essential. Some of the most vigorous initiatives for change in Quebec society in the last two decades have come from the labour movement. By participating in the implementation of the policy we propose, union representatives will be acting in accordance with their traditional roles as guardians of the rights of their members and as agents of social progress.

Recommendation
44

1310. For practical purposes, we believe that the immediate responsibility for initiating a dialogue with industry can best be assumed by the appropriate provincial authorities. We recommend that the government of Quebec establish a task force to consist of representatives of government, industry, the universities, and the major labour unions with the following general terms of reference: a) to launch discussions with

the major companies in the province concerning the current state of bilingualism and biculturalism in their organizations and the means of developing institutional bilingualism more fully; b) to design an overall plan for establishing French as the principal language of work in Quebec and to set a timetable for this process; c) to initiate discussions with the federal government and with the governments of New Brunswick and Ontario, to discover areas of potential co-operation in implementing the plan; and d) to make recommendations to the provincial government for the achievement of the goal and for the establishment of permanent machinery of co-ordination.

New Brunswick

1311. We have seen that in Quebec, although French is spoken by 82 per cent of the population, it is not generally used as the language of work by the middle- and upper-level personnel in medium-sized and large enterprises. In New Brunswick, although the proportion of Francophones (35 per cent)¹ can be compared to that of Anglophones in the Montreal metropolitan census area (23 per cent),² French is little used in business and industry. At the blue-collar level, even when there is a Francophone majority, French is not the language of work. Furthermore, when we see the inconsequential place of French as a language of work in Quebec and New Brunswick, we can readily understand why its use must be assured by means of measures which anywhere else in Canada would seem to most people to be quite unnecessary. In North America, English dominates not only because of numbers (there are 45 Anglophones to every Francophone) but also because it is the language of finance and technology. It follows that, even where Francophones are a majority, French remains a minority language or—even worse—a foreign language.

1312. Under these conditions we can see that English will be the language of work in New Brunswick, even though the province has been declared officially bilingual³ as we recommended in Book I.⁴ Francophones in New Brunswick now have formal rights concerning education, and concerning language of service offered by the provincial govern-

¹ According to the 1961 census, there are 232,127 people of French origin in New Brunswick—39 per cent of the province's population. However, we have used mother tongue as the main criterion in our study; on this basis there are 378,633 people of English mother tongue (63 per cent), 210,530 of French mother tongue (35 per cent), and 8,773 of other mother tongues in New Brunswick.

² There is no way of knowing exactly the proportions of Francophones and Anglophones in the Montreal metropolitan census area. The census considers mother tongue, not the language currently used. Furthermore, there has been a great deal of immigration into the Montreal area, and many of the immigrants are not of French or English mother tongue. In 1961, of the 2,109,509 Montrealers, 1,366,347 (65 per cent) were of French mother tongue, 494,667 (23 per cent) were of English mother tongue, and 248,485 (12 per cent) were of other mother tongues. We know that immigrants usually opt for English, so we can consider that, in Montreal, Anglophones form about 35 per cent of the population.

³ Official Languages of New Brunswick Act, S.N.B., 1969, 18 Eliz. II, c.14.

⁴ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 293.

ment. But French is still not a language of work either in provincial government departments or in private enterprise. As long as French is not in fact an official language on the same basis as English, equal partnership does not exist.

1313. It would be against the natural order of things if French became a language of service and a language of work only where Francophones form a very large majority of the population. It is important that goals be set for a situation which is not the same as that in either Quebec or Ontario. Otherwise, bilingualism is in danger of becoming in New Brunswick what it has long been at the federal level—a pious hope without any relation to day-to-day reality.

1314. New Brunswick is the only Canadian province with a population reasonably balanced between Francophones and Anglophones. However, the Francophones are largely concentrated in seven northern and eastern counties,¹ so that a purely literal implementation of our recommendation on the establishment of bilingual districts would not reflect this equilibrium throughout the province. For instance, the proportion of Francophones in the population of Saint John is less than the accepted proportion of 10 per cent, but the city is the focal point of the economic development of the whole province. This situation raises a problem which is clearly important: if the Francophones in the labour force are to benefit from the same material advantages as the Anglophones, and thus assure their progress, they will have to be more easily mobile. In other words, the public authorities should attempt to satisfy the cultural needs of Francophones in Saint John by providing appropriate institutions and services. However, it is difficult to see how this can be done without expanding the notion of bilingual districts, even to the point of making the whole province of New Brunswick into one large bilingual district.

1315. If this solution seems to be favourably received by the people of New Brunswick, it will be because they must first of all take their economic imperatives into account. Furthermore, when the demographic composition of the province is considered, it would seem reasonable to expect that individual bilingualism should be more widespread than anywhere else. But, at the moment, it is not. It is true that 19 per cent of the population of New Brunswick is bilingual, but, according to the 1961 census, of the 113,495 bilingual individuals, 98,476 were of French mother tongue.² Thus, the Francophones have the burden of bilingualism: 54 per cent of them are bilingual, compared

¹ Of the 210,530 Francophones in New Brunswick according to the 1961 census, 199,000 live in the counties of Gloucester, Kent, Madawaska, Northumberland, Restigouche, Victoria and Westmorland. See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 91.

² *Ibid.*, Tables 8 and 9.

with 4 per cent of the Anglophones. As long as this situation exists, it will be almost impossible to establish a direct link between individual bilingualism and the notion of equality. Only institutional bilingualism can provide a true response to the very real needs of Francophones in New Brunswick. Of course, this would not rule out a genuine interest in individual bilingualism; however, it is easy to see that if the route of institutional bilingualism is taken, the first essential step is to extend the teaching of French in the English-language schools, with the department of Education taking the necessary steps to this end.

Recommendation
45

1316. If French is gradually to become a language of work throughout New Brunswick, collective bargaining agreements in unionized shops should be drafted in the language of the majority of the employees, if they are in a large majority, and in both languages, if either Francophones or Anglophones form a large minority. In areas where Francophones are in the majority, or are a large minority, French and English should be equally recognized as languages of work at middle and upper levels. It would certainly be unrealistic to believe that this would be possible without sustained effort and close co-operation between the enterprises and the public authorities. But, in our opinion, the goal should be the gradual implantation of French as a language of work in the private sector. Therefore, we recommend that **the government of New Brunswick establish a task force charged with suggesting steps to be taken in education, in the provincial public service, and in the private sector so that French can become a language of work like English, bearing in mind the economic and social conditions in the province.**

1317. In absolute numbers, the largest provincial concentration of Francophones outside Quebec is in Ontario. According to the 1961 census they numbered 425,302 (7 per cent) of the total population.¹ The existence of this large number of Francophones in Ontario led us to recommend that the province declare that it recognizes French and English as official languages and accepts the language régimes that such recognition entails.²

Ontario

1318. The government of Ontario has undertaken a programme which involves the introduction of bilingualism in various aspects of Ontario life under its jurisdiction. For example, French-language secondary schools are in operation. Any member of the legislative assembly has the formally recognized right to address the legislature in either English or French, and a very substantial translation service

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, Tables 5A and 5B. These figures relate to mother tongue; by ethnic origin the figures are 647,941 and 10 per cent.

² *Ibid.*, § 293.

³ Legislature of Ontario, *Debates*, July 2, 1968, 6101.

has been established to serve the administration's internal and external needs. Bilingual capacity is also being developed in the administration of justice, in accordance with local needs.

1319. In the private sector, few if any enterprises have introduced French as a language of work. However, as we pointed out in Book I, there are regions of the province where French is the mother tongue of a large percentage of the population¹ and we recommended the creation of bilingual districts in these regions.

1320. We feel that, in these bilingual districts, appropriate provisions should be made for the use of French as a language of work within enterprises that are major employers of labour. For example, it seems appropriate that an enterprise with a large number of Franco-phone employees should have collective agreements, work rules and regulations, notices, and other such material available in French.

1321. We believe that, in the other regions of Ontario where the language of work cannot be expected to be other than English, head offices of firms having extensive markets or facilities in Quebec and New Brunswick ought to develop appropriate bilingual capacities.

Recommendation
46

1322. The objectives for Ontario must be consistent with its own demographic situation and therefore cannot be of the same nature and depth as those for Quebec and New Brunswick. Nevertheless, there can be a useful and important programme suited to Ontario's own situation. Therefore, **we recommend that the government of Ontario establish a task force charged with preparing a programme of action with the objective of ensuring the progressive introduction of French as a language of work in enterprises in bilingual districts, on the basis of a co-operative and concerted effort by government and industry.**

D. Recommendations to Industry

Recommendation
47

1323. Quite obviously, there is a need for flexibility in the implementation of the general policy objectives of Recommendations 42 and 43. The adjustments to be expected of a company will differ according to whether it is one with all or most of its operations in Quebec, one with most of its facilities and markets outside Quebec, a national firm with its head office in Quebec, or part of a foreign-owned international company. The scope and pace of the expected change will also vary according to the current state of institutional bilingualism in each firm. The proposed task force will have to contact

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, Map 4: Algoma, Carleton, Cochrane, Essex, Glengarry, Nipissing, Prescott, Russell, Stormont, Sudbury, Temiskaming. The Ottawa situation is unique and will be treated in a separate Book.

each firm and to work out with management a plan tailored to its individual circumstances. **We recommend that the firms at issue in Recommendations 42 and 43 make an explicit policy commitment to establish institutional bilingualism in their operations; and that they immediately designate certain units within their head offices and their operations in Quebec, and in bilingual districts, as future French-language units and designate those executive and senior positions that in the near future will require bilingual incumbents.** We emphasize the need for immediate action of this sort with respect to operations in Montreal.

1324. The target of institutional bilingualism in major firms in Quebec must be an organization in which the senior management group is fully bilingual, the majority of middle-management units and staff divisions functions in French, and—according to the firm's circumstances—a limited number of units function in English. French will then be the principal language of work at all levels and in all functions, but this does not mean that all personnel will be expected to work exclusively in French. Most units will function mainly in French, and French will be the routine language of communication among units and with senior management, but English may continue to be used within certain specified sectors and in communication between these sectors and senior management, when the senior management is located outside the province.

The target

1325. This is a target blueprint. In consideration of the magnitude of the steps involved for most firms, the plans should be phased—that is, they should entail progressively greater changes over defined periods of time—but we fully expect that the firms will be able to establish at least some French-language units immediately. At the present time, English is the routine language of work in most middle and senior management and staff units, and files and records are mainly in English. In the transitional period, during which French-language units and bilingual posts will become progressively more numerous, the overall balance of language use in internal communication—including filing systems—should gradually shift in the direction of French. During this period unilingual Anglophone personnel must be given every opportunity either to develop a command of the French language or to work in English-language units.

Need for phased planning

1326. The implementation of these proposals will require careful planning and action, and professional and management development programmes—which progressive public and private organizations are using increasingly—will be substantially affected. At its most comprehensive, planning in this area includes forecasting manager needs at specified levels, determining the training and experience that new

Effect on management development

incumbents will require, recruiting an appropriate number of potential incumbents, and charting their careers in the organization.

1327. Few organizations except the Canadian Forces have such complete plans. Yet most companies do have less comprehensive plans that include many elements of the total scheme. They have recruitment policies, they provide training either in the company or at an outside institution, they move the executive trainees around so that they receive a variety of experience, and they use "merit" criteria in selection and promotion.

An example

1328. These programmes should be systematically modified to take account of Recommendation 47. For example, a firm might decide that at a specified future date a certain unit would become a French-language unit. Accordingly, a career development plan could be designed to ensure that by that date the staff in the unit concerned would have the requisite ability in French. Language training would be started as soon as possible for some of the present incumbents who lack French. Other non-Francophones might be gradually transferred elsewhere. A flow of new staff fluent in French would be started by transferring Francophone personnel from other units, and by recruiting Francophones or by giving language training to prospective Anglophone members of the unit who were not yet completely fluent.

1329. The need for bilingualism in senior management positions will probably be met in the short term chiefly through language training for the present incumbents who are not bilingual and through promotion from within of qualified bilingual personnel. However, it may be necessary to supplement these measures by hiring qualified men from outside the firm. The exact character of the modifications introduced by each firm will depend on the present state of Francophone participation and the use of French in its internal administration, as well as on the state of its existing management development practices.

1. Recruitment

1330. The removal of barriers to the entry of Francophones into the managerial, professional, and technical jobs is both a goal in itself and a necessary condition for the realization of long-term plans for language transformation. One of the most important factors restricting the entry of Francophones is the practice of requiring that Francophone candidates for professional, technical, and administrative jobs be able to work in English. No comparable requirement for ability in French exists in the hiring of Anglophones.

1331. One intention of our general recommendations on institutional bilingualism is that, through the creation of French-language units, many more jobs than before will be open to unilingual Francophones. As our first recommendation on recruiting, therefore, **we recommend that, immediately after designating French-language units in their organizations, the firms also designate a substantial number of professional, technical, and managerial positions as French-language posts.**

Recommendation
48

1332. We expect that the introduction of the language-unit plan and the relaxation of the bilingual requirement for Francophones will greatly expand the base of potential Francophone recruitment, particularly from the universities. However, despite the changes in policy, the longstanding apprehension of Francophones that big business provides an inhospitable climate of employment may continue to deter qualified candidates from coming forward. The business community must take special measures to dispel this feeling of distrust.

1333. Another obstacle to recruitment is Francophone ignorance, especially among students, of the opportunities and conditions of work in the large firms. Business and industry should endeavour to establish better lines of communication with appropriate faculties, placement officers, guidance counsellors, and student advisers of French-language universities, CEGEPS, and secondary schools. Closer contact between industry and the faculties of commerce, business administration, and engineering at the French-language universities will be rewarding for both sides. **We recommend that the firms make every effort to interest Francophone students in business careers, by providing full information on career opportunities to the appropriate officials in French-language educational institutions and by sending recruiting teams to these institutions both within and outside Quebec.**

Recommendation
49

2. Employee training

1334. The general policy recommendations for large private firms are designed to enable Francophone employees of these firms to follow careers up to the top levels while continuing to work mainly in French. To make this possible, these employees must have full access to staff training and development programmes in the French language. Because there are cultural differences in management techniques, quality of access to training may also have to involve the development of special programmes geared to the underlying cultural dimension.

1335. On-the-job training is one of the most common methods used by large firms to develop the capabilities of their employees. At present, many young Francophone employees are thrown into a situation where English is the prevailing language of work and are left to cope as best they can with their important initial training in English. The

Recommendation
50

creation of French-language units in the fields where new Francophone employees are assigned should do much to alleviate this problem.

1336. Many firms offer special formal management training courses both for their new employees and their more senior personnel, and these programmes have often been given only in English. To ensure that Francophone employees have equal access to such training and that the training is effective, **we recommend that the firms make their internal training programmes fully available in the French language for their Francophone employees.**

Recommendation
51

1337. With the increasing complexity of technical and administrative methods, there is a marked trend towards training courses at specialized institutions outside the company. This tendency is likely to spread and this type of training must be as accessible to Francophone employees as to Anglophones. Therefore, **we recommend that, where internal training programmes are presently unavailable in French, the firms consult with French-language institutions of higher education in Canada and elsewhere about the possibilities of providing the needed programmes.** A move in this direction may simply entail the revision of old programmes, but it may also lead to the development of entirely new ones at these institutions.

3. Job transfers outside French-speaking regions

Geographic
mobility in
the private
sector

1338. In this era of national and multi-national corporations, most highly qualified personnel are at some time during their careers required to move away from their own communities if they are to take full advantage of their career opportunities. The amount of geographic mobility expected of corporate managers is usually greater than that expected of federal public servants and may even be greater than that demanded of military personnel. Special consideration should be given to the problems that geographic movement poses for Francophones who work in private business and industry; the dilemma of whether to remain within the French-speaking community or to accept a job that takes them outside is likely to be especially acute for them.

1339. Job transfers are an essential feature of effective organizational management and of staff development. Any policy that had the effect of confining Francophone managers to the small world of French-speaking Canada would be costly to business in terms of undeveloped human resources and even more costly to the individuals concerned in terms of lost opportunities. We have observed that Francophone employees of large industrial firms are much less likely than Anglophone employees to be geographically mobile. Many Francophones and their families are reluctant to move outside French-speaking regions of the country,

and in deference to these views some companies do not make these demands of their Francophone employees. We believe that an intelligent policy must seek to encourage geographic mobility under the appropriate circumstances while at the same time making provisions for the problems it entails.

1340. For married employees with young families, the problems of moving to a linguistically and culturally strange community are especially complex; a major concern is the availability of schooling in the French language. When Francophone employees are transferred to communities in which adequate French-language educational facilities are not available through the public school system, the employing company should pay an allowance to defray the costs of elementary and secondary education in the French language.

1341. In Books I and II we made recommendations concerning the language rights of Canadian Francophones in the courts, schools, and the federal government services throughout the country. These recommendations, if implemented, will improve the lot of the families of Francophones whose jobs take them to English-speaking areas. Another useful approach to their problems would be the formation of French-language cultural centres in the large cities.¹ Private companies could make a substantial contribution to the welfare of their Francophone employees and their families by supporting the establishment and maintenance of such centres. There are many other aspects of this process which enlightened employers should seek to understand and to plan for. **We recommend that the firms seek to equalize the opportunities for job transfers for their Francophone employees, while at the same time taking steps to minimize the difficulties that these transfers entail.**

Recommendation
52

4. Promotion

1342. The subject of promotion cannot be divorced from the discussion and recommendations that have gone before, since promotion is influenced by such factors as training and development programmes, job transfers, and, indeed, the whole area of corporate practices regarding the language of work. Unless a Francophone employee has equal access to all these means of developing his experience and ability, unless he has an equal chance to work in his own language and with people of similar cultural background, he does not have real equality of opportunity for promotion. The effectiveness of these recommendations, therefore, is heavily dependent on the implementation of those

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 403.

made earlier respecting French-language units, bilingual senior officers, French-language training, and mobility.

Recommendation
53

1343. First, certain minimum standards must be established for promotion proceedings, standards that have not fully obtained in the past. **We recommend that all material relevant to the promotion process and the preparation for it be made fully available in French.** Such material would include notices of job vacancies and descriptions of the jobs in question and the desired qualifications of candidates.

Recommendation
54

1344. Minimum standards for promotion interviews and examinations can also be specified. **We recommend that all Francophone candidates have the option of expressing themselves in their own language in all oral and written examinations and interviews, and that the examiners take into account the difficulties that the candidate may have had to face during his previous work experience as a result of the obligation to work in a second language.** It goes without saying that superiors of his own mother tongue should be called on to evaluate a candidate's merit.

Recommendation
55

1345. The issue of language ability as a criterion for promotion deserves forthright consideration. Although, as we have stated, it should be possible for Francophones to pursue a career up to and including the middle level while continuing to work in French, there are many positions in the various firms that absolutely require bilingual ability. These include jobs in marketing, public relations, and employee relations. Furthermore, we are firmly convinced that, contrary to current practice, there should be a bilingual requirement on all senior executive and management positions and in supervisory positions. Because it is an essential element in these positions, the knowledge of both languages should become a criterion in the promotion competitions for these jobs. This will undoubtedly serve as an incentive for unilingual employees to acquire real bilingual competence. Here, as in the federal Public Service and the Canadian Forces, a systematic approach should be used: levels of linguistic competence should be defined; examinations should be held to determine the level of competence of personnel; and promotion procedures should co-ordinate data on the linguistic competence of personnel and the level required by the job vacancy at issue. **We recommend that where firms designate positions as bilingual posts they take steps to ensure that the required level of competence in French and English is clearly defined and that they use this factor as a criterion in promotions to these positions.**

1346. However, bilingual ability should not be a factor in promotion to positions not designated as bilingual posts. Our recommendations envision the establishment of French- and English-language units

in which most of the staff will not require bilingual ability. Should these personnel wish promotion to a position designated as a bilingual post, however, competence in the other language must be a major criterion of their suitability.

5. *Language training and translation*

1347. The foregoing recommendations underline the urgent need for more effective language-training programmes and translation services. This problem has become acute not only in the private sector but in the public sector as well. Many bodies are now engaged in planning, experimentation, and development of programmes designed to satisfy the ever-increasing need.

Need for better programmes

1348. In our view, the only satisfactory long-term solution to the language-training question is for Canada's educational institutions to become capable of producing graduates with an adequate knowledge of both official languages. It is perhaps Utopian to hope that eventually all Canadians will have an intimate knowledge of both languages. But it is not unreasonable to expect that in the near future all Canadians who aspire to work in the professional, administrative, and executive ranks of governmental and private organizations will, as a matter of course, be bilingual. Until that time, however, it will be necessary for the employing organizations themselves to conduct or subsidize language training in order to obtain the requisite bilingual capacity.

The corporate contribution

1349. Many large corporations now devote considerable amounts of effort and money to language training, both for Francophones and Anglophones. It is essential that efforts of this kind be greatly expanded on a selective basis. Under our plan for institutional bilingualism, the main need for fluency in both languages is in the senior positions and in the supervisory positions of the French- and English-language units. Our research indicated that the majority of the present incumbents of senior positions are unilingual Anglophones. They thus have a heavy obligation to undergo language training as soon as possible, and high priority in language-training programmes must go to them.

Who should receive language training

1350. High priority must also be attached to language training in English for unilingual Francophones who already occupy or are slated for such positions. However, because the underlying rationale of the programme is that French will become the principal language of work in the organization, it will not be enough—as it has been in the past—to teach English to unilingual Francophones who work in the professional, technical, and administrative functions. Indeed, as we noted earlier,¹ it may be necessary to lay some stress on language training

¹ See § 813 in Volume 3A.

Acquired language
skills must be
used to be
effective

in French for bilingual Francophones who have been long conditioned to working in English and whose French has accordingly suffered.

1351. The ultimate viability of language training will depend on extensive usage of the acquired language skills in the work setting after the courses have been completed. One of the chief reasons why language training for unilingual Anglophones has been so ineffective in the past is that little use was made of the new skills once the trainees were back on the job. Thus the goals of the plan for institutional bilingualism and of language-training programmes are closely inter-dependent.

Need for co-
operation among
firms and
governments

1352. Effective language-training programmes are costly. At the moment many separate organizations operate their own programmes, but there is much to be gained by a sharing of information and facilities in such ventures. We believe that the federal government and the governments of the officially bilingual provinces should provide leadership and assistance in the organization of effective language-training programmes. The same applies to translation services. The inadequacy of existing facilities is widely recognized and deplored.

E. The Role of the Federal Government

1353. The federal government is in a position to set an example by lending its authority to the purpose of securing a national commitment to institutional bilingualism. It can also play a practical role in helping to implement change in the private sector. Through its broad economic policies and through the specific services it provides, the federal government exercises a great influence on the activities of business and industrial firms in Canada. By taking the objectives of bilingualism and biculturalism into account, these policies and programmes can play a key role in aiding and assessing progress in the implementation of our recommendations.

The federal
government as
purchaser

1354. For instance, a considerable number of federal agencies buy and sell goods and services to business and industry. The main government purchasers are the department of Supply and Services and the various Crown corporations. Those that dispense information and other services include the departments of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Finance, Labour, Manpower and Immigration, Regional Economic Development, Consumer and Corporate Affairs, and Agriculture. Whether they are aware of it or not, these agencies have a far-reaching influence on the language patterns of industry. In the past, they frequently have not made the necessary effort to ensure an equal place for the French language in the routine services they provide. Many

of these services are now offered in French, but there are still some notable exceptions.

1355. There are many relations between federal agencies and business, however, in which the type of communication goes much deeper than the exchange of printed documents. A case in point is government contracts. Often, although calls for tender are printed in both languages, the technical specifications are written only in English. This exerts a pressure on the firm receiving the contract to use English terminology throughout the manufacturing process. This pressure is buttressed by the fact that quite frequently the government personnel who must maintain a continuing liaison with the firm in question are unilingual Anglophones. An analogous situation has frequently prevailed in the field of labour relations. These and similar situations must be rectified. With this end in view, **we recommend that all information relevant to federal government contracts and other services to private enterprise, including technical specifications and documents, be made available simultaneously in French and English, and that in all official relations among federal government personnel, business firms, and unions, appropriate action be taken to ensure that the French language is fully used in the appropriate circumstances.**

Recommendation
56

1356. Our recommendations for the federal Public Service and the Canadian Forces suggest new measures to improve translation services, to develop French-language lexicons for English technical terms, and to develop more effective methods of language training. The government of Quebec is also taking action in several of these fields and many private organizations have initiated pertinent programmes. In order to maximize innovation and minimize duplication, there should be close co-operation among these agencies. Therefore, **we recommend that, as a matter of policy, the federal agencies concerned make available to private firms all the data arising from developments in translation services, bilingual lexicons, and language training that may be of assistance to the firms in their transformation process.** In some situations it may be appropriate for facilities and personnel to be shared between the government and the firms.

Recommendation
57

F. Conclusion

1357. The opportunity to use one's own language and to work within one's own cultural style is essential to the achievement of equal partnership. We have recommended as a goal the establishment of French as the principal language of work in the private sector in Quebec; we have focussed on the large corporations because equal partnership in the work world is hardly conceivable if equal oppor-

tunity does not first exist within them. If Canadian Francophones are to reshape their economic role, they must have the co-operation of the major employers who affect huge portions of the economy or control its growth.

Commitment to
institutional
bilingualism

1358. At the same time, this co-operation must take a more comprehensive, rational, and coherent form than the present piecemeal approach of increasing the number of bilingual individuals. For both governments and the private sector, we are recommending a commitment to the concept of institutional bilingualism and to the necessarily ensuing structural changes involved in establishing French-language units at the management as well as the blue-collar levels. These units will offer to Francophones what Anglophones now take for granted: the opportunity to pursue a rewarding career in major areas of the economy in their own language. We are not recommending that all Canadians become bilingual but rather that major companies operating in Quebec (and, where feasible, in bilingual districts outside Quebec) rationalize their use of employees so that these employees may contribute to their full potential in the official language of their choice. The burdens, and the rewards, of bilingual capability must be shifted so that they fall equally on Anglophones and Francophones.

Role of
government

1359. Changes of this magnitude, even though they could be initiated, probably cannot be fully realized by individual companies acting on their own. The support of public policy and co-ordination will be needed, as well as the co-operation and advice of industry, educational institutions, and employees. For this reason we have recommended provincial government task forces, particularly in Quebec, to bring together representatives of all these groups to advise, plan, and aid in the process. We have also suggested the kind of direct aid that can be given by the provincial and federal governments.

Quebec the
focus but not
the whole

1360. Our focus has been mainly on Quebec; for in terms of the achievement of real equality of opportunity for Francophones in the private sector it is in Quebec that the problem is most acute—and it is in Quebec that the solutions must first be found. But Quebec is not an isolated unit, and Canadian Francophones are part of the wider Canadian community. If real equality of opportunity is to be achieved in Canada, Francophones must be able to work and live outside the borders of Quebec without threat to their linguistic and cultural identity.

1361. However, both this goal and the development of the province of Quebec and the people who live there are subject to a complex range of socio-economic factors outside but crucial to the work institutions we have so far discussed. To these factors we now turn in Part 4.

1362. Our terms of reference did not ask us to make specific recommendations concerning the economic institutions of the country or the general conditions required for social progress. However, the status of the two official-language groups in Canada and the use of the two languages in the work world are inextricably linked to the broader factors affecting socio-economic development. The implementation of our recommendations may not be enough to reduce substantially the marked socio-economic discrepancies that we have documented in this Book. Indeed, the disadvantages faced by Francophones are so extensive, and their participation at the upper levels of the public and private sectors of the economy is so limited, that there is clearly a need for changes that go beyond the status and use of the two official languages. We do not wish to present recommendations dealing with these changes, but we do think it appropriate to indicate how these matters appear to us.

1363. In every area affecting the work world that we have examined, Francophones are at a disadvantage vis-à-vis their Anglophone colleagues. Their incomes are conspicuously lower in Canada as a whole, in the individual provinces, in specific cities, and in specific industries and occupations. There are comparable disparities in educational attainment. In Canada's work institutions—including industrial and commercial concerns, the federal Public Service, and the military—Francophones are much less likely than Anglophones to hold top-level positions. Moreover, the Francophones who do hold high positions are very often required to use English as their language of work. Finally, the Francophone share of ownership in industry is disproportionately small, even when the high incidence of non-Canadian ownership of the country's industry is taken into account.

Extent of
Francophone
disadvantage

towards the achievement of a more nearly equal economic partnership. There are many development programmes in effect or being discussed throughout the country; but often their possible effects on Francophone-Anglophone relations are not fully realized, and their aims and content have not been co-ordinated. Therefore, some existing programmes are very much open to criticism, and in some problem areas no policies have yet been formulated.

Variety
of programmes
required

1371. To be effective, most policies must be adapted to the needs of particular regions, and programmes involving areas of substantial Francophone concentration must take into account the language and culture of that population. At present, country-wide programmes may effectively discriminate against Francophones who, having more ground to make up, are less well prepared to take advantage of them. For example, many government contracts which involve great development potential have often in the past been awarded to the stronger Anglophone firms, and research funds and professional services have been more easily available to Anglophone organizations.

Three main
types of
policies

1372. Considerations such as these raise delicate questions of priorities, but they must be borne in mind in any review of development policies from the point of view of equal partnership. We shall discuss three main types of policies: those concerned with raising the level of qualifications in the labour force; those more directly aimed at the stimulation of economic growth; and those designed to combat the socio-economic disparities between individuals, particularly in the large urban areas. All these of course have interrelated effects; for instance, a more highly trained labour force is usually considered as a prerequisite to economic growth, and more widespread schooling should substantially reduce regional economic disparities and thus affect the poverty cycle. Together, these policies can form the basis of a comprehensive attack on the existing social and economic inequality between Anglophones and Francophones.

1373. Policies such as these are vital to the implementation of our recommendations in Parts 2 and 3. The more positions in which French is the language of work, the greater the demand for qualified Francophones; the Francophone labour force must be able to respond to this demand. To act on our proposals, it will be necessary for Francophones to develop a sense of confidence, a willingness to participate more fully in the country's administrative and economic institutions, and an ability to assume top positions in the public and private sectors. The language reforms we have recommended are essential first steps in this direction; however, it is equally important that Francophone Canadians as a group are—and feel themselves to be—on a social and economic par with Anglophones.

1. *The supply of qualified Francophones*

1374. Within the Canadian economy, as in the economies of all developed countries, there is a growing emphasis on the provision of services, with education, communications, and research and development taking on particular importance. Also, the shape of the occupational pyramid is changing: a reduced proportion of the labour force is engaged in manual work, and the proportion working in occupations requiring technical and professional training is expanding rapidly. Finally, Canada's economic growth is more and more dependent on such factors as the education of the labour force and technological innovation, and less and less dependent on the growth of material capital and the numerical expansion of the labour force.¹ Because of these trends, we have concentrated our attention throughout this Book on the highly trained segment of the labour force. This group, already very important, is likely to become much more important as the economy becomes more advanced.²

Economic
trends

1375. However, we are concerned with the whole Francophone labour force. Unless Francophone Canadians are in general as skilled and well-trained as the Anglophone labour force, they are doomed to a position of social and economic inferiority. Whatever the historical reasons, 1961 census figures showed that proportionately more Anglophones than Francophones had the training and educational background suited to the demands of modern industry and government. There are several possible ways to reduce this disparity.

1376. Educational preparation of the labour force is now generally recognized as a major factor underlying long-term growth in productivity and real income.³ Further investment in education is urgently needed throughout Canada, and nowhere is the need more urgent than in the French-language schools of Quebec. Much is already being done; the findings and recommendations of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec (the Parent Commission) have stressed the need to expand the province's school system through the creation of Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel

Education

¹ See § 93 in Volume 3A. For further evidence of these trends, see Sylvia Ostry, *The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force*, D.B.S. (Ottawa, 1967); and Department of Labour, *Occupational Trends in Canada, 1931 to 1961* (Ottawa, 1963).

² Indeed, decision-making power in the modern corporation has shifted in favour of the group of specialists—the “technostructure”—whose knowledge and experience is essential to the formulation of rational decisions in industry. See John Kenneth Galbraith, *The New Industrial State* (Boston, 1967), 60–71.

³ According to the Economic Council of Canada, “Very considerable scope would appear to exist in Canada to promote the growth of average per capita income by improving the educational stock of the labour force. The accumulating evidence and analysis suggest that the benefits from such improvements can be substantial for both the individuals and the economy as a whole.” *Second Annual Review: Towards Sustained and Balanced Economic Growth* (Ottawa, 1965), 91.

(CEGEPS). These institutions have been established with the avowed aim of providing technical and vocational training and general education programmes giving ready access to the universities. The Parent Commission also emphasized the need to increase the number and proportion of Francophone students continuing their studies to the university level; it acknowledged the importance of expanded facilities for advanced studies—particularly in the French-language institutions—and the need for greater attention to research in the universities. In 1968 the Quebec Legislative Assembly passed a law creating a new university and providing for new research institutes in the province;¹ this university commenced its operations in September 1969.

1377. The creation of the CEGEPS and the new university are important steps in the reform of the Quebec educational system; these institutions should help the Francophone labour force of the future to meet the challenges presented by the changing work world. Given the importance of meeting these challenges, there is a strong case for according high priority in the allocation of resources to the educational system of Quebec, as well as to other educational systems throughout Canada.

1378. It is also apparent that formal and informal relations between governments, the universities, and the work world must be encouraged and strengthened. In this rapidly changing world, the universities are constantly in danger of falling out of step with the demands of the economy. This risk particularly affects the French-language universities, because the industrial, financial, and commercial circles—dominated as they are by Anglophones—are naturally more closely linked to the English-language universities than to the French-language institutions. The French-language educational system in Quebec has historically suffered from its lack of rapport with the needs of contemporary society; a greater awareness of current and future economic trends would help to allay the feelings of apprehension and insecurity surrounding the entry into the work world of the present generation of students. This is not to suggest that the universities should ignore their other responsibilities to society, but a more realistic balance is needed.

Increasing the
number of Franco-
phone managers
and entrepreneurs

1379. The need for closer connections between universities and the work world is perhaps greatest in the area of the development of managerial and entrepreneurial skills among Francophones. We have already recommended that government and universities work together to establish advanced study programmes in the area of public administration.² The scope of this recommendation might well be expanded to apply to advanced programmes in business administration.

¹ University of Quebec Act, S.Q. 1968, 17 Eliz. II, c.66.

² See § 821 in Volume 3A.

1380. Even without this type of specific training in administration, Anglophones are more likely than Francophones to hold administrative positions and thus to receive on-the-job training and experience. On the other hand, Francophones must rely to a greater extent on university training, because of their reduced opportunities for contact with the business world, their lack of experience and traditions in the field, and also perhaps because of their different system of values. The recent creation of a school of administration under the auspices of the Université du Québec is an encouraging development; it should be given considerable resources from the outset so that it can take advantage of the long experience of other universities and can obtain the services of a highly qualified teaching staff. It should be possible to draw on the resources of the business community, as well as those of the English-language universities, without compromising the Francophone character of the school.

1381. But formal schooling is not enough; the process by which Francophones acquire administrative experience must be accelerated. In one sense, this acceleration occurs automatically in an open and mobile society such as ours; if there is a need for managers, promotions are made more rapidly and the average age of those in such positions drops. This type of accelerated demand for Francophones has been apparent over the past few years in a variety of industries, as well as in the federal Public Service. The implementation of our recommendations should help to facilitate Francophones' access to upper management levels. But to meet the internal needs of business firms, specific training and technical assistance programmes will be required.

1382. In addition, the federal government can itself act as a training ground for Francophones. Many departments—such as Industry, Trade and Commerce, Finance, Labour, and Energy, Mines and Resources—have close relations with the world of industry and services. If these departments have appropriate personnel and career development policies, they will contribute to the achievement of equal partnership in the Public Service and also in the private sector. There is continual movement of personnel between these departments and industry, and the experience and training received in the federal Public Service and in the Canadian Forces can strongly influence an individual's subsequent contribution to industry. The same applies, perhaps even more strongly, to federal Crown corporations like CN, Polymer, and Air Canada. Provincial governments—particularly those of the officially bilingual provinces—can play a similar role.

1383. Certain other federal and provincial institutions are in daily contact with small and medium-sized Francophone-owned firms. CMHC,

the Industrial Development Bank, the Insurance department, and the Quebec department of Industry and Commerce, among others, could play a central role in giving Francophone entrepreneurs information, encouragement, and training through specific technical and administrative assistance programmes.

**Manpower
retraining**

1384. In the field of manpower policies—which lie in the grey area between federal and provincial jurisdictions—there are unresolved difficulties in the allocation of responsibilities. At present, the federal department of Manpower and Immigration plays a considerable role in the technical development and deployment of the labour force. Canada Manpower Centres have been established to assist workers in obtaining positions through placement and referral services and training and mobility programmes. They also aid employers in their recruitment by collecting and interpreting information about local labour markets and by providing consulting services on manpower use and development. In Quebec, the department of Labour and the Direction générale for adult education in the department of Education are involved in manpower programmes. In addition, many of the larger private firms have substantial training programmes at most occupational levels; these should all be made available in the French language.¹ In this way the private sector could help Francophones to take a more equal part in the social and economic activities of the country.

Immigration

1385. Education and retraining programmes are essential means of increasing the number of qualified Francophones, but the existing population is not the only potential source of manpower. The skills and energies of the immigrants who flow into Canada every year have been, and will continue to be, an important spur to economic development. Programmes seeking to equalize opportunities between Francophones and Anglophones must thus be concerned with the official-language choice of immigrants. In the past, even in Quebec, most immigrants have identified themselves with the Anglophone community.²

1386. In 1968 the Quebec government established an immigration service;³ this marked a departure from earlier policies which tended—with some justification—to regard immigrants as a threat to the French fact rather than as a potential reinforcement for it. But if larger numbers of immigrants are to be attracted to the Francophone community, there must be further changes in attitudes towards them and in the apparatus for receiving them into Quebec. There is still considerable

¹ See §§ 1333 and 1336.

² In Chapter III we noted how the professional and technically trained immigrants in particular had a far more substantial impact on the Anglophone than on the Francophone labour force.

³ Immigration Department Act, S.Q. 1968, 17 Eliz. II, c.68.

hostility towards immigrants in certain areas of the work world, based on the belief that they are depriving local employees of job openings. Positive gestures are required to ease the process of integration: welcoming services, special orientation classes, and language classes can all be helpful.

1387. We also urge that the federal department of Manpower and Immigration and the government of Quebec continue and intensify efforts to attract immigrants from France and other French-speaking areas. In the past, Francophone immigrants have always been a very small proportion of the total coming to Canada. This is largely because the French tend to emigrate less than other groups but also because the federal government has traditionally turned to the Commonwealth countries for immigrants and has failed to encourage Francophone immigration. However, closer relations are now being established with the Francophone world and greater efforts are being directed towards Francophone immigrants.

1388. If the number of immigrants of French mother tongue and the proportion of other immigrants who choose association with French-speaking Canada can be increased, an important new source of qualified Francophones can be created. At the same time, a better balance will have been achieved between Canada's two official-language groups.

1389. In the final analysis, the integration of immigrants into the French-speaking community will depend on the attraction exercised by the French language in Canada. This attraction is largely determined by the need to speak the language, and the economic and other advantages attached to doing so. The surest guarantee of bringing immigrants into the Francophone community is thus a strong demand for Francophone employees and an increase in the number of firms working in French. It is thus important that the linguistic and cultural barriers faced by Francophones in the work world would be eased, for only when there is a real possibility of working in French at all levels are substantial numbers of immigrants likely to bring their skills and knowledge into the Francophone labour force.

2. Economic development

1390. The implementation of the educational, manpower retraining, and immigration policies we have urged should increase the number of highly qualified Francophones in the Canadian labour force, but it is also necessary to ensure that the qualifications they have received have relevance within the work world. Since most Canadian Francophones live in Quebec, that province's economy must be sufficiently dynamic to create a demand for Francophones to upgrade their skills. Such an

upgrading should in itself lend impetus to Quebec's economic development, but other policy areas must also be considered. Although there is no easy formula for building a dynamic, forward-looking economy in Quebec, there are three factors which must clearly be involved in any attempt to achieve the objective of equal partnership: the expansion of research and knowledge, regional development programmes, and investment. Of course, these factors apply equally well to all areas of Canada.

Research

1391. The rate and quality of development are closely linked to the availability of pure and applied research; in this area Canada lags behind the United States and several other industrially developed countries. It spends less than 1 per cent of its gross national product on pure research,¹ compared with about 2 per cent in Sweden and 3 per cent in the United States. In industrial research, the situation is even worse.

1392. Federal funds are allotted to pure and applied research in federal departments and laboratories and in the universities. In applied research, funds are allocated according to merit—that is, according to the number and quality of the applications received. On the face of it, this would seem to be an equitable basis for distribution but, when it is applied to unequally developed regions, institutions, or groups, it results in a paradoxical situation whereby the poorest taxpayers are subsidizing the richest. Because the research facilities of the French-language institutions are not as well developed as those of the English-language institutions, they have not been able to compete on an equal basis for federal funds. We urge the official bodies concerned with scientific policy and research to bear in mind this inequality of opportunity when allocating subsidies.²

1393. The closer relations we have encouraged among governments, universities, and private industry should extend to the field of research. The Hydro-Québec Research Institute, the Pulp and Paper Institute of Canada, and the Institut de microbiologie et d'hygiène de l'Université de Montréal provide examples of such collaboration. It is to be hoped that the French-language universities of Quebec can play a larger role in future developments of this kind.

Regional development programmes

1394. Most of the present federal government programmes designed to equalize prosperity among the different regions of Canada come under the authority of the department of Regional Expansion. The

¹ See Science Council of Canada, *Towards a National Science Policy for Canada*, Report No. 4 (Ottawa, 1968).

² See Philippe Garigue, "La recherche au Québec et le problème constitutionnel," *Science Forum*, I, No. 2 (April 1968); "La politique scientifique au Canada," brief submitted to the Special Senate Committee by l'Université Laval, l'Université de Montréal and l'Université de Sherbrooke, May 1969; and Cyrius Ouellet, *The Sciences in French Canada* (Quebec, 1967).

Quebec Economic Advisory Council has been working on a regional approach to planning for economic growth in that province since 1960. Further reinforcement of the regional approach has come from the activities of the federal programme under the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act (ARDA) and the Bureau d'aménagement de l'Est du Québec (BAEQ). The report of the BAEQ, published in 1966, has had a considerable impact on Quebec's approach to depressed regions.

1395. Because areas of low income are also frequently areas of high Francophone concentration, we believe it important for both the federal and the provincial governments to regard regional development in such areas as part of a general scheme for achieving equal partnership between Anglophones and Francophones. The administrative units used for regional development programmes should be reviewed, taking into account the bilingual districts recommended in Book I of our *Report*; they could frequently be more effective instruments for achieving Francophone-Anglophone equality if special attention were paid to the composition of the staffs and to the language used in operations. The cultural needs of the two groups should be included in the aims of the agencies in question. We also urge that the central departmental structures responsible for the planning and administration of such programmes should be re-examined to make sure that linguistic and cultural factors have been effectively recognized in the choice of personnel, the definition of overall goals, and the language of work. In general, our proposals for institutional bilingualism in government are equally vital in programmes for regional development.

Investment

1396. The number of modern business enterprises operating under a régime of institutional bilingualism must be expanded if Francophones are to have equal opportunity with Anglophones to work in their own language within the most sophisticated work areas. The enterprises currently offering Francophones the greatest opportunities are those owned by Francophones but, as we have seen, there are few large industrial enterprises in Francophone hands. However, every society seeks to share in the economic power which is reflected in the ownership of capital and the means of production; the government of Quebec has already acted on several occasions towards this end. The nationalization of the electric power firms integrated into Hydro-Québec and the creation of SOQUEM (Société québécoise pour l'exploration minière), SIDBEC (Sidérurgie du Québec), and the GIC (General Investment Corporation), all in the 1960's, illustrate the desire to extend the areas in which Francophone-owned firms operate. Here again, we urge the

federal government and other bodies to consider the principle of equal opportunity as it applies to Francophone enterprise.

1397. The federal government already devotes considerable means to regional development and equalization payments in order to assure a more equal distribution of resources. Through such programmes as ARDA, ADB (Atlantic Development Board), and ADA (Area Development Agency), it encourages local initiatives and helps to sustain the economy of the various regions. The federal government could and should, we believe, use analogous programmes to attack the problem of Francophone business development directly. For example, an industrial fund could be established, similar to the monies provided for the ADB and administered, upon agreement of terms, by the government of Quebec. Ideally, the provincial government would then entrust these resources to the GIC, whose object is precisely that of consolidating, merging, and creating firms. Considerable federal resources are already being expended on the Gaspé region; the fund we envision should be large enough to have a real impact on the future of the Quebec economy as a whole.

A social
accounting
system

1398. To ensure that planning and programmes are equally effective for Francophones and Anglophones, Canada should adopt a system of continuous accounting for its public policies, not merely in economic terms, but in terms of the concept of Franco-Anglophone status. In this kind of social accounting process, policies would be planned and evaluated on the basis of concern for and measurement of a whole range of development and status indicators for Francophones and Anglophones.

1399. We believe, therefore, that there must be changes in the methods of assembling and publishing statistics on the economic and social life of Canada. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics should greatly increase the number of tables that it publishes using mother tongue and main language spoken as key variables.¹ In addition, the Bureau and other federal and provincial agencies should divide among themselves responsibility for replicating certain Commission studies on a regular basis, some annually, some every two to five years. Studies analyzing education, income, occupation, and industrial distributions between Francophones and Anglophones are obvious candidates for such replication. Similarly, studies on the role of Francophones and on the use of the French language in industrial corporations must be repeated. Every social and economic issue involving Canadians is likely to have a Francophone-Anglophone dimension; if Canada is to develop on the

¹ In *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 52, we suggested that a question on the language mainly used at home and work be used in the census.

basis of an equal partnership between the two groups, this dimension must be recognized in social and economic planning.

3. *The urban situation*

1400. The industrial revolution produced large-scale and persistent inequalities within all great industrializing nations and between nations. As the revolution towards the post-industrial society proceeds, inequalities continue to be severe and, at the international level, are actually increasing in terms of income per head. The technological and economic system has produced unparalleled and seemingly limitless material wealth, but the disparities have not been reduced. In Canada, there is a further dimension to the problem: a greater proportion of Franco-phones fall into the economically disadvantaged category.

Persistence
of economic
disparities

1401. All of the elements of industrialized societies are strongly focussed in the large urban areas. Most people live in the cities, which have the greatest potential for growth; they contain the most modern sectors of the economy; and the highly skilled labour force is concentrated in the great urban areas. But the problems of industrialized societies are also focussed in the cities; for example, poverty in all its forms—educational, social, political, and economic—and the great social problems of housing, transportation, pollution, and land use. Although most development policies are now centred on the mainly rural regions, the issues that will grow ever more acute are the problems of the great metropolitan areas. Deep and serious difficulties are likely to remain in the rural areas, of course, and policies to deal with these problems must not be abandoned; but a shift in focus to the cities will attack the most important issues and at the same time help to provide solutions for the problems of the rural regions—for these areas are dependent on the continued growth of the urban centres.

Social policies
in the urban
context

1402. Francophone-Anglophone disparities are most acute in the large cities, and particularly in the Montreal area. Yet it is where they are most acute that they will probably receive their most effective solution. Montreal typifies the positive aspects of the metropolis in the fields of economic, technical, cultural, and educational development. Here, for instance, French-language higher education and research have their greatest potential, in terms of population size, existing institutions, and opportunities for close links between educational institutions and the application of knowledge. But because the negative aspects of the expanding metropolis are also at their greatest and the disparities are most marked between Francophones and Anglophones in Montreal, the solution of the problem requires, among other things, a comprehensive attack on urban poverty and all its economic, social, educa-

tional, and welfare components. Clearly, the Francophone-Anglophone dimension must be recognized in all economic and social development policies seeking either to ensure that Canadians are prepared to reap the benefits of a growing economy or to help those who have been left behind in the process.

B. The Agents of Change

Need for co-operation

1403. One vital requirement in the overall programme for development in Quebec is the full participation of the province's Anglophone population in the elaboration and implementation of policies. This is a corollary of our earlier recommendations that large firms welcome Francophones at all levels of their organizations. A development programme such as we envision must take into account private decision-making centres and the considerations—many extending outside the province—affecting the decisions made at these centres. Planners must have adequate information on the investment intentions of corporations, and on changes in technology and markets. The Quebec government must ensure the integration of the Anglophone population into the general process of development, notably by adequate representation on planning boards. The best existing example of what we are proposing is the General Industry Council recently established by the Quebec department of Commerce and Industry.

1404. In order to avoid duplication of efforts, greater co-ordination is also needed between provincial departments and federal departments as well as such federal advisory bodies as the Economic Council of Canada. Working links between these institutions should include personnel exchanges, joint study of problems requiring federal and provincial action, functional division of tasks, and joint recommendations to the governments directly concerned. Such concerted effort would give Quebec planning bodies access to more powerful control levels, and would result in more effective overall planning.

The role of governments

1405. A comprehensive attack at both federal and provincial levels will be needed if the fundamental problems of economic disparities throughout the country are to be resolved. In this Book we have called for specific action from one or other level, or from both. In these final paragraphs we should like to spell out more clearly the general roles we feel the federal and provincial authorities should assume in the context of the present constitutional division of legislative powers in Canada.

The role of the Quebec government

1406. Since the Francophone population is concentrated in Quebec, the government of this province can be regarded as the principal architect of the supporting institutional framework of the Francophone

community. Although it is in no sense the exclusive government of Canadian Francophones, it represents the majority of the French-speaking population and thus acts from within the Francophone community; therefore it is in a position to be an effective agent in the stimulation and encouragement of the profound social changes required by a fast-moving world.

1407. The contribution of the Quebec government is a key element in the extension of the use of French in industry in the province, and in the improvement of skill levels and professional qualifications of the labour force. The expansion of facilities for higher education and the encouragement of immigrants to adopt French as their principal language are properly the responsibilities of the government of Quebec. Furthermore, the provision of a dynamic social, economic, and cultural context for Francophones must be achieved first in Quebec. The stimulation of research and investment and the development of programmes to resolve the problems of large cities both call for a forward-looking and active provincial government.

1408. As constitutional powers are presently distributed, provincial legislation is often indispensable to policy implementation, even in the areas where the federal government takes the initiative. International conventions touching on provincial matters fall into this category. In other instances, a provincial government is in a position to block federal measures. Thus the federal government cannot by itself apply a comprehensive programme for the development of equality between Francophones and Anglophones in Canada.

1409. Conversely, however, the provincial government cannot deny the federal responsibilities in such a programme. The federal role is a major one—for example, the federal Public Service and the Armed Forces, which provide employment for large numbers of Canadians of both groups, are in the domain of the federal government. Moreover, although Francophones are concentrated in Quebec, many live in other provinces—and many of these face grave disadvantages. In their interests, the federal government can act effectively in collaboration with the provinces, especially Ontario and New Brunswick, which have sizable Francophone minorities. We have already mentioned the federal role in equalizing opportunities in these regions, and to this can be added the kind of assistance to Francophone education that we recommend in Book II of this *Report*.

The federal
responsibility

1410. Even within Quebec, the role of federal government policy is important. Manpower retraining schemes, immigration, and fiscal incentives of all sorts contain a large federal component. In addition, only the federal government is in a position to accept the major share of

responsibility for maintaining the high level of employment that is a prerequisite for the success of any economic policy and a major determinant of the well-being of all Canadians in all regions.

1411. It is obvious that Francophones, like other Canadians, wish to take part in an economy adjusted to the highest levels of technology. Again, the role of the federal government is important: much of the present economic development depends upon the aggregation of considerable resources in research and technical skills. Only through the marshalling of the resources of the whole country can a new phase of economic activity, with a strong emphasis on secondary and tertiary industries, be planned effectively. All states that desire to achieve the sort of spectacular development that has been possible in countries like the United States and Japan must face the problem of mobilizing such resources over a long period of time so that they can be harnessed for maximum productivity and the concomitant task of developing large markets, both domestic and foreign.

The goal

1412. Canadian development and ultimate success depend to a large extent on the active and equal participation of Francophone and Anglophone Canadians in the work world and in the economy as a whole. Canada is an economic unit of immense developmental potential, and Canadians have the human and natural resources to develop this potential. They also have the considerable advantage of using the two main languages of the western world. The building of a truly bilingual and bicultural Canada will be invaluable in providing the country with the stimulus to move ahead. The existence of two equal but distinct societies, each with its own contribution to make to the country as a whole, presents the formidable challenge of creating a strong, dynamic, and united country.

42. We recommend that in the private sector in Quebec, governments and industry adopt the objective that French become the principal language of work at all levels, and that in pursuit of this objective the following principles be accepted: a) that French be the principal language of work in the major work institutions of the province; b) that, consequently, the majority of work units in such firms that until now have used English as the principal language of work in middle and upper levels become French-language units; and that such firms designate all management and senior positions as posts that require bilingual incumbents; c) that the majority of smaller or specialized firms should use French as their language of work, but that there should be a place for firms where the language of work is English, as there should be a place anywhere in Canada for such firms where the language of work is French; and d) that the main language of work in activities related to operations outside the province remain the choice of the enterprise. (§ 1306.)
43. We recommend that in the private sector throughout Canada, the Canadian head offices of firms with extensive markets or facilities inside Quebec develop appropriate bilingual capacities, including French-language units and bilingual senior executives. (§ 1307.)
44. We recommend that the government of Quebec establish a task force to consist of representatives of government, industry, the universities, and the major labour unions with the following general terms of reference: a) to launch discussions with the major companies in the province concerning the current state of bilingualism

and biculturalism in their organizations and the means of developing institutional bilingualism more fully; b) to design an overall plan for establishing French as the principal language of work in Quebec and to set a timetable for this process; c) to initiate discussions with the federal government and with the governments of New Brunswick and Ontario, to discover areas of potential co-operation in implementing the plan; and d) to make recommendations to the provincial government for the achievement of the goal and for the establishment of permanent machinery of co-ordination. (§ 1310.)

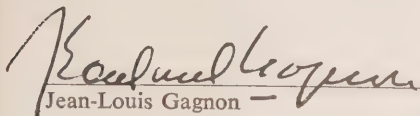
45. We recommend that the government of New Brunswick establish a task force charged with suggesting steps to be taken in education, in the provincial public service, and in the private sector so that French can become a language of work like English, bearing in mind the economic and social conditions in the province. (§ 1316.)
46. We recommend that the government of Ontario establish a task force charged with preparing a programme of action with the objective of ensuring the progressive introduction of French as a language of work in enterprises in bilingual districts, on the basis of a co-operative and concerted effort by government and industry. (§ 1322.)
47. We recommend that the firms at issue in Recommendations 42 and 43 make an explicit policy commitment to establish institutional bilingualism in their operations; and that they immediately designate certain units within their head offices and their operations in Quebec, and in bilingual districts, as future French-language units and designate those executive and senior positions that in the near future will require bilingual incumbents. (§ 1323.)
48. We recommend that, immediately after designating French-language units in their organizations, the firms also designate a substantial number of professional, technical, and managerial positions as French-language posts. (§ 1331.)
49. We recommend that the firms make every effort to interest Franco-phone students on business careers, by providing full information in career opportunities to the appropriate officials in French-language

educational institutions and by sending recruiting teams to these institutions both within and outside Quebec. (§ 1333.)

50. We recommend that the firms make their internal training programmes fully available in the French language for their Francophone employees. (§ 1336.)
51. We recommend that, where internal training programmes are presently unavailable in French, the firms consult with French-language institutions of higher education in Canada and elsewhere about the possibilities of providing the needed programmes. (§ 1337.)
52. We recommend that the firms seek to equalize the opportunities for job transfers for their Francophone employees, while at the same time taking steps to minimize the difficulties that these transfers entail. (§ 1341.)
53. We recommend that all material relevant to the promotion process and the preparation for it be made fully available in French. (§ 1343.)
54. We recommend that all Francophone candidates have the option of expressing themselves in their own language in all oral and written examinations and interviews, and that the examiners take into account the difficulties that the candidate may have had to face during his previous work experience as a result of the obligation to work in a second language. (§ 1344.)
55. We recommend that where firms designate positions as bilingual posts they take steps to ensure that the required level of competence in French and English is clearly defined and that they use this factor as a criterion in promotions to these positions. (§ 1345.)
56. We recommend that all information relevant to federal government contracts and other services to private enterprise, including technical specifications and documents, be made available simultaneously in French and English, and that in all official relations among federal government personnel, business firms, and unions, appropriate action be taken to ensure that the French language is fully used in the appropriate circumstances. (§ 1355.)

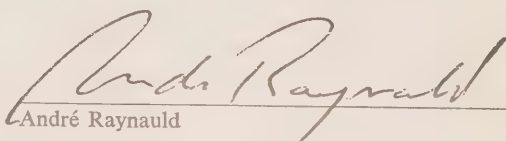
57. We recommend that, as a matter of policy, the federal agencies concerned make available to private firms all the data arising from developments in translation services, bilingual lexicons, and language training that may be of assistance to the firms in their transformation process. (§ 1356.)

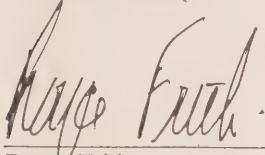
ALL OF WHICH WE RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT FOR YOUR
EXCELLENCY'S CONSIDERATION

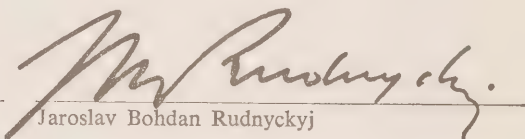

Jean-Louis Gagnon


A. Davidson Dunton



Clément Cormier, c.s.c.

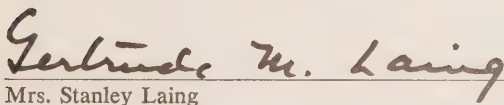

André Raynauld


Royce Frith


Jaroslav Bohdan Rudnycky


Paul Lacoste

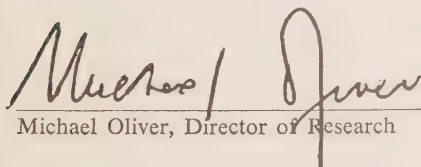

F. R. Scott*


Mrs. Stanley Laing


Paul Wyczynski


Peter C. Findlay, Co-Secretary


Gilles Lalonde, Co-Secretary


Michael Oliver, Director of Research


Léon Dion, Special Consultant on Research

September 19, 1969

*Commissioner Scott's partially dissenting opinion follows immediately.

While accepting the other recommendations of this Book, I find myself in partial disagreement with Recommendation 42 regarding the language régime for the private business sector in Quebec. It seems to me that, consciously or unconsciously, the other Commission members have departed from the principles laid down in Book I of our *Report*, where we defined "equal partnership" and rejected the territorial principle as being inappropriate for determining a language policy for Canada.

Recommendation 42 reads as follows:

We recommend that in the private sector in Quebec, governments and industry adopt the objective that French become the principal language of work at all levels, and that in pursuit of this objective the following principles be accepted: a) that French be the principal language of work in the major work institutions of the province; b) that, consequently, the majority of work units in such firms that until now have used English as the principal language of work in middle and upper levels become French-language units; and that such firms designate all executive and senior positions as posts that require bilingual incumbents; c) that the majority of smaller or specialized firms should use French as their language of work, but that there should be a place for firms where the language of work is English, as there should be a place anywhere in Canada for such firms where the language of work is French; and d) that the main language of work in activities related to operations outside the province remain the choice of the enterprise.

If this Recommendation is compared with the language recommendations for the private sectors in Ontario and New Brunswick, the differences will at once be apparent. For the latter provinces we recommend a task force to study and suggest what steps be taken to make French a language of work on the same basis as English. With this I agree. But for Quebec, while also recommending a task force, we lay down the rigid rules that it should adopt. So the principles differ depending on the provincial boundaries. This is a virtual acceptance of the territorial principle. My idea of "equal partnership" is that it operates in similar fashion all across Canada, "wherever the minority is numerous enough to be viable as a group" (Book I, § 255). It was on this basis that we proposed

bilingual districts all across Canada. Quebec was treated the same as other provinces. It should be the same for private business.

Obviously there is, and should be, much more French used in large businesses in Quebec than in other provinces at the present time. However, this is not because of their location, but because of the fact that these companies employ large numbers of Francophones and should make it possible for them to work their way up the business hierarchy using their own language as far as possible. The larger the firm, the more it should become bilingual if it employs or does business with Canadians of both official languages. This should be true for all Canada, and for Francophone-owned firms as well as Anglophone-owned firms, in my view.

Recommendation 42 is unacceptable for another reason. It is quite unrealistic—and indeed could be very harmful to the Quebec economy—to suggest that French become the principal language of work “at all levels” in the private sector, without distinguishing the various types of business in which the rule is to apply. How can a firm with a head office in Montreal, one production unit in Quebec with Francophone employees, and ten factories in other parts of Canada, make the top-level executives and planning groups use French predominantly? Their operations may be 80 per cent outside Quebec. The head office could easily move to another province. True, the Recommendation in clause d) recognizes this and allows free choice of language; but this flatly contradicts the opening statement. This Recommendation, though aiming at the proper objective of increasing the use of French as a language of business in Quebec, will strengthen the hands of those—and their numbers are increasing—who think there can be a unilingual Quebec in a bilingual Canada, or an independent Quebec that will not recognize linguistic minority rights.

Freedom of commerce, even in an economy increasingly in need of planning, still has an important role to fulfil and, combined with freedom of speech, means the right to do business anywhere in Canada in any language, be it Chinese in Vancouver, Ukrainian in Winnipeg, or Italian in Montreal. This is what makes for variety and colour in a pluralistic society. This human right is all too grudgingly admitted in clause c) of Recommendation 42. In bilingual districts, of which Montreal is the most important in Canada, such businesses can grow quite large before their internal use of the chosen language endangers the principle of equal partnership. Any profit-seeking enterprise that does not have enough sense to bilingualize most of its operations that reach a Francophone clientèle will suffer a deserved decline of income and eventual displacement by its competitors who are more culturally sensitive.

I have made several attempts to draft a Recommendation to put in place of Recommendation 42, but have come to the conclusion that our Commission should have contented itself to urge upon the government and private industry in Quebec exactly what it has urged for the two neighbouring provinces. There should be a task force instructed to work with the private sector and government in the formulation of a just and practical policy for Quebec. Obviously, because 80 per cent of the population of Quebec is French-speaking, the policy adopted will be far more favourable to “institutional

bilingualism" than in Ontario or New Brunswick. But I do not think our Commission is qualified, by composition or experience, to do more than point out the great need for a change of policy on the part of many employers of labour in Quebec. I believe this change is already taking place, and that nothing can stop it, but the problem in Quebec today is by no means only one of guaranteeing rights to Francophones; the right to the use of English by one million inhabitants is also called in question. About 4 per cent of the civil service in the Quebec government is Anglophone, and less than 3 per cent of the City of Montreal employees, though many more are bilingual. I hope Quebec will remain the "model" province which we so frequently considered it to be in our first Book.

In addition to my dissent from the important Recommendation 42, I wish to add one further remark. Our Commission, like the Sirois Royal Commission before it, was unable to do any research into the wealth and investment in the hands of the religious institutions in the province of Quebec. Without this, all that is said about the economic position of French Canada, based solely on an analysis of the private sector of industry, is somewhat out of context. The French invested heavily in religion while the more "materialistic" English were developing the business sector. Both communities had their own form of wealth: our *Report* shows only one side of the picture. Strong emotions can be aroused by inadequate or misleading statistics. There is a deficiency here in the research of our Commission—not due to any fault of our research department—and this must be kept in mind in assessing the meaning of those statistics which we have so liberally supplied.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "F. R. Scott". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large, prominent "F" and "S".

F. R. Scott.

P.C. 1963-1106

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 19th July, 1963.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, the Prime Minister, advise that

André Laurendeau,¹ Montreal, P.Q.
Davidson Dunton, Ottawa, Ont.
Rev. Clément Cormier, Moncton, N.B.
Royce Frith, Toronto, Ont.
Jean-Louis Gagnon, Montreal, P.Q.
Mrs. Stanley Laing, Calgary, Alta.
Jean Marchand,² Quebec City, P.Q.
Jaroslav Bodhan Rudnyckyj, Winnipeg, Man.
Frank Scott, Montreal, P.Q.
Paul Wyczynski, Ottawa, Ont.

be appointed Commissioners under Part I of the Inquiries Act to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution; and in particular

¹ André Laurendeau died on June 1, 1968. On October 8, 1968, Jean-Louis Gagnon was appointed Co-Chairman and André Raynauld was appointed a member of the Commission.

² The resignation of Jean Marchand from the Commission was accepted on September 21, 1965. On November 22 of that year Paul Lacoste, formerly one of the Co-Secretaries of the Commission, was appointed to fill the vacancy created by M. Marchand's resignation. On May 1, 1966, Prof. Gilles Lalande of the University of Montreal was appointed Co-Secretary.

1. to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration—including Crown corporations—and in their communications with the public and to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration;

2. to report on the role of public and private organizations, including the mass communications media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country and of the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures; and to recommend what should be done to improve that role; and

3. having regard to the fact that constitutional jurisdiction over education is vested in the provinces, to discuss with the provincial governments the opportunities available to Canadians to learn the English and French languages and to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual.

The Committee further advise:

- (a) that the Commissioners be authorized to exercise all the powers conferred upon them by section 11 of the Inquiries Act and be assisted to the fullest extent by Government departments and agencies;
- (b) that the Commissioners adopt such procedures and methods as they may from time to time deem expedient for the proper conduct of the inquiry and sit at such times and at such places as they may decide from time to time;
- (c) that the Commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisers as they may require at rates of remuneration and reimbursement to be approved by the Treasury Board;
- (d) that the Commissioners report to the Governor in Council with all reasonable despatch, and file with the Dominion Archivist the papers and records of the Commission as soon as reasonably may be after the conclusion of the inquiry.
- (e) that André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton be co-Chairmen of the Commission and André Laurendeau be Chief Executive Officer thereof.

R. G. ROBERTSON

Clerk of the Privy Council

Auclair, G. A. and Read W. H., A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL LEADERSHIP, by arrangement with the Institut de psychologie de l'Université de Montréal and The Graduate School of Business of McGill University.

The main goal of this study, prepared in 1966, was to quantify, analyze, and interpret the dominant patterns of industrial leadership of French Canadians and English Canadians. Contrasts and comparisons were sought between French Canadian and English Canadian managers and supervisors in their attitudes towards several aspects or dimensions of leadership.

Seven large companies, with a total of approximately 250,000 employees, comprised the final sample used in the study; three were manufacturing and four were service organizations; five had management groups composed of both French Canadian and English Canadian members, one was entirely English Canadian, and one was entirely French Canadian in ownership and management. Three levels of management were defined: lower (salaries of less than \$9,000 a year), middle (\$9,000 to \$17,999), and higher (\$18,000 a year or more). A total of 3,105 male managers, from an expected 4,392, returned a questionnaire. English Canadians were defined as Canadian citizens whose cultural or ethnic origin was English, Irish, Scottish, or Welsh and French Canadians as Canadian citizens whose cultural or ethnic origin was French.

The study reports on the evaluation of organizational goals (defined as economic or social-

humanitarian), conflict between organizational goals and those of personal significance in private life, and attitudes towards employees, with particular reference to leadership styles, work motivation, the effects of human-relations training and religious affiliation on management attitudes, the effects of exposure to "the other" culture inside or outside the work setting on these attitudes, and job satisfaction. Differences and similarities between the two ethnic groups are shown by company and by level within these companies.

Two parallel but somewhat independent studies were included in the project. The first deals with attitudes of French and English Canadian management personnel in small businesses in Quebec. Only Canadian-owned companies with 25 to 1,500 employees were included; the sample numbered 737 companies, of which 350 were owned by French Canadians. Questionnaires were sent to 700 managers in companies of French Canadian ownership and 774 in companies of English Canadian ownership; return rates were 24 and 26 per cent respectively.

The second subordinate study examines attitudes of business and commerce students in French- and English-speaking Canada. Questionnaires were answered by more than 1,100 full-time students, more than 200 of them at the post-graduate level, in eight institutions throughout Canada. The schools were selected from the 22 accredited schools of business or commerce in Canada with either undergraduate or post-

graduate programmes and enrolments of more than 100 students.

Dofny, J., LES INGÉNIEURS CANADIENS-FRANÇAIS ET CANADIENS-ANGLAIS À MONTREAL. This study, prepared in 1965, attempts to describe and differentiate the social backgrounds of French Canadian and English Canadian engineers in terms of their careers, professional mobility, and attitudes towards social class, economic development, and ethnic relations. It also assesses the future role, in a single economic world, of an industrial élite formed of individuals from two cultures. Data was furnished by structured interviews with 277 Canadian engineers of French origin and 339 of British origin, all working in Montreal; these interviews represent response rates of 86 and 72 per cent respectively. The sample was taken from the mailing list of the Corporation des ingénieurs du Québec.

École des hautes études commerciales and The Graduate School of Business of McGill University, CORPORATE POLICIES AND PRACTICES WITH RESPECT TO BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM—POLITIQUES ET PRATIQUES DU MONDE DES AFFAIRES RELATIVEMENT AU BILINGUISME ET BICULTURALISME. This is a large report based on research of various types. It is divided into the following sections.

1. "Facteurs explicatifs" is a series of articles prepared under the direction of R. Charbonneau. Of these, "Inventaire des Canadiens français aptes à occuper un poste de cadre administratif," an article written by B. Nadeau under the supervision of P. C. Lefrançois is largely used in Chapter XIII. It reports on the concentration, employment patterns, and work experience of Francophone and Anglophone engineers, scientists, commerce graduates, chartered accountants, and lawyers. For the engineers, besides 1961 census data, two surveys were used. One consisted of data from the department of Labour on one-third of the engineers practising in Quebec in 1963; the main criterion for designating Francophones was the language of the university of graduation. The other survey, undertaken in 1964, reported on 9,479 of the 10,877 members of the Corporation des ingénieurs du Québec, excluding the members practising outside Quebec and the Ottawa valley, those studying or retired, or for whom job

information was not available; the main criterion for designating an engineer as Francophone was his surname. For the scientists, 1961 census data and department of Labour surveys conducted in 1957 and 1963 were used. The latter surveys used the language of the university of graduation as the criterion of linguistic affiliation and reported on one-third of the scientists practising in Quebec in 1957 and in 1963. For the chartered accountants, an analysis was made of all the 3,232 members of the Institut des comptables agréés du Québec in 1964; the main criterion for designating linguistic affiliation was the surname. For the commerce graduates, a list of names and addresses by years of graduation was obtained from nearly all Canadian universities awarding degrees in commerce or business administration; an analysis was then made of the 7,989 commerce graduates working in Quebec in 1964. Francophones and Anglophones were identified by the language of the university of graduation.

2. "Patterns and Trends in Business," by W. H. Pugsley.

3. "Education and Achievement," by D. E. Armstrong.

4. "Corporate Policies and Practices of Large Manufacturing Firms," by R. N. Morrison. The data of this study were provided by questionnaires sent out in 1964 to a sample of large firms having their head offices in Quebec or Ontario. The following criteria were used for sampling the firms: they had to be engaged primarily in the manufacturing sector, each had to be dominant in its industry, and the total sample was to include representative firms of every major industry group; each had to have operations of significant size in Quebec and employment of at least 500; about one-third of all firms selected were to have all their operations (exclusive of branch sales offices) in Quebec and adjacent bilingual-bicultural regions—these were designated the "regional firms as against the "national" firms. At least three firms were to be represented in each of the following seven ownership-location categories: (1) owned by French Canadians, with head office in Quebec; (2) owned by English Canadians, with head office in Quebec; (3) owned by English Canadians, with head office elsewhere in Canada; (4) owned by citizens of foreign, French-speaking countries, with head office in Quebec; (5) owned by citizens of the United

Kingdom, with head office in Quebec; (6) owned by citizens of the United States, with head office in Quebec; (7) owned by citizens of the United States, with head office elsewhere in Canada. Of the 70 large manufacturing firms invited to participate in the study, 41 reported on total employment, both wage-roll and salaried. They employed on the average just over 4,000 people each. Although these firms do not constitute a random sample, they account for 21 per cent of the total employment in manufacturing in Quebec, for 8 per cent in Ontario, and for 12 per cent in Canada.

For purpose of analysis, five geographic regions of employment were designated: the Montreal metropolitan census area, Quebec excluding Montreal, the four Atlantic provinces, Ontario, and the four western provinces. The breakdown by function was as follows: manufacturing; marketing—including sales and advertising; personnel; engineering and research and development; finance and accounting; public relations; purchasing; and other—including general management. The concept of "work area," or "work unit," was used to refer to a department or a division within a firm defined both on a regional *and* a functional basis. The distinction between Francophone and Anglophone employees was made on the basis of mother tongue, or language of greatest fluency if the mother tongue was neither French nor English.

One section of the study reports on the total employment in the 41 sample firms. Results are broken down, by ownership-location group, by type of firm—"regional" or "national"—by region of employment, and by percentage of Francophones employed.

The major part of the study is concerned with the salaried staff earning \$5,000 or more. The data on 19,888 employees were made available by 36 firms, representing all ownership-location categories. For various groups of firms defined by ownership-location, region of employment, or function, the following characteristics are shown: the language of business in work areas; the percentage of Francophones and Anglophones in each salary group; the percentage of Francophones or Anglophones in each salary group whose job requires bilingual ability. The same characteristics are given for recently hired personnel (during a 12-month period). Francophone

and Anglophone mobility is studied with respect to function, region, age, and family.

Another section examines the directorship practices and the distribution of executive officers by mother tongue and ownership-location category. Employee relations are also examined, particularly hiring practices with regard to recent university graduates in engineering and commerce, the training and further education of employees, employee evaluation and job analysis, and communications within the firm. In conclusion, the study reports on purchasing—in particular, the language ability required of personnel and the language used in written forms; marketing—including the pattern of sales, advertising, and language ability of sales personnel; and shareholder relations—that is, language used in annual reports, at the annual shareholders' meeting, and on the share certificates.

5. "Corporate Policies and Management Attitudes," by R. N. Morrison.

6. "Small Firms Employing between 50 and 1,500 people in Quebec and Ontario," by R. N. Morrison. This study examines patterns of employment of Francophones and Anglophones, patterns of business activity, and the relative use of French and English in manufacturing businesses. It also tries to relate observed differences to differences in type of ownership and geographic location. Three criteria were used for sampling: sample firms had to be engaged primarily in manufacturing, the head office of each sample firm had to be in either Quebec or Ontario, and each firm had to employ between 50 and 1,500 people. Data was collected from questionnaires mailed to 2,597 firms in 1964, operating some 2,770 establishments. Questionnaires were returned by 605 firms (23 per cent), and the relevant sample was made of 566 firms; since not all the 566 firms completed every section of the questionnaire, a smaller sample of 358 firms was retained for more complete information on all matters central to the study; total employment in this sample was 71,681.

The report shows the structural patterns of these 358 small firms, that is, the differences in size, as measured by employment or sales value, for the various ownership types and locations of head office. A major part of the report analyzes the patterns of employment in various regions, industry groups, and ownership groups, with par-

ticular emphasis on the percentage of Franco-phones employed in each group; a distinction is made between wage-roll and salaried employees. Another section studies the differences between firms with respect to patterns of language of business in external contacts (marketing and purchasing) and in internal communication. The study also reports on the bilingual ability of salaried employees and evaluates the relative importance of the ability to speak French or English at various levels of the organization; measures used were based on estimates and opinions given by officers of the sample firms. Finally, it reports on management opinion regarding changes and anticipated further change regarding bilingualism in business.

Porter, J. and Pineo, P.C., FRENCH-ENGLISH DIFFERENCES IN THE EVALUATION OF OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES, ETHNICITIES, AND RELIGIONS IN THE MONTREAL METROPOLITAN AREA. The main aim of this study was to discover the differences in how Francophones and Anglophones in Montreal view the occupational world and how they rate the prestige of a large number of different jobs and professions. Francophones and Anglophones in a sample of Montrealers were compared with each other and with a national sample of the Canadian adult population. The study draws on a large opinion survey made in 1965 by Canadian Facts Ltd.

In the national sample, there were 793 respondents, of which 89 were Montreal cases; to this number was added a special Montreal over-sample of 107 to make up a Montreal sub-sample of 196. That corresponded to a completion rate of 64 per cent of the cases originally contacted.

The ranking of occupations followed rules already tested at the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center. Respondents were asked to sort 204 occupational titles or job

descriptions, 72 industries and corporations, 36 ethnic groups, and 21 religious affiliations in order of social standing. This was done by sorting cards, one for each name or description, onto a scale of nine classifications, from highest to lowest.

No classification of respondents as Francophone or Anglophone was made in advance of the interviews; instead, all respondents were allowed to classify themselves by choosing the language in which they preferred to be interviewed. All interviewers in Montreal and all interview materials (including, for example, the cards sorted by respondents) were bilingual; 142 interviews were conducted in French and 54 in English. Questions within the survey elicited other information, such as mother tongue, language used at home, language of best friends, preferred television channel, and so on. The study's classification of respondents as Francophone or Anglophone was quite consistent with these other alternative classifications.

Taylor, H., THE OUTPUT OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES, 1962-65. This study enumerates all degrees and diplomas earned between 1962 and 1965 at 37 Canadian universities (and their affiliated colleges)—31 teaching only in English, four only in French, and two in both English and French—and eight types of small non-affiliated colleges. The data came from unpublished documents and tables prepared by the Higher Education Section of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and provided no information about the number of Francophone students enrolled in English-language universities, and vice versa. Attainments were classified in four categories—diploma, bachelor's or first degree, master's degree or licence, and doctorate—and in 10 academic specializations—arts, social sciences, commerce, natural sciences, political sciences, history, economics, mathematics, languages, and others.

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